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THE
BRITISH SOCIALIST.

Vol. I., No. 1. JANUARY 15, 1912.

PEACE AND ITS PERILS.

By H. Quelch.

I am grateful to comrade Zelda Kahan for her article on this subject in the December number of the "Social-Democrat." She has been good enough to make a serious contribution to what I regard as a subject of very great importance. Nevertheless she leaves me unconvinced by the conclusion to which she arrives: "that voluntary disarmament by the capitalist nations is not likely; and that peace and a diminution in expenditure on armaments, even under capitalism, would be a real gain to the working class, and no danger to Socialism or the coming Social Revolution."

In arriving at this conclusion, Miss Kahan attaches too little weight to the considerations which I advanced in my first article as calculated to impress rulers and the ruling classes generally with the folly of war. Mr. Norman Angell has been at some pains to convince people that war does not "pay" even the victorious nation; and it is popularly believed that it was to the

urgent representations of the Berlin bankers that the maintenance of peace was due last summer. Miss Kahan, indeed, almost entirely ignores the circumstances to which, in my first article, I called attention, as tending to a world-wide "league of peace" between the great capitalist Powers, which might conceivably be far more inimical to democratic interests, and a far more formidable obstacle to Socialism and the Social Revolution than the rivalries, quarrels, and armaments of those Powers are ever likely to be. As I there pointed out, we have already in Europe the "Triple Alliance" and the "Triple Entente," and if Germany, Austria and Italy can combine in the one, and France, England and Russia in the other, I cannot see any reason why the "Triplice" and "Entente" should not combine, and all six Powers be united in a common alliance. Would Miss Kahan or any other Socialist contend that such a combination would be to the advantage of democracy, of Socialism, or of the Social Revolution? Will any Socialist attempt to show that the "Alliance" between Germany, Austria, and Italy, or the "Entente" between France, England and Russia, has benefited any subject people —native, colonial, or foreign—or has been, in any degree, of advantage to humanity?

Would it not rather be admitted that in both cases the combination has been simply one to enable the respective Powers to prey with greater strength, ease and security upon the peoples marked down for prey? We have only to look at Morocco, Egypt, Tripoli, Finland, Poland, Persia, and the Balkan States for an answer to that question. If by a union of the Triplice and the Entente we could bring about the close federation of all European nations, under existing circumstances, into the United States of Europe, it is quite certain that the position of these victims of the Great Powers would be, if anything, worse than it is now.

Miss Kahan says that she is puzzled as to my purpose in writing as I have done on this subject. I am sorry if my object was not made perfectly clear. I

simply wished to set before my fellow-Socialists what appeared to me an unconsidered aspect of the Peace Movement: the possibilities of its success through the recognition by the ruling classes of the folly and waste of war, and the dangers which were to be feared from the consummation of a world peace under a capitalist régime. I did not wish the conclusion to be drawn "that the Peace movement is a real danger to Socialism, and that its success would spell the death-knell of Socialism." I do not know of anything which would "spell the death-knell of Socialism," but there does appear to be very considerable danger of retarding the progress of Socialism, indefinitely deferring its advent, and prolonging the human suffering, want and misery which must in the meantime be endured, by devoting our energies to movements which, while promising fair, may possibly hinder and injure instead of advancing our own cause.

Such a movement is, unquestionably and admittedly, the "social reform" movement of the bourgeois parties; and such a movement may conceivably—as I think—be the movement for international peace and arbitration. I do not wish to dogmatise on the matter; but I do think it is worthy of consideration and discussion.

I suspect the gifts of the Greeks. Some of our friends have been hopelessly misled, and the Socialist movement has been sadly weakened, by the bourgeois social reform of Mr. Lloyd George. It would be well to take care that at least not more harm is done to our cause by too ardent devotion to the bourgeois pacifism of Andrew Carnegie. I believe that Lloyd George is perfectly sincere in his desire for "social reform," knowing full well that his social reform will serve the interests of his capitalist patrons, and hinder Socialism, I believe also that Andrew Carnegie sincerely desires peace, because he sees the possibilities of peace for the conservation and development of capitalist interests, and the suppression of any revolutionary tendencies on the part of the working class. I, too, am for peace; but, as Miss Kahan infers, there is a difference between

the Socialist pacifist and the bourgeois pacifist. The difficulty for the former, however, is to avoid playing the game of the latter.

Miss Kahan states that I say that "We Social-Democrats rightly strive for peace," but do not say exactly why we do so. Nevertheless I thought that my statement on this point, in my first article, was explicit. I said: "It is in every way our interest as Social-Democrats to work for peace; not only because the workers of the different countries have no quarrel, and yet suffer the worst from the horrors of war, but also because the pressure of the economic development, which proceeds apace in time of peace, is much more likely to engender revolution than is either the burden of armaments or the outbreak of war."

With regard to the economic burden of armaments, Miss Kahan suggests that I "argue the matter on too hard and fast lines," and goes on to contend that "armaments are about the most dangerous and worst luxury we can indulge our governing class in." But with all that I have nothing to do. The need for armaments as an outlet for the dissipation of surplus value might reasonably form the subject of another article; I only referred to it in the present connection in reply to Kautsky's suggestion that the Revolution might emerge from the revolt of the people against "the intolerable burden of armaments." My point is that in the first place armaments are no more an "intolerable burden" upon the proletariat than is any other luxury of the master class; and, secondly, if it were, and were therefore calculated to lead to revolution, that would be an argument in favour of Socialists supporting armaments rather than opposing them.

But that is not my opinion. Admitting armaments to be "about the most dangerous and worst luxury we can indulge our governing class in," I still do not admit that they are a more "intolerable" burden than any other form of luxury in which the master class may choose to indulge, nor so intolerable as to provoke a revolt of the working class against them. (In London,

just now, by the way, the revolt of the working class appears to be rather in favour of armaments than against them!) On the contrary, I regard expenditure on armaments, as on any other form of luxury—its harmless or dangerous character having no immediate bearing on this point—as a sort of safety-valve for the present system—a means whereby superfluous wealth can be wasted and otherwise superfluous labour be kept employed. Miss Kahan suggests that "if the workers were strong enough to force the Government to decrease their expenditure on armaments, they would then be strong enough to force them to use that money, not merely for the remission of the income-tax or death duties, but, at least in part, for some important social and political measures." But the whole point here is that the "burden of armaments" falls much more heavily upon the bourgeoisie than upon the proletariat; and any reduction of that burden—for which the middle classes, as a whole, are, naturally, much more keen than are the workers—would most assuredly be directed to relieving the burden of middle-class taxation.

That, indeed, is the whole point of what I have written on this subject, and I can only regret having failed to make that clear—that our rulers and the master class generally are much more interested in the establishment of international peace, and stand to gain more by it, than do the working class. There are, indubitably, powerful and wealthy interests on the side of war, but the great bulk of bourgeois interests would suffer by war and are therefore favourable to peace.

The proletariat, the masses of working people, would certainly suffer from war, too—suffer terribly, worse than any other class; they, in any case, are the victims. I know that. No one appreciates that fact more clearly or completely than I do; and no one can possibly have a greater abhorrence or detestation of war than I have. But that is not all of the question. The proletariat, my class, are the victims in either peace or war. War, undoubtedly, is "hell" for them; but is peace—the

peace to be insured by a truce, an understanding and an alliance, between the great brigand Powers—going to be so much better? It seems to me in any event very much a case of "heads, we win; tails, you lose;" as between the working class and their masters.

In this connection International Peace and Industrial Peace appear to me to have much in common. I know what industrial war means; I have gone through the bitter experience of a long-drawn-out strike, and I know that in such a conflict the victims are all of my class; that it is the workers who have to suffer all the hardship and privation of a strike. But am I, on that account, in favour of what is known as Industrial Peace, in which the workers will be shackled and bound with no right nor power to strike or to revolt? Not at all. I know, on the contrary, that the Industrial Peace of the capitalists, once assured, would make any revolt of the workers impossible for many a year.

So, too, with International Peace. Miss Kahan says that it might be imagined from the way I talk "about revolution being nipped in the bud when the nations are disarmed, that the only reason that the Russian Government, say, does not hang more revolutionaries than it does is that the English navy and the German army protects these revolutionaries"—and so on, in the same strain. I certainly did not hint at or suggest anything of the kind; but I do say that a combination among European Powers—which would alone make disarmament possible—would enormously extend the area of Russia's little pleasantries of that character. As I pointed out in a previous article, "The Anglo-Franco-Russian Alliance has practically killed the Russian revolution, at the same time that it has aided French filibustering in Morocco, British despotism in India and Egypt, and the Russo-British spoliation of Persia." Perhaps Miss Kahan will deny all this; perhaps she would maintain, for instance, that, without the aid which England and France have given her, Russia could have crushed the revolution within her own borders, trampled on Finnish

liberty, and proceeded to the annexation of Northern Persia. But I do not think she will do anything of the kind. She must know—and that is the whole point of this discussion—that all combinations between the great world-Powers—just as all combinations between capitalist industrial concerns—are, generally speaking, anti-democratic, anti-revolutionary, and inimical to the interests of the working class. That is not a reason why Social-Democrats should not be in favour of peace and disarmament; it is a reason, however, why they should not regard peace and arbitration treaties between the great Powers as the be-all and end-all of popular agitation, and should not allow their zeal for the revolution to be absorbed by blind enthusiasm for a capitalist peace.

Miss Kahan says that in dealing with the possible "result of disarmament on the home affairs of the European nations," I "enter the realm of pure romance." She credits me with a power of imagination which, I regret to say, I do not possess. I might say in passing, however, that the results I apprehend are not those of "disarmament" in itself, but of that agreement and combination between the great piratical Powers without which disarmament is impossible. Disarmament may or may not follow; the great thing is the alliance and combination for peace. Now, if I were a romancer I should discover the results of such combination to be universal peace, prosperity and happiness. No more war, no more armaments; the wealth, the invention, the genius, the labour now devoted to the production of the engines of destruction serving instead the arts of peace and ministering to man's material and spiritual needs; the flower of our youth no longer drilled and armed for mutual destruction, but trained to mutual assistance and to useful and fruitful industry, in a land—the whole continent of Europe—flowing with milk and honey, a perfect earthly Paradise.

That would be the picture and the anticipation of the romancer, of the Pacifist, of what Europe would be when Wilhelm and George and Nicholas should have

composed all their little differences and decided to make war no more, but to live henceforth in brotherly peace and unity.

But I am not a romancer, and I look for no such glorious results from the Pax Mundi of capitalism. International capitalism and its instruments, the monarchs and statesmen of to-day, will, and must, act according to their nature; and a combination of capitalist Powers must necessarily be in the interests of the ruling class and against those of the proletariat. "When thieves fall out," we are told, "honest men may come by their own." It is certainly not to the interest of honest men to help to strengthen a combination among thieves.

Miss Kahan asks when the army or the navy of any country has been used on behalf of the revolutionaries of any other country. That is not the question at all. The point is that the army or navy of one country has frequently served to prevent the forces of another being used against the revolutionaries in a third. No one can doubt that the smaller nationalities of Europe owe their independence to the mutual rivalries and jealousies of the great Powers. Once those rivalries and jealousies are eliminated by a general European combination, these smaller nationalities would be completely swallowed up. In the meantime, of course, those rivalries and jealousies involve the maintenance of an armed force by the respective Powers. Once those rivalries and jealousies are removed there is no longer any need for any of the Powers to maintain an armed force for protection against its neighbours. But these United States would need to maintain a strong and well-armed police force—not to make war, but to keep the peace; for the suppression of rebels or revolutionaries or any other disturbers of the Peace of Capitalism. Miss Kahan says that "why the substitution of the armies and navies of Europe by police force should mean a greater suppression of liberties than is at present the case is quite beyond my comprehension."

Yet it seems to me perfectly simple. I take it that Miss Kahan has shared the indignation of all Socialists at Russian aggression in Finland and Persia, to say nothing of Poland. Now, assuming Finland to be an independent State—as Persia is supposed to be—while she remains independent both she and Russia maintain each an army for protection against each other. When the independence of Finland is suppressed she no longer needs an army; and Russia can reduce her army by the number of men required to protect her frontier against Finland. Is it beyond Miss Kahan's comprehension that with this "reduction of armaments," and this "substitution of armies" by a police force, there should be greater suppression of liberties than was the case when Finland was independent?

A United States of Europe under present conditions would mean nothing more nor less for the whole Continent than is meant for Finland or Persia by its annexation by Russia. There would be no Russian, German, Austrian, French, Belgian, Dutch or British Army or Navy; any more than New York State, or Kentucky, or California, or Ohio in the United States of America has an Army or Navy. But Europe would be united on the basis of capitalism; and just as the slowest ship in a fleet determines the pace, so the least democratic State in such a combination would determine the political level of the whole. We should thus have ensured peace and abolished war between European States, but we should have Russianised and Prussianised, not only Poland, Finland and Persia, but the whole of Europe.

Miss Kahan says that "The right of asylum, the right of free speech, and all the liberties we do possess," "depend on the force of public opinion and alertness of the masses." Even admitting that; what right of asylum or of free speech could exist in such a "United States" as I have suggested? Or where would be the opportunity for public opinion or the "alertness of the masses" to express itself? At present an English subject in Russian Poland may be imprisoned for life,

or tortured to death without trial, investigation or accusation. But with the régime inaugurated by the United States of Europe in existing conditions, that might happen to anyone, anywhere.

Miss Kahan says that "even if such a state of affairs were to be arrived at, it would be entirely independent of disarmament and universal peace." That I do not deny. My only concern was to point out that the establishment of peace under capitalism is, in my opinion, by no means the impossibility that we had been accustomed to regard it; that such peace, however, was by no means the unmixed blessing which people were led to suppose, but involved possibilities and perils before which the horrors of war pale into insignificance. I yield to none in my abhorrence of war. I hold it to be the duty of Social-Democrats, for every reason, to "seek peace and ensue it," but I think we should go warily, recognising that capitalist peace is likely to be, like capitalist social reform, but Dead Sea fruit; and worse, in its consequences, than even capitalist State rivalries.

THE EFFECT OF AERIAL NAVIGATION ON SOCIALISM.

By W. Z. Gee.

The following article was written more than three years ago. It will not, we imagine, be denied that, in so far as it foreshadowed immediate developments, it has proved remarkably accurate.

The Socialist movement, far from being a matter of dry economical theory, is really as many-sided as life itself. It affects every member of society and every branch of human activity.

All who interest themselves in the progress of the race are from that view-point obliged to investigate the claims of Socialism for the purpose of testing the statement of Socialists that a reorganisation of society on a Socialist basis is inevitable.

In order to learn in what direction we are going it may be useful to look back occasionally and see how we have advanced hitherto; and therefore, before looking into the future, we will consider by what means social progress has been attained in the past.

If we ask any ordinary citizen to summarise the features which have marked the progress of the race during the last hundred years he will invariably point to the achievements of the inventor and scientist; and select such instances as railways, ocean liners, telegraph, telephones and the like.

Afterwards, more in the nature of an afterthought, the decline of illiteracy, freedom of speech and press, and other developments will occur, but mechanical and scientific progress will always be mentioned first.

This is an acknowledgment (involuntary, but all the more real) of the undoubted fact that such social progress as we have made up to the present time has been caused mainly, if not entirely, by the work of innumerable inventors and scientists. In fact, and the more closely we examine history the more plainly the truth will appear, changes in social organisation from feudal times have been brought about only by reason of new conditions arising through the march of science and invention. And *only whilst society is accommodating itself to these new conditions has any material progress been achieved.*

Compare the changes that have come over society by reason of the adoption of the factory system of production, rapid printing machinery, telegraphs, railways, and other improved means of communication and transport, with the changes that can be traced to politicians and persons, and this point will be apparent.

It will also be clear that scientific and technological progress has been much more rapid than social development, so that the position at the present time is (and will be so regarded hereafter by students of the history of the present-day period) curiously anomalous. The cause of this anomalous condition is, I think, quite clear.

The prejudice which opposed scientific and technical progress in the early days was as bitter as any opposition to social progress now is, but it constantly tended to become a diminishing quantity. Being overcome by one invention and finding that no very dreadful consequences ensued, it was less bitter on the next occasion, and so on until, at the present day, prejudice against new inventions and discoveries, whilst not extinct, is very small as compared with the prejudice against social innovations. This is probably owing to the fact that social progress depends on more elusive matters than immutable natural laws which are ascertained and grappled with by the technologist, and consequently fetish and superstition are much more powerful. It is the state of fear brought about by such

fetish and superstition that alone prevents the levelling up of our social organisation to the place it ought logically to occupy in view of the marvellously increased productive power of labour, owing to the scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions of the last century. This blind fear of change will be dissipated only by the same causes as have operated in that direction hitherto, and, therefore, I think that we and our non-Socialist friends will be well advised in keeping a watchful eye on the progress of inventions and discoveries in order to discern the signs of the coming of Socialism. From this point of view, also, we can see a new and extremely valuable proof of the soundness of the Socialist position. There is no neglected or unaccounted-for residuum in the scheme of Socialism, as there is in the capitalistic or individualistic system. No conceivable events or happenings in the industrial or social life of the community (short of such as would render life itself impossible) could overset a Socialistically organised society, whereas we find that very little and comparatively insignificant causes are, in common experience, capable of causing very serious consequences to our present system.

In consideration of the subject to which this is introductory, it will be useful to elaborate this point a little, because it affords a valuable demonstration of the soundness of the claim that Socialism is the only logical system of society.

Let us suppose for the moment that the dream of the alchemist were to come true (and modern science shows that the transmutation of the elements was not such a wild dream as we imagined till recently), or that in, say, Central Africa or Asia gold was discovered giving hundredweights instead of ounces to the ton. Gold would then fall to the value of silver or nickel. I agree that it is not probable, but no one can prove it is impossible. Under the present system a terrible crisis would ensue. All the present gold mining companies would be bankrupt, and the entire monetary system of the world would be paralysed. But under

Socialism we would welcome the discovery, for the peculiar properties of gold, its decorative colour, its resistance to corrosion, its malleability, and so on would make its cheapening a most advantageous discovery for the service of mankind, and not one human being would be confronted with misery.

Similarly, if the laboratory work of the late Professor Moissan, who succeeded in the artificial production of diamonds on a small scale, were one day to be carried further to the point that the commercial production of crystallised carbon were accomplished, say at half-a-crown a pound, there would be a cataclysm in Hatton Garden, and all those who have invested money in diamond mines or rely on the ownership of these gems as an easily portable form of wealth would be confronted with a very serious, and, in many cases, ruinous state of affairs. Under Socialism, the only result would be that the efficiency of cutting and boring tools, lenses and optical instruments would be enormously increased to the general benefit of the community—because only the present rarity of this form of carbon prevents its general use in the arts—and nobody would need to drop a single tear.

Those who want to know "who will wear the diamonds under Socialism?" might make a note of this.

So much by way of introduction to the subject with which I set out to deal—viz., the effect of Aerial Navigation on Socialism.

The facts, as proved by practical demonstrations, are known to all who read the daily papers. I will summarise them first, and then I propose to make a few prophecies as to the more or less immediate future.

It has been demonstrated within the last few weeks that a machine heavier than air can be constructed which is capable of carrying two men without gas-bags of any kind for a distance of 40 miles or so in about an hour. The inventor has made many flights by himself and with a passenger, and has remained in the air for as long as an hour and three-quarters, flying at any height

from the ground at will, and describing complicated evolutions in all directions either with or against the wind, alighting easily and safely at any desired place. The machine is crude in design—all first machines are—but there can be no doubt that the problem has at last been solved in principle, and that future developments are merely a matter of experiment and design. Going back for the purposes of illustration to the early days of cycling, I think that the airship has now arrived at about the same stage as the bicycle had when it had evolved from the old "hobby-horse" to the "ordinary" high bicycle. Now the greater dissemination of technical knowledge is continually increasing the number of persons capable of inventing new appliances. The effect of this was seen in the phenomenally rapid evolution of the bicycle. In ten years or so the bicycle, from being a freak machine that a man rode more or less at peril of his life, became one of the most perfect machines in design and construction ever produced by mankind. A more recent instance of the rapid evolution of mechanical appliances is the wonderful way in which the motor car has been developed from a machine which stuck on almost every gradient to one that has crossed whole continents over vile roads, or no roads at all, and arrived home still in good order.

With these instances in mind it is not too much to say that in a few—let us say ten—years from now the airship will have become practicable and efficient. I do not know whether it will be driven by wings or screws, or, whether the "Gyropter," which you will find described in "The World's Work" for October, 1908, is the type that will be found best. The list of applications at the Patent Office will show that various types are suggested, and I daresay it would be safe to state that thousands of the cleverest brains in the world are now tackling the problem.

I know that to prophesy is considered dangerous, but I believe that the airship of the quite near future will be capable of travelling at the rate of 150 to 200

miles an hour, that it will have a radius of action sufficient to circle the globe without coming to earth, that it will travel at any desired altitude not giving rise to too much physical discomfort, and carry weights to be measured in tons rather than hundredweights as now. If these figures seem too bold for belief, I am quite willing to take less exciting ones for the purpose of the present argument. For instance, if we take the speed at what has been actually demonstrated—viz., 40 miles per hour—and if we assume the radius of action at 1,000 miles instead of the earth's circumference, it will not materially affect my position, which is this: that the advent of the airship will bring about a revolution in the social organisation of the world, compared with which the consequences which ensued on the introduction of the steam engine are insignificant.

Let us examine these changes and for the moment assume that the prophecy—or rather the deduction—I have made is an accomplished fact. Perhaps the first thing that strikes one is that frontiers, whether they are seas, rivers, mountains or merely abstract geographical lines, are all reduced to the one level of "passibility." They all become abstract lines, because the air is just as navigable over water as over land. Similarly, points of vantage hitherto, such as Gibraltar, Kronstadt, Heligoland, etc., are of no more importance than Timbuctoo or Jericho. The consequences of this change are, of course, very numerous and can only be dealt with very generally here. For instance, international relationships will become less parochial; and interdependence and solidarity between the nations must become more pronounced. Our tariff-reforming friends will have a somewhat rude shock, because it is hardly likely that an airship captain passing over any frontier, say, in the middle of the night will descend and knock up the Customs House officers in order to pay the duties on his cargoes. Import and export duties, therefore, must go.

Luckily there are compensations. Customs duties are used largely for the up-keep of armies and navies.

Under the new conditions, the finest army ever drilled is reduced to the level of an undisciplined mob, for an airship a few thousand feet above could destroy it whilst itself practically secure. For, although it may be possible occasionally to hit an airship, the difficulty of range-finding, to say nothing of the chances of hitting a rapidly moving object at such an inconvenient angle for rifled ordnance, makes the affair one-sided. And even if it were possible to hit it in daytime, at night it would be practically impossible. Similarly, the most powerful and, at present, invulnerable fortification is no more terrible than a child's sand-castle, and the modern battleship, costing a couple of millions, and having on board the effective male population of a good-sized town, is a mere conglomeration of scrap metal.

These circumstances must inevitably suggest disarmament, and it is in consequences such as these that Socialists will be most interested. No longer, then, can the attention of people be distracted from their wrongs by war.

Millions of men now serving as soldiers and sailors must be found productive work, and the men now engaged in building ships and barracks, making material and clothing, victualling, and so on will also have to have their energies otherwise directed. How this is to be done by any other system of organising society than by Socialism I cannot see. Under the present system, the problem of unemployment already finds our governing classes at their wits' end for a remedy.

I find it comparatively easy to deduce from what has already been demonstrated what will be done in future so far as the technological side i concerned, but I confess that my powers of deduction stop there. I cannot say, for example, whether the nations will at once see the absurdity of war, tariffs and customs, frontiers and so forth, or whether they will try to construct air warships—such as Tennyson foresaw "grappling in the central blue"—and attempt thus to per-

petuate the old hideous system. If they do, the problem of unemployment will be just as pressing, as not a tithe of the number of men could be employed to any advantage in aerial warfare, and with recruiting and conscription stopped, the unemployed would still be there and in increasing numbers. Of course, it may be possible to patrol the air over frontiers in the daytime, but I cannot see that even the fullest development in the direction of searchlights would be of much use over, say, 5,000 miles of frontier at night.

It is also possible, perhaps, that some sort of international agreement not to use aerial warships—in fact, as it were, to shelve the invention for the purposes of warfare—may be suggested, but I do not see that that is practicable or would be binding on private individuals, who would be incited to make use of the airships by the thought of gains to be made by smuggling, prospecting or exploiting unexplored or little known countries, etc. In any case, it is difficult to see how such an agreement could be enforced in case of infraction. In short, I cannot see at all shortly what consequences may develop. I am sure of this only: that Socialists alone have a policy which could conceivably deal with the conditions arising.

I raise this subject now because I feel very strongly that we Socialists should be early in the field with a constructive policy ready to meet the emergency, because when all the rest of the world is dazed and uncertain as to what to do for the best, then is the time for us to show the essential sanity of our belief that "Socialism is the only remedy."

I can, in conclusion, only hope that mankind will realise at an early stage of the proceedings, rather than through blood and tears, that the only way to adapt society to the new conditions is by the adoption of Socialism under the direction of a "Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."

THE MONTH.

The Christmas season of Peace and Goodwill was, as is not unusual, marred by wars and rumours of wars at home and abroad. At home the apprehension of another railway strike just at the festive season had been dispelled by the "sweet reasonableness" of the men and the astuteness of the employers and their Ministerial lackeys. Although the railway difficulty was smoothed over, for the time being, however, there were ominous threatenings of a great coal strike; and a small strike against non-unionists in a couple of weaving-sheds in Lancashire had led to a general lock-out of weavers to the number of 160,000.

The occasion was favourable to the employers; because it is not easy to enlist public sympathy on the side of the workpeople over such an issue. All the old arguments against the coercion of the individual, and the tyranny of the trade union; all the old pleas as to the right of the individual to join a trade union, or not to do so; personal liberty, and so on; serve admirably the case of the masters against the workpeople. Many of the friends of trade unionism express their profound disapproval of any such attempt to *compel* men or women to join the union; and the action of those who refuse to work with non-unionists is represented as being on all fours with that of the employers who victimise trade unionists.

We are bound to say that we have never quite taken the view of those who whine about the wickedness of the employers in victimising trade unionists. A trade union certainly ought not to need the goodwill of the employers; and if it does need and gets that goodwill it is bound to be hardly worth its salt as a trade union. A trade union is a manifestation of the antagonism of interest between employer and employed. Its object is to maintain and promote the interests of the latter against those of the former; and by joint, organised, collective action in the disposal of the commodity—labour-power—supplied by its members to get better

terms than could be obtained if they were unorganised and in competition with each other.

It is quite clear, therefore, that a trade union which properly performs its functions must be inimical to the interests of the employers. The latter, therefore, can scarcely be blamed if, whenever possible, they refuse to employ trade unionists. Their hostility to trade unionism is a tribute to its efficacy.

On the other hand, and for precisely the same reasons, trade unionists, when they are able to do so, are perfectly within their right, and are only doing their duty, in declining to work with any who refuse to join the union. After all, in so doing they are only giving expression to that individual liberty to which those who resent their action most strongly appeal. If it is claimed for the non-unionists that they have a right to refuse to associate with certain people in a union, then it must be conceded to the latter that they have an equal right to refuse to associate with certain people in a factory.

Nor is that all. Those who most loudly condemn what they are pleased to call the tyranny of the trade union argue as if every individual worker was free. That, of course, is not so. In scarcely a single detail of his or her daily life has the individual worker any liberty of action at all. Each is free to work—when required—or to starve. Having chosen the first alternative, all freedom ceases. The hours and conditions of labour, the rates of pay, the time for commencing and leaving off work, for taking meals, the duration of the meal-time, the kind of food, the kind of dwelling, and of clothing, the form of recreation, the period of rest—all these are not determined by the individual worker; they are determined by the mass, and by society. The trade union is an attempt to secure that the workers themselves should exercise their collective, organised influence in the making and modification of these conditions—in the making or modification of which they, as individuals, are completely powerless.

All this, of course, is the mere A B C of trade unionism; but it is necessary to restate it in order to meet the objections of those who profess friendship for trade unionism, but condemn what they call its "coercion." All society, all organisation, all combination is necessarily coercive. The individual must conform for the benefit of the whole body. The only effectual remedy, under pre-

sent circumstances, for such difficulties as those which have arisen in the weaving industry, is to make membership of a trade union legally obligatory, just as it is for doctors or lawyers.

The threatened strike in the coal trade is a very different matter. Here the demand is for the establishment of a minimum wage. No one conversant with the life of the collier can possibly question the justice and moderation of this demand; but the employers, it seems, mean to contest it. There is little doubt that a majority of the men will declare in favour of a general strike, if necessary, to enforce their demand, and we heartily endorse their action, and wish them every success.

There is no body of workmen in the world more deserving of consideration, and of decent remuneration, than the miners. When we think of what their working life is: practically a living death, groping in the darkness, sometimes hundreds of yards below the surface, in a living tomb, working in conditions which frequently amount to positive physical torture, it is impossible that any remuneration could be excessive for such a life of toil.

And what, after all, does the miner receive in wages for thus day by day enduring the cruellest discomfort and risking his life in the bowels of the earth? He is paid piece-work, and receives so much per ton for the quantity of coal sent to bank. The collier himself never seems quite clear about the amount which he does, or should, receive per ton; but it may safely be said not to exceed two shillings; and the best paid collier is doing well when he averages 40s. a week.

London householders may well compare these wages with the price they have to pay for coal. Without a doubt, they will be blaming the colliers, in the event of a strike, for any increase in price. But if they compare what they now have to pay with what the collier actually receives, they will see how unjust it would be to saddle him with any blame or responsibility.

At the present time coal is sold in London at 30s. a ton, for which the actual coal-getter does not receive more than 2s., and which has not cost more, at the pit-bank, allowing for all expenditure on the whole mining operations, than 6s., and the difference between the 6s. and the 30s. goes to pay the cost of freight and the various profits of the colliery-owner, carrier, merchant, etc.

When every allowance is made for cost of haulage and distribution, it will be seen that there is a fine margin of profit, and that the actual producer really gets less out of it than anybody. This margin should be quite sufficient to allow a considerable advance in wages to the collier, without at all increasing the price to the consumer. But if, later on, prices do go up, the consumers must blame the owners—and themselves!—not the colliers.

We see the same thing in connection with the railways. On the close of the railwaymen's strike last August, the Government quite unwarrantably promised the companies that, in return for any concessions they might find it necessary to make to the workers, they should be permitted to raise their rates. The companies have not waited for that promise to be fulfilled, but have increased their charges to the public, in some cases as much as 10 per cent. Yet their profits for last year amounted to at least half as much again as the total wages paid to the men; so that if wages had been raised by 50 per cent. the shareholders would have received as much for doing nothing as the men actually received for doing all the work. The slight concessions they have made to the men, however, amount to nothing like a 50 per cent. rise, but range from 5 to 10. Even this paltry advance they are determined shall not come out of profits, but shall actually enhance their dividends.

The wars and rumours of wars at home have had their counterpart in the wars and rumours of wars abroad. France and Germany have composed their differences over Morocco, although the chauvinists in neither country are satisfied. Italy is still engaged in "conquering" her newly acquired province in Tripoli. Russia and England have carried out their agreement to maintain the independence of Persia, by the inevitable "sharing-out"; and the "armour-plate" patriots of Germany have succeeded in developing a strong Anglophobe sentiment in that country, in order to justify the strengthening of the Germany Navy, and her consequent power to secure a share of the loot.

The desire to so strengthen the German Navy as to give practical effect to the realisation of the Bismarckian policy in Western Europe is undoubtedly the chief reason for the sedulous and successful anti-English propaganda of the German jingoes. But there is another reason, and that is the hope of counteracting the growth of Social-Democracy by the appeal to patriotism. Our German comrades have gained no less than ten seats, and lost none, since

the last Reichstag election. They were 43 when the last Imperial Parliament first assembled; they were 53 when it dissolved. This unprecedented series of successes in the bye-elections, and the consciousness of the growth in numbers of the Party all over Germany, have encouraged us to hope that in the present election the number of Socialist seats in the Reichstag may be doubled. But the contemplation of that possibility has undoubtedly alarmed the enemy, who is making strenuous efforts, by representing the Social-Democrats to be anti-patriots, fellows without any patriotic sentiment, and "friends of every country but their own," to prevent the realisation of such a disaster for the forces of reaction in Germany.

There is every reason to fear that the Anglophobia, which has thus been so persistently cultivated, will have due effect, and that our hopes in regard to the election may not be realised. If they are, however, the triumph will be all the greater for the efforts the enemy has made.

As we anticipated, the Lords did not throw out the Insurance Bill, and scarcely troubled to make any amendments to it. They were scarcely so silly as to repeat the blunder of the Budget, and they have the gratification of knowing that by the passing of the Insurance scheme into law the fate of the Liberal Government has been sealed.

The Government appears to have ceased to dissemble its love for the trade unions, and to be entering on a campaign of direct hostility. The alacrity with which McKenna sent troops to Dundee beat anything any of his predecessors had done, and the attempt of the Admiralty to force the workmen of the Thames Ironworks back to a 53 hours week is one of the most dastardly and insidious attacks upon the working class that any Government has ever made.

EVENTS OF DECEMBER. 1911.

AT HOME.

5—Coal Mines Bill passed the Commons.
T. W. Stewart and J. W. Gott sentenced at Leeds Assizes to three and four months imprisonment respectively for blasphemy.
6—Insurance Bill passed the Commons, 21 members opposing.
Strike notices served over non-unionists at Nelson; cotton lock-out threatened.
7—Conference between railway companies and railwaymen to discuss Commission Report.
Death of Sir George Lewis, solicitor.
8—Shops Bill passed the Commons.
11—"Settlement" arrived at by Railway Conference.
12—House of Lords rejected Naval Prize Bill.
Chancery judge decided in favour of Government on the super-tax.
14—Prime Minister accepted idea of Standing Committee on Estimates.
Mr. Asquith sympathised with Anti-Suffrage deputation.
First woman admitted a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons.
Many dismissals from Huntley and Palmer's at Reading.
Death of "John Strange Winter."
15—Insurance Bill passed the Lords.
House of Commons discussed the appointment of magistrates.
London taxi-cab drivers agreed to arbitration.
16—Parliament prorogued.
Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George at a Suffrage demonstration.
Premier promised a Royal Commission on Civil Service appointments.
19—Great demonstration of doctors at Queen's Hall against the Insurance Act.
Troops despatched to Dundee to quell strike riots.
21—Result declared of North Ayrshire bye-election: Campbell (Tory), 7,318; Anderson (Liberal Solicitor-General for Scotland), 7,047; Tory gain.
Special miners' conference resolved to take a ballot on strike to establish minimum wage.
Resignation of Mr. G. A. Redford, Examiner of Plays.

22—Bye-election at Govan: Holmes (Liberal), 7,508; Balfour (Tory), 6,522; reduced Liberal majority.
24—Dundee strike settled.
27—160,000 cotton weavers locked out by federated employers.
Five children burned at a Chesterfield entertainment.
28—Two thousand miners struck at Treorchy over non-unionists.
29—Mr. Lloyd George discovered slums and the problem of poverty.
Two protected cruisers to be built on the Thames—if the men will drop the 48 hours.
30—Demonstration in Trafalgar Square to protest against unfair treatment of Thames shipyards by the Admiralty.
4,500 miners on strike at Maesteg.

ABROAD.

1—The McNamara brothers pleaded guilty to charge of blowing up "Los Angeles Times" office.
3—Funeral of Paul and Laura Lafargue.
5—German Reichstag: Bethmann-Hollweg replies to Sir Edward Grey.
J. B. McNamara sentenced to life imprisonment and his brother John to 15 years.
6—Resignation of Chinese Regent.
Stormy debate in the Duma on the continued imprisonment of the members of the Second Duma.
7—New Zealand General Election: Government severely shaken.
12—Coronation Durbar at Delhi: changes in Indian Government announced.
14—Further Opposition successes at New Zealand second ballots.
15—Death sentences on Spanish rioters.
16—Jean Jaurès defended the contributions by State, employer, and worker under the Workmen's Pensions Law.
18—President Taft informed the American Senate that the Russian Commercial Treaty is to be denounced.
French Premier on the Franco-German Agreement.
19—Sharp fighting at Tripoli.
20—Powers threatened to interfere in China.
21—Persia accepted Russia's demands.
22—Spanish positions attacked in Morocco.
24—Persian Mejliss closed by the Regent; fighting at Tabriz.
26—Indian National Congress opened at Calcutta.
28—Chinese National Convention to be summoned.
29—Provisional Convention at Nanking elected Dr. Sun Yat Sen as President of Republic of China.
30—Resignation of Turkish Cabinet.
Peace banquet at New York: Mr. Roosevelt declined to attend.

SOCIAL INSURANCE IN SWITZERLAND.

When, in 1881, the Federal Chambers were discussing the first law on the liability of manufacturers for accidents, the attention of the Federal Council had been called to the German legislation with respect to accidents. Politicians who do not take wide views thought that the adoption of those laws would be much better for the worker. Though they understood that for the moment its adoption was not possible in Switzerland, they foresaw that this legislation or some similar laws would have to be adopted when the system had been tried in Germany.

A few years later, in 1885, the National Council received from the Swiss working-class associations a petition strongly in favour of the principle of insurance against accidents, and saying: "We should wish for the institution of a company which would be under the control of the State, and which would deal with the direct insurance of workers and small capitalists. This company should be formed on a mutual basis, it should be compulsory, and applied as widely as possible. The funds would be obtained from subscriptions by employees and masters."

The Chambers, thus urged, adopted in 1887 a resolution calling on the Federal Council to present, as soon as possible, a report and propositions relating to universal and compulsory insurance of workers against accidents. Two years afterwards it proposed to include in the Federal Constitution a new article giving the Confederation the right to legislate against accidents; also for insurance in cases of sickness, and compelling all workers to join a society for that purpose.

In the Chambers this led to long and stormy debates—a very strange occurrence for those who know how placidly the Swiss Parliament generally conducts its deliberations. On October 26, 1890, the people, in virtue of the Referendum, had to vote on the following question: "The Confederation shall introduce, by legislation, insurance against accidents and sickness. These may be applied to all or to only certain classes of citizens." This was adopted by 283,228 votes against 92,000. Only in the cantons of Valais and Appenzell, both Catholic cantons, was there a majority against this proposition.

Two schemes—one relating to accidents and one to sickness—were submitted to a committee of experts and then to the Cham-

bers. For many years the matter was discussed in the National Council and the States Council. Finally, in 1898, the two schemes and one on military insurance were made into one law, and on October 2, 1899, the National Council adopted the law by 113 votes to 1 vote, and three days afterwards by the States by a unanimous vote of 35, one representative not voting.

What were the main facts of the law of October 5, 1899? All persons of at least 14 years of age working in Switzerland for an employer, if they were employed for at least a week and did not receive more than 5,000 francs (£200) a year, were made subject to the law. The cantons might compel men or women working by the day or persons engaged in domestic manufactures to come under the law. Each canton formed one or more districts. In each of these districts there was instituted a "fund," which was distinct from the fund which the employer might establish for his staff. Any person ill was to have free medical attendance up to one year and a sum equal to 60 per cent of his wages. In case of death there was a funeral benefit varying from 20 to 40 francs (16s. to 32s.).

The Confederation paid one centime a day (one-tenth of a penny) for each person insured. Special subsidies were granted to the dwellers in mountains, where medical care is difficult. Supplementary subsidies for one centime a day might be granted to persons compulsorily insured who were engaged in agriculture or manufactures, and to small employers. The other expenses were to be paid by employers.

Persons insured against accidents were the same as those insured against sickness. The Confederation instituted for those compulsorily insured a special federal department. A workman unable temporarily to work was entitled to medical attendance and a certain allowance. If permanently disabled he was granted an annuity equal to 60 per cent. of his wages. In case of death, in addition to the funeral benefit the widow or dependents might receive an annuity of not more than 50 per cent. of his wages. The fifth part of the premium was paid by the Confederation, the remainder by the employer and the worker. The expenses for 600,000 persons were estimated at 14,500,000 francs (£580,000) for sickness and 9,120,000 francs (£364,000) for accidents. But there was soon a great deal of opposition. A demand for a referendum was signed by 117,461 citizens—the minimum required being only 30,000. On May 20, 1900, the law was rejected by 341,914 votes to 148,035. In the canton of Glaris alone was there a majority in favour of the law. It should be noted in passing that during the whole of the nineteenth century that canton was to the fore for the protection of the workers, and it was here that in 1864 the principle of the normal working day of twelve hours was adopted.

All those who thought there would be a victory were deeply disappointed. What was the reason for the refusal of the Swiss

people? How is the action of the people to be explained? They were frightened by the 400 paragraphs of the law. The Swiss citizen likes laws to be simple and clear; he wants to know where he is going; he fears an invading and troublesome bureaucracy. While agriculturists and small employers found the charges too heavy, many workers did not like labourers and home workers being excluded. The friendly societies had not been properly treated; there were 200,000 members in 1880 and 5,000,000 in 1903, of whom at least 450,000 were insured against sickness, and feared the competition of the new Government department. Then there were people who objected to compulsion, and all insurance agents disliked the Bill, while others said it was class legislation because it only included wage earners.

But the question was again discussed, because the rejection of the law of 1889 was rather due to the form of the Bill than to its merits. An agitation in favour of insurance was begun, and the Chambers instructed the Federal Council to prepare a new Bill.

This has been done. Two Bills have been passed, which, on February 4, 1912, will be submitted to the people, as a referendum has been demanded.

The insurance against sickness is based on existing materials—that is to say, on the free insurance clubs against sickness. There is no compulsion; the societies have complete autonomy. But communes and cantons may either institute compulsory insurance or ordinary non-compulsory insurance. These clubs receive from the Confederation a subsidy of 3½ francs (2s. 11d.) for children up to the age of 14, the same amount for men, and 4 francs for women (3s. 4d.), but they must in return guarantee free medical treatment for at least six months to their members, or give them 1 franc (10d.) a day. If they give their members, in addition to medical attendance, 1 franc a day then they receive 5 francs (4s. 2d.) for each member and 5 francs 60 centimes (4s. 6d.) if during a period of 540 days they give these benefits for at least 360 days. For each birth the society gets 20 francs (16s. 8d.), and another 20 francs for each mother who nurses her baby for at least four weeks after birth. In certain districts where communication is difficult the Confederation may grant a yearly subsidy of 7 francs (5s. 10d.) for each insured person.

If a commune or a canton introduces compulsory insurance against sickness, and decides that the poorest may join, then the Confederation pays a third of the premiums of the poorest citizens. The employers pay nothing if insurance is compulsory; they have only to see that the workers pay their premiums.

The societies which wish to receive subsidies must comply with certain regulations. They must allow the Confederation to inspect their accounts, etc.; they must carry on business in Switzerland; they cannot refuse to admit a member; they must give free medical attendance, or a franc (10d.) a day for six months, or 75 centimes (7½d.) a day and three-fourths of the price of medical

attendance for nine months. Men and women must enjoy equal benefits, though in order to allow for the greater amount of sickness among women a higher subsidy is granted by the Confederation. When women have a child they must receive benefits for six weeks.

Religious societies are allowed to come under the law with certain exceptions :—

Members may choose their own doctor, and cantons will fix the price to be paid for medical attendance.

It is generally agreed that though insurance is not now compulsory, it is bound to become so in course of time. But at present any attempt at making the law compulsory would certainly be rejected by the popular vote through the referendum.

In the case of accidents there is to be an official central office. This system has been attacked by reactionaries, instigated by certain great private offices. The Federal Council stood firm ; it declared that it could not be satisfied with free insurances, whether they were mutual or joint-stock offices, which can accept or refuse anyone. The difficulty was to insure dangerous lives.

It was therefore necessary to have an official office which should take everyone, for if there were competition the difficulties would increase. Private enterprise would take good risks and reject dangerous cases. These would be passed on to the official office, which would be in a bad position.

The Confederation pays the first establishment expenses and half the expenses of administration. The office is granted a capital of 5,000,000 francs (£200,000) and a reserve of the same amount. Subsidies are granted to the office, which has free postage and pays no taxes.

This office is autonomous. There are forty directors, sixteen of whom are workers, eight employers, and eight representatives of the Confederation. The working-class associations nominate the members who are chosen by the Federal Council. The same associations fix the amount of the premiums and have other powers. This shows that the working classes have a great deal both directly and indirectly in the administration of this bank.

Of what classes will the insured consist? All workers employed in a factory which comes under the provisions of the federal law relating to factories, then men employed in the building trade, on public works, on railways, post office servants, telegraphists, persons employed in connection with telephones, men engaged in traffic on the roads or rivers or on canals. If there was only one worker employed in a trade of these kinds he would be insured, and it will also include clerks and apprentices.

One clause in the law which has been severely attacked is that relating to accidents not arising from the trade engaged in. Henceforth these accidents, and other accidents, are to be kept quite distinct. They will have their own system of accounts, their independent autonomy, and their different rates of premium.

The employer pays the premiums for trade accidents, the worker pays the other, and receives the contribution from the State. As to sickness due to employment, this is intended not only to refer to sickness which can be directly traced to the employment, but to all illness in which it would be a chief cause. The worker will no longer have to fear, as at present, that he will be excluded from benefits owing to sickness, and will not have to fear that he will thus be incapacitated from receiving money. If he can no longer work at his trade he will be taught another trade, and will no longer be a pariah.

The law relating to accidents grants free medical attendance and an allowance equal to 80 per cent. of the wages from the third day. If the accident permanently incapacitates the worker he receives 70 per cent. of his wages, and in some cases the whole amount. If he dies, those dependent on him (husband or wife, father or mother, and in some cases brothers and sisters) may receive an annuity of not more than 60 per cent of his wages. The annuity to children is one of 15 per cent., and this rises to 25 per cent. if the father and mother are dead; it is paid till the age of 16 years. This is a remarkable improvement when we compare the law with the old law of employers' liability. But things are better, because under the old law the maximum payable is 6,000 francs (£240), and this may now be even 30,000 (£1,200).

This is all to be decided by a Special Court sitting at Lucerne, whose members will be elected by the Federal Assembly.

Accident premiums are payable by the employers, the rate varying according to the industry. The premiums for other accidents are paid in the following proportion: three-fourths by the worker, one-fourth by the Confederation.

A referendum has been demanded by 70,000 citizens. Some workers—railwaymen, for instance—think that the terms are not good enough, and the insurance companies have been active in their agitation against the proposed law. The Socialists will vote for the law because they hope that compulsion will soon be introduced. They think that it is an advantage to have annuities paid to survivors, to have maternity benefit, etc. And they want the question settled in order to carry on other agitations—they want a ten hours day; a law on apprenticeship; laws concerning unemployment, invalidity, and old age problems being discussed in some cantons.

If the law is rejected it will cause great disturbance in all protective legislation in favour of workers. In spite of imperfections and lacunæ, the two laws are advantageous to the working classes.

JEAN SIGG.

—From "La Revue Socialiste," of November 15, 1911.

MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM AGAIN!

The following translation of an article by our comrade Compère-Morel, which appeared in "Le Socialisme," November 11, can be adapted for home consumption if our readers will substitute names of London newspapers and British politicians—names which will readily suggest themselves, for those playing the same parts, in the same game, on the other side of the Channel.

J. HUNTER WATTS.

Since the Prime Minister spoke favourably of municipal co-operative butcheries and bakeries, the wrath of the "Temps" and the "Dèbats" cannot be turned aside.

According to them, it is all up with everything: commercial freedom is slain, commercial freedom is dead. We enter the era of Socialist realisations, and step by step, slowly but surely, we shall arrive at the despoiling and expropriating revolution.

Interminable columns of print groan forth the lamentations of these two sober journals on "the spread of Anarchy," denouncing indignantly these Ministerial utterances, and asking how any "Government that governs" can countenance such proposals! This, of course, is one of Mary Ann's pretty little ways, for every time a shrewd Minister, donning democratic garb, promises some economic and social reforms; every time a Minister proposes legislation tending more or less—oftener less than more—to burden the comfortable class by some readjustment of taxation, the "Temps" and the "Débats" rush forward to brand these reforms as Socialistic, and to denounce such legislation as imbued with the spirit of our doctrines.

I quite agree that this way of putting things is very clever, and I do not dispute that this sort of language serves a double purpose.

By fighting the capitalist world these newspapers make those who have the power resolve to cling tight to it, so that all forces of the State shall be placed at their disposal for the defence of their class interests. By describing reforms and legislative proposals as socialistic, though they have nothing in common with our theories, they excite such alarm among elected middle-class Progressives that they refuse to vote for them.

They play the game very well, and it pays both ways, but the sorry farce cannot go on for ever, and the "Temps" and the "Débats" owe it to decency, as well as to truth, not to persist

in humbugging the readers into the belief that municipal bladders inflated by the Prime Minister are Socialist lanterns.

Of course, we never hesitate as a body to extend the sphere of the economic activities of local bodies. We blazon that fact in the municipal corner of our programme, for we wish to improve conditions of life for the propertyless class. And if we have broken many a lance in favour of municipal dispensaries and pharmacies, where we have passed we have created school cantines, and public bakeries, where thousands and thousands of people have been fed by the Commune almost gratuitously. We have gone even farther on this road, for we have established municipal bakeries for the supply of charitable institutions and public relief. This proves that we are not in any way opposed to communal or municipal enterprise when it serves to mitigate the sufferings of the working-class until it grows class-conscious and overthrows the system that creates the poverty to which it now passively submits. Nevertheless, we refuse to designate this sort of work Socialist; we protest against it being called Socialism whenever the municipality intervenes in economic arrangements in order to protect the interests of the whole or of part of the population.

To municipalise a public service, to establish a public supply, is surely, in many cases, to act as vigilant and careful administrators of public funds. We do not for a moment dispute it; on the contrary, we affirm it.

And when middle-class municipal authorities, whether Austrian, English, Italian, Swiss, Belgian, or German, supply water, gas, electricity; exploit public baths or tramways; build workmen's dwellings; run hotels; manufacture dynamos, or sell oysters; it is not to be denied they carry on good administration (when the public purse or the ratepayers benefit thereby), and show themselves worthy of the confidence of those who elected them. But that is all.

It is not because public services have benefited the inhabitants by lighting, by carrying, by warming, and by feeding them at low cost that they have been doing the work of Socialism.

There is no more Socialism in them than in the progressive income-tax championed by the Prime Minister, or in the municipal co-operative bakeries and butcheries which the same statesman hopes the Chamber of Deputies will accept when the Budget is voted, when——Christmas comes.

Even if all the thirty-six thousand communes in France had municipalised every service, had each one become a huge co-operative establishment serving out beer as well as bread, meat as well as potatoes, wine as well as candles, all the work of Socialism might still remain to be done.

As long as wagedom exists; as long as a master class controls the means of suppression, domination, and coercion which the State places at its disposal to defend and to develop its economic privileges—very slightly encroached upon and very little diminished

by municipalisations which can only operate in a very restricted area; as long as collective-capitalist property has not become collective-social property by will of a proletariat that has captured political power, so long Socialism cannot, and could not, be realised. Does not the example of neighbouring nations prove this? Is not the English proletariat exploited quite as cruelly as the French, spite of the fact their communal capital increased from £92,000,000 in 1875 to £400,000,000 in 1904? Is not the German worker ground down and enslaved as much as the French worker, spite of the fact that on the other side of the Rhine municipalism is much more thriving than on this side, and reigns there in nearly every town of more than 50,000 inhabitants?

Do the Italian workers enjoy greater well-being than the French because the law of 1903 permits the municipalities to own, to exploit, and to trade—and they take advantage of the permission?

And if we have to repeat to the "Temps" and to the "Débats" that Socialism will not be until wagedom has disappeared, until society organises production and satisfies the wants of all its members, must we tell them for the thousandth time that it is not by capturing municipalities we can reach our goal, but by expropriating, first politically and then economically, the middle class whose power is derived solely from the deficiency of class-consciousness in the toiling masses?

But is it worth while? Do not the "Temps" and the "Débats" sham ignorance for the benefit of the cause they support, in the interest of the class they defend?

In any case I do not think the campaign they lead against what they call municipal Socialism when discussing the Prime Minister's proposals is meant to be taken seriously.

I am persuaded it would be difficult to find a single reader of the "Temps" who really believes that the Prime Minister's municipal proposals have the slightest Socialist or revolutionary value. They are not quite so silly as all that. They will certainly congratulate themselves that if municipal bakeries and butcheries lower the cost of living they will not be the last people to benefit thereby. To the extent that Socialism (!!!) manifests itself in this shape they will lose nothing by it—quite the contrary.

COMPERE-MOREL.

THE REVIEWS.

HOW KING GEORGE COULD WIN THE HEARTS OF THE HINDOOS.

In a very long—and to the English mind controversial—article in the "Nineteenth Century" magazine, Mr. Swami Baba Bhârati states some of the grievances of the Hindoos, and how to redress them.

The Hindoo mind is so extremely spiritual and reverential that it appears absurd to the European mind, and the consequence is that great friction results.

The author asks for a system of education based on Hindoo traditions and ideals. Our foolish English education, he says, "is killing the Hindoos mentally and morally. The Hindoo does not care for physical death; passing out of life is to him like passing out of one wayside inn into another; he believes in re-birth. It is mental disease or death that counts with him. English education and Western civilisation are not bad in themselves; they are both good, perhaps excellently good for the mental development of the people in whose soils they spring up. Unmodified Hindoo ideals will not suit either the English or Europeans or American people. In the case of the Hindoo filled with badly assimilated ideas and concepts of the new philosophy of life developed in the West, the results are even worse. His old civilisation is very old—ay, world-old—despite what blundering Orientals may say. You can no more kill his world-old moral, philosophical, religious, social and domestic instincts than you can wipe out history from the bosom of time. And this new English system of education is so nauseatingly materialistic, all-intellectual and soul-killing that the Hindoo mind, being essentially spiritual, has failed to assimilate it. Its fine spiritual stomach cannot digest such gross intellectuality and materiality. This is intellectual insanity or eccentricity, if you will, and its extreme cases have produced the 'Anarchists' who concocted plans for freeing India from the British yoke by bombs and pistol shots."

THE FOREIGN OFFICE AUTOCRACY.

Sidney Low, who claims to be the originator of the proposal for a "Committee of Foreign Affairs," has an article in the "Fortnightly Review" of this month on the above subject. He starts by pointing out that two very important and impressive changes—"that of the transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi, and the repartition of Bengal"—have been made,

while " Parliament and the electorate have had no more to do with the matter than the German Reichstag or the Russian Duma."

" Many people are asking now, as some of us have been doing for a good many years past, whether the time has not come to allow the nation a little more influence than it possesses at present in the settlement, or at any rate the examination, of the most serious problems that can engage the attention of those who conduct its public affairs. It is in the department of foreign policy that the Cabinet autocracy is exhibited with the least reserve. In domestic policies the House of Commins, in spite of the Party system and the Caucus, and the existence of a drilled, mechanical majority always at the disposal of Ministers, does continue to exercise a certain influence over the processes of legislation. A Bill, if it cannot be rejected, can at least be amended, and if not amended it can be discussed in detail.

But in foreign affairs we have not even that satisfaction. The arrangements are made in secret, and we may not learn their true character for years. We give pledges and receive them ; but we do not ascertain what our commitments have been until the time comes to redeem them, it may be at enormous cost in blood or money, and perhaps not even then. During the last few weeks the nation has discovered, with surprise and the gravest anxiety, that it has been on the very brink of war with the most formidable Power in the world, owing to a series of engagements and agreements of which it has never been told anything save in vague and indefinite outline. We are now informed that there are no secret treaties with foreign Governments beyond those which have been recently brought to light. But for years everybody thought that such concealed conventions were in existence ; and even now we are bound to assume that if there were no treaties there were at any rate understandings pledging us to burdensome responsibilities and perilous action. On any other theory our recent policy, both as regards Morocco and as regards Persia, is altogether inexplicable. In spite of the explanations lately given in Parliament, we are still very much in the dark as to the transactions through which we were very nearly drawn into war to support French claims in West Africa, nor is it clear why we are enabling Russia to establish a kind of political protectorate over more than half the independent country of Persia.

" In practice it comes to this : that we are almost at the mercy of two men—the Foreign Secretary and the Premier—in the domain of Foreign Policy. I do not, of course, overlook the fact that all serious decisions have to be taken subject to consultation and discussion with the Sovereign. The importance of this point need not be overrated. The interest of the Crown in the external policy of the Empire is acknowledged, and it is highly probable that a King of England would make a better Foreign Minister than any of his subjects. Still an English Sovereign is only an adviser, though, of course, an adviser of the greatest weight, dignity and

influence; and in the last resort, if the Premier and Foreign Secretary choose to take the responsibility upon themselves, they can act in opposition to the deliberate opinion of the Throne. And that they do at times so act is undeniable.

"The Crown is well informed, but frequently powerless; the People are both powerless and ignorant."

The proposal of the author to meet the exigencies of the situation is to form a "Joint Committee selected from the two Houses. The Committee should be a small one, say twenty members, of whom twelve might be chosen from the Lower Chamber and eight from the Upper. It would include, of course, members of both Parties, and would be appointed, not for the session, but for the duration of Parliament. It would not be in any sense an executive body—that is to say, it would not be supposed to take the conduct of Foreign Affairs out of the hands of the Cabinet. Its function would be to advise, to discuss, to investigate, and generally to act as the eyes and ears of Parliament where its particular department was concerned. It would have power to call for papers, documents, correspondence, and drafts of conventions and agreements with foreign States before these were laid upon the table of the House; and it would be entitled to request the Secretary of State, or his immediate subordinate, to explain the details of the policy which the Ministry proposed to pursue.

"The Cabinet would be under no compulsion to adopt the views of the Foreign Affairs Committee: its functions would be merely advisory, and its advice might be rejected."

THE CAUSE OF THE CIVIL WAR IN CHINA.

The "World's Work" for January, discoursing on current events, writes: "Why do not the cable despatches or even the leader-writers plainly tell the truth about the cause of the civil war in China? The cause (let us be carefully accurate and only say the occasion) of the uprising was the national feeling against the recent loans forced on the Chinese Government by the four Powers, Great Britain, France, Germany, and the United States—against the 'selling of the country' (so patriotic Chinese regard it) to foreign bond-buyers.

"It is difficult not to sympathise with the patriotic Chinese (for the belief that the Chinaman is not patriotic rests on the same basis of facts as that he eats rats) in his desire to keep the hand of the foreigner off his railways and his mines. The Chinese themselves built, and they manage, the railway from Shanghai to Hankow, and that from Peking to Kalgan, and the people have subscribed large sums to buy back concessions already given over to foreigners.

"There was no necessity for the borrowing of £10,000,000 of the bankers of foreign nations, and the hypothecating of the national revenues to those nations, all eager for an excuse to take part of China's internal affairs.

"'It is difficult to withhold sympathy for another object of the outbreak. A grave item in the revolution's indictment of Peking's Government is its failure immediately to terminate the opium trade. Anyone who has read the story of the Opium War, one of the most disgraceful chapters in the history of this country, knows that the Chinese Imperial Government struggled manfully against the introduction of opium into China by the East India Company until borne down by British armies; and everyone who knows anything about modern China is aware that the moral sense of the nation has ever since battled heroically against the 'white dragon' of the treaty ports.

"Within the past four years the Government has conducted a most energetic campaign, and a very largely successful one, against the vice. Under an arrangement with the British Government, a period of six more years is to elapse before the last poppy has bloomed on China's soil, and the last tin of opium paste has been admitted into a Chinese port. This programme, probably a wise one, and the best one possible under the circumstances, is unsatisfactory to the revolutionists, and one of their demands is the immediate total extirpation of the traffic.

"It may be necessary to remark that there is no question of prohibition nor prohibiting. The mind and conscience of the whole nation is definitely resolved upon it that the land shall be delivered from the opium curse; its victims are among the most determined of all, and the scenes of voluntary renunciation, voluntary destruction of millions of pounds' worth of the drug, and voluntary submission to medical treatment and to surveillance, which have been lately witnessed everywhere, have revealed a moral and physical energy which puts the Chinese character into a light astonishingly new.

"New, too, is the aspect in which the self-restraint of the revolutionists shows the Chinese character. Thus far their conquests have been marred by no molestation of foreigners. . . . . Underneath the disaffection undoubtedly lies the hatred which the Chinese feel for the Manchu emperors and officials, who have wielded the power for nearly three centuries. The recent quite general abandonment of the queue is, of course, a sort of declaration of independence, the pigtail having been forced on the Chinese by their Manchu conquerors.

"Undoubtedly, too, the country looks with dislike upon another infant emperor and a regency. Yet it would probably be inaccurate to say that the expulsion of the Manchus is an absolute aim of the revolution. Anything may happen. . . . . It would be folly to attempt to prognosticate to-day what may happen in China to-morrow. It is clear, however, that the revolution is successful,

no matter what the fate of the armed uprising, no matter whether the revolutionists proceed to overthrow the reigning dynasty or rest satisfied with having forced it to accept the revolutionists' policies and to acknowledge the dominant authority of a national Parliament.

"All this is, if the imagination be awake to it, a spectacle of prodigious interest. China in revolution! The most ancient and populous Empire on earth in the throes of civil war! What will be the outcome? What will China be when it is over? What we are witnessing is the birth of a new world on the Continent of Asia."

THE INVASION OF TRIPOLI: A REASSURING LESSON FOR GREAT BRITAIN.

The "Contemporary Review" for January has an article on the above subject, by "Master Mariner," pointing out how impossible it would be for Germany to land a large force, even supposing favourable circumstances, under three weeks. He takes the recent invasion of Tripoli by Italy as his object-lesson.

He writes: "If ever there was a modern war begun on the 'bolt-from-the-blue' theory, it is this affair in the Mediterranean. That Italy had long intended to take the steps she has, and long secretly prepared for them, is beyond a doubt, and in so far that the Italian authorities had succeeded in raising no suspicions until just before launching their ultimatum, the 'bolt-from-the-blue' idea holds good. But it was not until after their intentions had been disclosed by a public declaration of war that the real business of getting the 'bolt' in motion began, and the real difficulties were apparent. From the very outset Italy had every incentive for the utmost dispatch in striking her blow. Strategically, it was expedient to take action before the Turks could improve their defensive position. Politically, it was imperative to make the occupation of Tripoli—or, at least, the mobilisation and start of the expeditionary force—"un fait accompli" without delay, in order to render diplomatic protest on the part of neutral Powers belated and futile. It was realised well enough by the Italian Government that the proceeding would cause something akin to consternation in diplomatic circles, especially in those of Italy's partners in the Triple Alliance, who profess great and disinterested friendship for the Turk. Neutral intervention before a breach of the peace might have been accompanied by a threat of force; but when peace had been broken, it was likely to be diminished in vehemence. Accordingly, when everything was ready as far as plans were concerned, a twenty-four hours' ultimatum was sprung upon the enemy, and before time for a reply had passed—according to Turkish versions, before even the twenty-four hours had expired—the order to

mobilise was given and pressed forward, with strenuous energy, day and night.

"All plans were ready down to the smallest details, and no hitch occurred. As far as opposition from the enemy went, at any point of the proceedings, the enemy might just as well have been non-existent. The weather was generally favourable, and the transports started with the navigational advantage of sailing from spacious tideless harbours opening directly on blue water, throwing no difficulties in the way of wholesale exit—a most important point—and essentially different to the long, tortuous, and tide-swept estuaries of the German coast. The whole operation was not more than a parade movement on a moderate scale, but conducted from the start with a view to rapid execution. And what interval between the issue of the mobilising telegrams and the landing of the main body of the expedition on the enemy's shores? According to the calculations of those who are perpetually prophesying the invasion of England, it should have been about four days. They estimate that if things were hurried up at all stages, three days would suffice for a German invading force to set foot on British soil; and in comparing that operation with the Italian invasion of Tripoli, it is fair to them to add one day's easy steaming for ordinary vessels. But, as a matter of fact, the time occupied by the Italians just verged on three weeks!

"In dealing with the subject of a German invasion of England in the pages of this review about two years ago, I endeavoured to arrive at an estimate of the time that would be required for the operation before the hostile army was ready to march inland after disembarkation, and I expressed the opinion that it would be about three weeks. Apparently I put things in too favourable a light for the enemy by that calculation. This war points to the conclusion that more time than that would be necessary, for I included several days for forming up, etc., after disembarking, whereas it has taken the Italians practically three weeks to complete the disembarkation itself of their main body, under much more favourable conditions in every respect except for one day's extra steaming. Again, in March, 1911, I endeavoured to point out the extravagant fallacies which underlay the assumption of a supposititious German staff officer on the subject as expressed by the Military Correspondent of 'The Times,' chiefly in regard to certain fanciful theories as to a sudden secret appropriation of the necessary ships. The great error in his theories lay in the belief that it would be easy to find the requisite number of vessels ready for immediate secret sailing at any time without previous preparation, and to bring them across to the English coast in company at a high speed. In other words, he assumed that the maritime stages of the operations would throw no difficulties or delays in the way of accomplishing the project worth mentioning.

"This war confirms the theories of those who took the opposite view—the opinion, in fact, of the seamen. In the first place the

question of laying hands on the necessary steamers arose. Up to the moment when they were required, no inkling of the matter could be allowed to escape by the authorities, as it was necessary to keep the project a profound secret. They were employed about their ordinary business in consequence, and had to be called in and prepared to the number of about sixty all told. It may be claimed that this is no guide to the consideration of the situation in Germany, because there are more German vessels in German ports, as a rule, on any given day than Italian vessels in Italian, which is all in Germany's favour. So there are; but the prognosticators of a German invasion of England usually teach us to anticipate the arrival of a force some six or seven times greater than the Italian expedition to Tripoli. They commonly talk of a couple of hundred thousand men.

"The second maritime phase of the proceedings was the sea passage. I have been criticised in the 'Military Notes' of 'The Times' for expressing my conviction, as a seaman, that a fleet of transports would be cumbersome to handle, and slow in their movements. In the case under consideration they certainly were. The combined manœuvring of ships in close order, in large numbers, at anything above a very slow speed is extremely difficult work, which only practised co-operation between the bridges and the engine-rooms render possible; and such practice merchant steamers hardly by any chance ever obtain. Consequently, their movements, when acting in company, are slow and irregular. The fleets of Italian transports conveying the separate Divisions straggled over miles from van to rear, just as the fleets of any other country would do, and proceeded so slowly that at night they were almost at a standstill. They made their way under perpetual apprehension of attack by Turkish destroyers, although the sea had been thoroughly and efficiently reconnoitred by the Italian cruisers beforehand, and no seagoing warship under the Turkish flag was within hundreds of miles. In view of this last fact, the question of navigation lights at night was not actually a serious matter; but, had it been otherwise, the transports would have been compelled to make their choice between betraying their position to hostile torpedo craft by keeping their lights burning or increasing the risk of collision with each other by proceeding in darkness. The whole operations were, in fact, a convincing practical proof of the degree of time and labour required for the simultaneous transport of even a very moderate number of troops by sea. If there are still those who persist in adhering to contrary views—as certain Press reports appear to indicate—they are partisans of the type with whom argument is a waste of time."

The rest of the article is devoted to the question whether a more suitable apportionment of our military expenditure could not be made by transferring some of it from defensive to offensive purposes—from the Territorials to the Regulars.

SAINT JUDAS: A STORY.

There is something sardonic in this story, and the taste it leaves behind is not pleasant. But it contains the elements of a true world's classic. We get a portraiture of hypocrisy that is for any land and any time. The author is a Russian but little known in this country—W. Doroschewitsch. Germany was the first to translate and reprint the tale, which appeared in "Simplicissimus." The translation below, from the German, was published some time ago in the St. Louis "Mirror."

Judas did not hang himself.

Judases do not hang themselves.

The rumour of Judas's suicide had been spread abroad in Jerusalem, and the apostles, in the innocence of their hearts, did not for one moment doubt it. After his great crime! What was there left for him?

But Judas did not hang himself.

He only contempl. ed it.

He went into the forest, selected a tree, tied the noose, bewailed his life, and—suddenly took thought.

And he reflected as follows:—

"That which I have committed is a great sin. Suicide, however, is also a very great sin. What shall I, unhappy one, do? To one great sin add another? Did not the Master say that there is more joy in heaven over one sinner who repenteth than over ninety-and-nine just men? But for proper repentance time is necessary. My duty toward myself, my duty to heaven, is to live, to live, to live! To live as long as possible, that I may have the more time to repent."

He took the rope from the tree: That it may not lead into temptation some unfortunate, despondent of life, who does not—as I do—know the Truth.

He took it along with him: For even a rope may be of service in a good cause.

And he returned to the city.

The road thither was long.

Long roads conduce to much thinking.

Judas thought: "I must impose a heavy penance upon myself. I must make it as difficult for myself as possible. I might

try poverty—to be the least among the least. But would that do any good? That would make it all the easier for me. That would simply signify a lightening of my task. Have I the right to do that? Did not the Master say that it is easier for a camel to pass through the needle's eye than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven? Must I not, then, put hindrances in my way, that my task may be the more difficult?"

Judas went to the high council and spoke: "Yesterday, in my wrath, I threw the thirty pieces of silver at your feet. I have calmed myself, and decided otherwise. The money is mine. Give it me back again."

The servant of the high priest, a respectable old Pharisee, reported to Caiaphas concerning this.

Caiaphas was once again upon the point of rending his garments in despair.

"This Judas, who was reported to have hanged himself? Is he then returned to life? What does this mean?"

Already there was excitement enough in the city. All sorts of rumours were floating about.

Everywhere it was told that the body of the Crucified had disappeared. Secretly it was added that Christ had risen.

"There must be an end of this," Caiaphas cried out in desperation. "Even now the Proconsul is in a rage. The matter is attracting too much attention! It is being too much discussed! Give this rascal his thirty silver pieces, but only on condition that he take himself out of the city at once."

The servant of the high priest stroked his beard and said to Judas: "The high priest has commanded me to bring thee twenty silverlings, but they are awarded thee only as a mercy. Get thee gone—and hold thy peace."

Judas placed the twenty silver pieces in a pouch, shivered, and quitted Jerusalem.

He went to the nearest seaport, awaited a favouring wind, and sailed with the first out-going vessel for Alexandria.

In Egypt he chose a small town with pleasant climate. "I must endeavour to live as long as possible. For my task!" he said to himself.

A little town in which there were many poor.

And he settled there.

Judas said to himself: "The Master hath commanded: the rich shall give up to the poor. But I possess nothing as yet. Twenty shekels in silver—what is that? I must first acquire a fortune in order that I may give it away. Only when I am grown wealthy will it be possible for me to do something worth while; not merely give a few miserable pence to the needy, but great riches."

Delighted with this idea, he considered further: "How shall I begin?"

And he decided: "It will be best to lend this money to the poor. In this way the money will be never really my own. Always

it will be at the service of the poor. When the poor need it they shall take it; later, when they will need it no longer, they can return it, only to take it again when they are in want. As though out of their own pockets."

And he began to lend out his money on easier and more favourable terms than the other usurers, and in the beginning exacted less interest, so that soon the other usurers were either ruined or forced to retire to other cities.

Then he increased the interest—that his dream might be the more quickly realised.

He said: "The others are usurers; I confer benefits. They gain money for themselves; I, for a good cause. I am only the steward of your moneys. You, the owners, come and take when you choose. If I exact interest, it is only because I am thereby enabled to lend on a greater scale."

And the poor not only enriched him, but were grateful into the bargain.

There were many poor in the town, wherefore the usurers soon grew rich.

The women of the town were famed for their beauty, and Judas said to himself: "When we bring a sacrifice to God, we do not bring him an old steer worn out with work, but a calf which has not yet known the yoke. I am as an old steer, exhausted by my labours. Nor did our father Abraham wish to sacrifice himself, and the voice from on high did not say, 'Abraham, offer up thyself,' but bade him bring his son Isaac to the sacrifice. I shall do even as our father Abraham! The God of Abraham was the God of Death. Ours is the God of Life. Living, I bring unto him my first born, my son, whom I shall raise up in accordance with the law and his Commandments. Accept my Isaac from me!"

And Judas married a beautiful maiden.

When she bore their first son, Judas took counsel with himself: "Now there remains for me but one thing more—to bring up my son in piety and righteousness. All else concerns me no longer. Henceforth I am nothing more than the steward of his house."

He called workmen and charged them to chisel out the old inscription over the door of his counting-house and to make a new one in golden letters:—

HOUSE OF JUDAS, JR.

Judas considered as follows: "I am the one who committed the crime. I, then, must atone for it. My son, however, is quite innocent; he has no need to make amends. What right have I to give away my possession, thus condemning him, who has committed no crime, to poverty? That the innocent may suffer for the sins of the guilty? Is that just? And can injustice find

favour in the sight of the Lord? Of my own money I possessed only twenty silverlings, and these are long since spent for the necessities of my daily life. All the money I now have has come to me from the poor. This money does not belong to me. I will hand it over to my son. May he make such disposition of it as his heart and conscience dictate. It shall be my duty to train him up by word and example."

And the old Judas trained up the little Judas by his word and example.

He trained him thoroughly.

When people would come into the shop of Judas, jun., consumed with rage and despair, fuming and foaming with wrath, Judas, the agent of his son, would say: "Never give way to anger against your neighbour. We should love everybody, always."

And they would make answer: "How should I love my deadly enemy?"

And Judas would reply with gentle smile: "One should love even his enemy. When he sees thy love, he will also love thee. For hatred is conquered by love."

He said this purposely always in his son's presence, that he might hear it from his earliest childhood.

If someone came and pleaded despairingly: "Give me money, at whatever rate of interest pleaseth thee; so-and-so presses and threatens to have me thrown into prison," Judas would reply: "Take from my son double the amount, and repay thy creditor therewith. Then perhaps he will be ashamed."

Naturally they seldom listened to him.

They would answer him: "Thou mayst well talk so; for thou art a saint! Thou hast renounced everything to become thy son's steward."

This appellation, "Saint," once given him by somebody or other, spread abroad everywhere.

They would say: "Shall we go to the saint? He will take money from his son and give to us."

In the meantime the new faith which had sprung up in the charming valleys of Judea and on the tranquil shores of the Lake of Gennesareth had begun to spread over the world, as oil spreads on troubled waters, and filled it with its peace.

In the little town where Judas lived with his son was a young Christian called Nathanael.

He was a pupil of Christ's disciples.

He spread the new gospel.

But each time those who heard his preaching said to him: "All this we know already. The very same thing has been told us by our Saint, who has renounced the world and lives as the agent of his son, the usurer."

Nathanael, naturally, hastened to make the acquaintance of Judas.

"Whence knowest thou this?" he asked him, full of awe.

"I heard it all more than once from the Master himself," replied Judas. "I was living in Judea at the time."

"Thou hast seen the Master himself!" cried Nathanael in ecstasy; and a holy jealousy filled his heart. "And I knew only his disciples! What men they were!"

And Nathanael began telling him of the apostles.

"This one is gone thither; that one preaches, so they say, there or there; the third has already suffered martyrdom, it is told."

Judas inquired interestedly after each in turn, and himself related much regarding them.

The conversation drifted to Judas Iscariot.

"Who is that?" asked Judas.

"Thou must certainly know of him!" cried Nathanael. "The wretch hanged himself."

Judas, whose ear had so accustomed itself to the expression "Saint," winced at the word "wretch" as though he had received a blow.

His countenance darkened.

He tugged at his beard in agitation.

"Why dost thou call him 'wretch'?"

"How else should I designate the traitor—him who betrayed the Master?" cried Nathanael, astonished.

He was excited. The blood mounted to his head. He arose from the stone bench before the shop and began pacing to and fro.

Judas regarded him sadly; his face glowed.

"Thou hatest this Judas, then?"

"Assuredly!!"

"Thou lookest upon him as thine enemy?"

"As my deadliest enemy!"

"Thou shouldst love him."

Nathanael turned pale and gazed at Judas in horror.

But Judas continued, sternly as a judge.

"He inflicted evil on ye, in that he robbed ye of what ye held dearest—the Master?"

"Yes," replied Nathanael, softly.

"Ye should love him, though he has done ye the greatest possible wrong!"

Nathanael was silent.

"Thou shouldst forgive him."

Judas rose, saying, "Judge not, lest ye be judged!"

Whereupon he entered his shop.

The shop of his son.

On the following day Judas sat once more upon his stone bench as Nathanael, greatly troubled, approached.

At a distance of several paces he stopped short, as one conscious of a fault, and said in a voice choking with emotion, "Happy man! Thou hast heard the Master himself! Therefore thou

knowest and understandest his teaching better than I. Pardon me the words of thoughtless anger whereby I have disturbed thy saintly soul's tranquillity!"

He was near to bursting into tears.

"Knowest thou how I passed this night, and how the rising sun surprised me?"

"May thy employment have found favour with God!"

"I was praying for Judas."

Judas rose and placed his hand upon the curly head of the youth: "Continue so! Thou art upon the right path!"

From this on, Nathanael, the head of the new-formed little Christian community, undertook nothing without first consulting Judas and receiving his instructions.

The congregation grew and grew, and in like degree waxed the honour and authority of Judas.

At his advice the congregation founded a charity association for the relief of the deserving poor.

Each contributed a monthly due in accordance with his means.

"Ye may deposit the funds with me," counselled Judas. "It is to me poverty turns—in the shop of my son. And the poorest of these are known to me; those who are in greatest need of assistance."

Judas took over the money and rendered an accounting thereof to nobody.

This, at length, occasioned some talk.

And once Nathanael approached Judas, blushing and stammering in embarrassment, saying: "Forgive what I am about to tell thee. I am only the mouthpiece of my flock. Several of them—not the best, of course—wish—forgive!—in a word, they wish to know who receives the money. Forgive!"

Judas replied with his usual gentle smile: "Tell thy flock: a good deed is only good when the right hand knoweth not what the left hand doeth! Dost thou know who said that?"

And Nathanael, humbled and ashamed, spoke to his people: "What would ye do? Ye would undo yourselves and your good deed!"

And they all shook their heads and murmured: "Alas, what sorry Christians we are!"

The fact that Judas, though only as his son's steward, was engaged in usury, disturbed Nathanael.

And it happened at times that Judas pressed his debtors very hard.

It happened often.

It happened almost constantly.

Blushing and confused, Nathanael once led the conversation round to this topic.

Very carefully, so as not to disconcert Judas.

But Judas was not disconcerted.

With a particularly sweet smile he avoided an answer to the

question, and began a narrative, how once the Master, in a company of publicans and sinners—

"Yes, publicans, my dear Nathanael."

Nathanael was abashed.

He imposed fasts upon himself for a penance.

Because he had sat in judgment over his brother.

After this he felt no desire to put questions to Judas.

"He is a holy man! He knows what he does! So holy a man cannot be mistaken!"

And in the end everyone followed Nathanael's example, and believed in the holiness of Judas.

He even believed in it himself.

If, by chance, he would at times recall what had transpired long ago, during that Easter week—there—in Jerusalem, it appeared to Judas as though it had been another.

Mistakes of youth!

Snares of the Devil!

It seemed to him that the other Judas, whose face he had almost forgotten, was long since dead.

"If thou sinnest not, there is no need of repentance. Is it not written that the seed must die that it may bear fruit? Can one rise from the dead without having first died? That one is dead—there lives another in his place—one whom the voice of God and the voice of the people call a saint."

Judas knew well the community of the faithful.

More than once Nathanael said to him, "Thou shouldst stand at the head of our congregation."

"I prefer to be the last."

Involuntarily came the thought to Nathanael: What a sly one!

But he hastened to drive from him such lures of Satan, and thought: What a Saint!

As a matter of fact Judas did stand at the head of the congregation.

The congregation obeyed Nathanael, and Nathanael paid heed to Judas.

Judas advised, passed judgment, imposed penances, punished and forgave.

Thus, all peacefully, the evening of his life glided on.

As he felt himself growing feebler he called his son to him, privately, and spoke: "I am now bowed with years and can no longer serve thee. Henceforth art thou untrammelled master of thy possessions. How thou disposest of them is thine own affair. Thou mayest continue thy father's work or not—as thou choosest. Thy decision must be final. Think, however, upon the command given our forefathers: Thou shalt honour thy parents. And whatever thou undertakest, act always so that thou dishonorest not thy father or his memory."

And Judas, jun., made answer: "If I should now relinquish thy business, every one would say, 'See; he feels that his father's

trade is beneath him! He thinks, then, that his father was engaged in unworthy pursuits!'—I should thus be passing judgment on thee, and aspersing thy memory. Therefore, will I follow in thy footsteps, mindful of thy teachings."

"Yes, dear father," cried Judas, jun., rapturously, "I shall not disgrace thy name—I shall make it famous! The people shall remember thee with gratitude, and think of thee with regret. I shall raise the interest on the loans, and everyone will think with sorrow and thankfulness of father Judas who was so kind and gentle toward his fellowmen!"

Judas placed his hand upon his son's head: "Thou art my son! I see that not for nothing have I raised thee up in reverence of the law and obedience to thy elders! The seed hath not fallen upon barren soil."

Judas passed the evening of his life in peace, as a patriarch, doing good by precept and example.

And the hour of his death drew near.

In the sumptuous apartments of Judas—of the son Judas—adorned with carpets, costly vessels given as pledges and still unredeemed, with silver cups and golden goblets, and round about the house the whole Christian community was gathered.

Nathanael stood at the death-bed of Judas, who fell into the gentle slumber of the aged: as a warm, peaceful summer-day expires.

Nathanael wept.

Judas gathered the last remnants of his strength, raised himself a little, and said: "Now I forsake this vale of tears and lamentations."

And the Christians, standing in these chambers filled with gold and silver and precious stones, repeated: "This vale of tears and lamentations!"

"I have passed my life among ye, before your eyes," said Judas.

"Thou hast been the beacon upon our life's path!" cried Nathanael, sobbing.

"Thou hast been our beacon!" repeated the Christians.

"Thou will be ever as an example to us!" cried Nathanael, exalted. "But whilst thou remainest with us, I have still one desire. Give me, in this solemn hour of parting, one kiss, as farewell; one kiss of love and friendship."

Judas was silent for a time, then spoke: "No. Once, with these lips, I kissed the Master, and since then I have sworn to kiss no man. Not even my own son have I kissed." And with these words departed his last breath.

—From "Current Literature."

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THE
BRITISH SOCIALIST.

Vol. I., No. 2. FEBRUARY 15, 1912.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE "REDS" IN GERMANY.

By FRED KNEE.

The Reichstag elections of January, 1912, were an immense triumph for the Red Flag. Those who voted Socialist doubtless voted for peace, against the heavy burden of taxation, and with other considerations in their minds; but there were other parties claiming to be advocates of peace and of reduced taxation. Moreover, neither the Social-Democrats nor their opponents made any secret of the real ultimate purpose of the Socialist candidatures. Socialism in Germany did not masquerade under an alias; and the Government and all its backers denounced the Social-Democrats as a subversive party. It is only to tickle English palates that the German Social-Democrat is served up as a Liberal hors d'œuvre.

The semi-official "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" gave the Government's view of our comrades before the fight: "Social-Democracy sees the salvation of its supporters in their segregation from the rest of the population, and in the breaking-down of the

existing State and economic order." In addition to which, after reciting the "imperial" tasks before the German nation, the same organ accused the Social-Democratic Party of "refusing its co-operation" in these tasks, and appealed to all patriots to vote against the Reds on the ground that "the final defeat of this party . . . . is a question of vital interest for our future."

On the other hand, our comrades, in their manifestoes, whilst emphasising their opinions as Social-Democrats on the questions immediately on hand, raised their old battle-cry against capitalism, want and tyranny, and hailed the election as affording an important step nearer to the realisation of Socialism.

Never was a fight waged with greater vigour. With an urban electorate greatly in excess of that of five years ago, the competition between the various parties was exceptionally keen in every industrial centre. The Junkers entrenched themselves in the rural districts; the Imperialists waved their flag; the Centre Party relied more on the religious intolerance of the Catholic populations than upon any defence of their economic and political alliance with the "blue" parties; the National Liberals, representative of our worst Manchester School, clung to the ghostly traditions of their old-time faiths; the Radicals, and the various local and racial parties, took up their several corners.

Against all these was the subversive, anti-militarist Social-Democracy with its Red Flag of Revolution.

RED WON!

The surest criterion of the progress of our cause is the increase in votes on the first ballots. The German Socialists have this advantage over the English Socialist and Labour Parties, that under the system in Germany of official payment of official election expenses they can contest every seat; and then, too, the taking of a second ballot where no candidate polls a clear majority of the votes recorded enables the Social-Democrats to poll their full strength without the intervention of the

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"splitting-the-vote" bogey. The following were the votes cast for the respective parties on January 12:—

	Votes in 1912.	Increase on 1907. Per cent.	Decrease since 1907. Per cent.
Social-Democrats	4,250,329	30.4	—
Centre Party...	2,035,290	—	6.6
National Liberals	1,672,619	2.1	—
Progressive People's Party (Radical)	1,528,886	26.2	—
Democratic Union	29.444		
Conservatives	1,129,274	6.5	—
Poles	441,736	—	2.6
Imperial Party	370,387	—	21.5
Economic Union—			
German Socials	47,391		
Christian Socials	103.954		
Agricultural League	58,998	—	24.5
German Reform Party	51,928		
Others	94,104		
Alsatians	68,565	1.2	—
Lorrainers	36,356		
Guelphs	90,607	15.8	—
Bavarian Peasants' Union	48,219	—	36.6
German Peasants' Union	29,148	—	—
Danes	17,289	12.0	—
Lithuanians	6,227	14.7	—
Independents	48,638	—	—
Undefined	37,654	—	—
Spoilt papers	9,855	—	—
Total	12,206,808	8.3	—

The increase in the Socialist vote (991,309) more than swallows up the increase in the aggregate vote this time compared with 1907—(944,033). Of the votes cast the Social-Democratic proportion is now 34.8 per cent., as compared with 28.9 per cent. in 1907.

The marvellous growth in the Socialist vote since the first Reichstag election in 1871 is seen from the following:—

1871	...	101,927	1890	...	1,427,098
1874	...	351,670	1893	...	1,786,738
1877	...	493.447	1898	...	2,107,076
1878	...	437,158	1903	...	3,010,771
1881	...	311,961	1907	...	3,259,020
1884	...	549,990	1912	...	4,250,329
1887	...	763,128			

The enormous polls for some of our candidates have been a marked feature of both the last two elections; and this time they are swollen out of any comparison to the polls we are used to in Great Britain. Here once or twice a candidate has polled over 20,000 votes, and we have marvelled. But what would be said of a poll like that of our comrade Zubeil's at Telstow-Beeskow—163,765; or of Ledebour's in Berlin VI.—142,500? In Ledebour's case the Socialist majority was over 108,000, his seven opponents polling between them only 34,041. We in England open our eyes in wonder if a candidate gets a 10,000 majority. There are two reasons for the difference: one is manhood suffrage, and the other the fact that Germany wants a redistribution of its Parliamentary constituencies even more than we do.

The two instances referred to of big Socialist votes are only the most remarkable of their kind—there are two others with over 90,000 apiece, and quite a number between 25,000 and 50,000.

Berlin proved to be even more "Red" than ever. The city itself contained 307,762 Socialist voters, and with its two big suburban districts gave 564,086 votes to swell the huge total of 4¼ millions.

This time there was not only an advance in votes, but also a heavier harvest of seats on the first ballots. In 1903 the Party got 56 seats right out, but in 1907 only 30 were so won, which, notwithstanding the increase in votes, looked like a set-back. This time the victories completed on the first round numbered 64; and while in 1907 the Socialist only had one solitary gain on the first ballot, this time the number of gains was 21. Moreover, Social-Democrats were in 121 second ballots this time, as against 91 in 1907.

The other parties of the Left—the National Liberals (who once held a majority of the Reichstag) and the Radicals, both of whom fared well at the Socialists' expense in 1907—appeared in sorry plight when the results of the first ballots were published.

The National Liberals had managed to secure four seats, while the Radicals had not obtained a single seat, nothwithstanding their substantial increase in votes.

In 1907 there had been a solid tendency on the second ballots for the other parties to unite against the Socialists; and the Government hoped this time to profit by a similar arrangement. In fact, after the first ballots were over the Government conferred with the leaders of most of the other factions—excepting the Radicals, who had been caught before; but though on the first day of the second ballots, January 20, the projected arrangement seemed to be successful, and over a dozen votes were lost through Radicals not supporting the Socialists, yet on the second and third days their democratic instincts got the better of the Radicals' party jealousy, and they generally helped to win seats for the Socialists.

The final result was to give 46 more seats to the Social-Democrats, making the total 110, comparing with the previous highest, 83 in 1903.

A comparison of second ballots in which Social-Democrats have participated from 1871 to 1907 was recently given in "Vorwaerts," to which I have added the 1912 figures:—

Year.	Second ballots contested by Socialists.	Wins.
1871...	3 ...	0
1874...	11 ...	2
1877...	20 ...	3
1878...	16 ...	7
1881...	22 ...	13
1884...	24 ...	15
1887...	18 ...	5
1890...	57 ...	15
1893...	83 ...	20
1898...	98 ...	24
1903...	118 ...	25
1907...	74 ...	14
1912...	121 ...	46

The following is the make-up of the new Reichstag:—

Social-Democrats	110
Centre	93
National Liberals	45
Radicals (various)	45
Conservatives	43
Poles	18
Free Conservatives (Imperialists)	15
Economic Union and German Reform ...	14
Alsatians	5
Lorrainers	1
Guelphs	5
Danes	1
Independents	2

In the previous Reichstag at its dissolution there were 53 Socialist deputies; 130 belonging to the Centre and the Poles; 109 Conservatives of various kinds; 101 Liberals and Radicals; and 4 nondescripts. It will be seen that the Socialists more than doubled their representation; that the Centre gave ground, and the Conservative Parties lost still more heavily; while the Liberals and Radicals only secured themselves from greater reverses by the help of the Social-Democrats on the second ballots.

Prussia sends a large contingent—51—of the Socialist Party to the Reichstag, Berlin and the Province of Brandenburg providing a dozen of these; Saxony sends 19; Bavaria, 9; the Hanse Towns, 5; Alsace-Lorraine, 5; Hesse, 4; Wurtemberg, 3; Saxe-Weimar, Brunswick and Anhalt, 2 each; while Baden, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Saxe-Meiningen, Gotha, Altenburg, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, and the Older and Younger Reuss principalities each send a Socialist member to the Reichstag.

The Socialists won 69 seats and lost 12, two on the first ballots, and ten on the second—these latter, of course, through other parties' combinations against them. Two of them are to be keenly regretted, Bochum and Duisburg, as these are essentially industrial constituencies. But our wins were remarkable—in nearly all quarters and from all parties. The

winning of Cologne from the Centre; the stemming the tide of racial feeling in Alsace-Lorraine; the winning of Potsdam; the placing of the Kaiser's entourage in the humiliating position of having to vote Radical in order to prevent Berlin I. going to the Socialists; the glorious victories in Bavaria and Saxony; the defeat of all parties at the hands of the Social-Democrats; these are the important results of this four days' battle between Socialism and its opponents.

And what of the future? If brag could announce action beforehand, then increased armaments and increased taxation are to be the Imperial programme, notwithstanding that a majority of the Reichstag is opposed to it. With a number of parties the dominant power must work by a "block." In 1907 the Kaiser, angry that the "Blacks" (Clericals) should join the "Reds" in opposing his Colonial policy, dissolved the Reichstag; and then his Chancellor made peace with the "Blacks," and, joining them with the "Blues," carried on to the detriment of the common people. But the "Blue-Black Block" is now in a minority. Will another ingredient be added on vital matters? Another election is threatened, with a "straight issue." That same issue worked well five years ago. It failed a month since—failed very badly. It may fail still more on the next occasion.

PEACE AND ITS PERILS.

By Zelda Kahan.

The importance of the subject is my excuse, if one is needed, for again trespassing on the space of the "British Socialist."

Comrade Quelch, then, thinks it is necessary to warn Social-Democrats against regarding "the peace and arbitration treaties between the great Powers as the be-all and end-all of popular agitation," and against allowing "their zeal for the revolution to be absorbed by blind enthusiasm for a capitalist peace." If that was the purpose of his articles, then surely it is a bit unnecessary, for what Social-Democrat regards peace and arbitration "as the be-all and end-all of popular agitation"? Certainly not I, nor any Social-Democratic pacifist I know of.

Now, what is the real question for us to decide? We all agree that Socialism is the most important thing to strive for, but as an active organisation seeking to be a force in the life of the nation and to give political expression to the working-class movement, we must always make clear the Socialist position on every question of the day which affects working-class interests. We do this both because of the importance of the particular question and also because of the wide field for Socialist propaganda which such a policy opens up for us, and which we could never get if we confine ourselves only to the exposition of the abstract principles of Socialism.

Now, such a question is undoubtedly peace and armaments. If the establishment of peace between the capitalist Powers and the diminution or abolition of

armaments really will put back the progress of Socialism, as Quelch contends, then we should face the matter boldly and declare for bloated armaments and for the continuation of national rivalries. If, again, the amounts spent on armaments, the possible conflicts between the great Powers, and the consequent spread of the jingo spirit are matters of indifference to the working class, then of course we can leave the whole question severely alone and not bother about it any more than about, say, vaccination or similar questions. Now, as I understand it, comrade Quelch partly maintains both these propositions, together with the conclusions drawn from them—only, in spite of it all, we are still to stand for peace, etc., because there is no cause of quarrel between the working classes of the various nations. To me, such a dual attitude seems rather illogical, but still this is of minor importance, so let it pass.

In the first place, I maintain that expenditure on armaments is not a matter of indifference to the working class. Because, as I have already pointed out in my first article, if it is the capitalist class that pays for them, then there will be all the greater difficulty in making them pay further for social measures; secondly, it seems to me to be by no means true that the burden of armaments falls chiefly upon the capitalist class. In Germany, for instance, it was the tariff on articles of consumption that was raised to provide the extra money for battleships, and if one analyses the English Budget one finds again that, of the portion of revenue raised by taxation, more than half is raised on articles of consumption, and, since the workers form the bulk of the nation, we see that it is they who pay most of the revenue, a very large portion of which is spent on the Army and Navy. Can it, then, be contended that the workers have no interest in diminishing expenditure on armaments—even leaving out of account the demoralising effects which the ever-greater demands for armaments have upon the working class, and to which I referred in my first article? Supposing, how-

ever, that the capitalist class would, for their own interests, diminish expenditure on armaments; Quelch distrusts the "gifts of the Greeks"—so do I—and that is why I want us to explain to the working class the need of a diminution of armaments from the Socialist point of view, in order that the initiative for the demand shall come from the workers, and so that when as a result, let us say, partly of their pressure and partly because it coincides with the interests of the governing classes, expenditure on armaments is diminished, the workers may be prepared to demand and obtain their share of the money thus set free. The workers of London, says Quelch, so far from revolting against the growing burden of armaments, are just now demanding more. Undoubtedly, but then the workers, not only of London but of England generally, are very far from revolting against their miserable, degrading conditions of life or from embracing Socialism; but is that any reason why we should not continue our Socialist propaganda? Or does that show that they never will move in our direction? By no means, and the same is true for their attitude towards armaments. In Germany, again, there is a decided revolt against the heavy expenditure on armaments—the four and a-quarter million Socialist votes are frankly anti-militarist.

I am not here concerned with defending Kautsky's statement that "the Revolution might emerge from the revolt of the people against the intolerable burden of armaments," but I may remark in passing that if this is at all likely to happen it is by no means a reason, as Quelch says, for our supporting armaments, for by doing so we should be helping to convince the worker of the necessity of this burden, and consequently we should be weakening and retarding the revolt against it. If, again, Quelch is right in regarding "expenditure on armaments as on other luxuries as a sort of safety-valve for the present system," then surely it is not in our interests to make this valve more secure, but rather to weaken it, so that it may become useless and cause

the explosion which will bring about the downfall of the capitalist system of society. The more so as this particular valve is very apt to cause unpleasant and, for us, dangerous disturbances in other parts of the society machine. It is no use then—"All roads lead to Rome." From whichever point of view we may regard it, as Socialists we cannot do otherwise than strenuously oppose every increase and energetically demand a diminution in expenditure on armaments.

With regard to war, Quelch says he knows that the workers will be the chief sufferers, but, he asks, is their condition much better under capitalist peace—in any case it seems to him to be a matter of "heads, we win; tails, you lose;" and then he goes on to compare International Peace and War with Industrial Peace and War, but where does the analogy come in? In the case of Industrial War, the worker suffers, and undoubtedly, for the time being, worse than in peaceful times, but he is fighting for himself and his class; when the war is over he stands to gain something; whereas peace between the capitalist and working classes is only comparable to peace between the wolf and the lamb, with all the advantages, of course, to the former. International War, however, presents an entirely different picture. Here the workers bear the burden, shed their blood, and wear out their strength, and when the fight is over only additional grief, misery and poverty is their lot; however victorious their arms, the spoil is appropriated by others. The life of the worker is bad enough in times of peace, but war adds to its hardship. It is then a case rather of—"heads, we lose; tails, we lose still more."

I agree that without the financial help of France and England, the Russian Government could not have defeated the revolution and trampled on Finnish liberties as she has done. Yes; but then such little acts of kindness the capitalist Powers will do for one another in any case, whether they are at daggers drawn or embracing one another. The relations between this country and Germany are at present anything but

cordial; still, does anyone doubt that were Germany seriously threatened by a social revolution the governing class of this country would be only too ready to accord help to the German governing class—certainly financial (especially if there were money to be made out of it), and military, too—if they dared?

French filibustering in Morocco and the partition of Persia, says Quelch, is a result of the Franco-Russo-British alliance, but then this very alliance (and I should advocate friendly relations and ententes between the Powers rather than alliances) was the result not of a *peaceful* policy, but rather of an essentially *warlike* policy, accompanied by almost the greatest expansion of armaments in modern times and having as its driving force hostility to Germany and as its object the isolation of the latter. Moreover, we are not in alliance with Italy, but has that caused us to intercede on behalf of Turkey in the case of the Tripoli crime? We are also not in alliance with Austria; did that prevent the latter grabbing Bosnia and Herzegovina? There was a time, too, when England stood in "splendid isolation," but was that a time marked by particular abstention on her part from acts of land piracy? By no means. The whole point is that the predatory interests and instincts of the capitalist classes of all countries will be exercised peaceably if they can—for they, too, stand to lose heavily by war—but by war if they must; the only thing which will keep them from war when their policy of grab cannot be carried on without it, would be a real fear of the democracy. An answer to patriotism and imperialism such as that of the German electorate will do more to ensure the liberty and independence of small nationalities than any amount spent on armaments, than any rivalry between them, or, for that matter, than by any world-wide entente or alliance. But for the democracy to give such an answer, they must be convinced that huge armaments are not only no guarantee of liberty and independence to others, but that they are useless for good, that they are a heavy burden to themselves,

and that they are dangerous to the existence of liberty and independence both at home and abroad.

It may, nevertheless, happen, as Quelch points out, that in particular instances the independence of a small nationality may be maintained by the mutual jealousies of the great Powers, but, in the first place this must be by common *agreement*, not by war—if, say, England or France were to go to *war* with Germany to protect some small country, we may be tolerably certain that the governing class in either country will not do so for any "abstract principle of justice." No, there will be something material to be got out of it, and when the war is over, the small country, or some compensating territory—also presumably containing a population who value and love their native soil—will fall to the lot of the victor. So who would be the gainer? Certainly not the proletariat of either belligerent, and scarcely the country who had fallen a prey to the second rather than the first hungry wolf. The gainer would be only that particular group of capitalists, who would now be allowed to exploit the country to their own advantage.

But I go farther, and I say that if the independence of the small nationalities is to be maintained only by the great Powers piling up huge armaments against one another; if it is to be maintained by their perpetual enmity, and, therefore, as an inevitable result, by stirring up the passions of the people of one great country against the other, by sending the masses Empire and jingo mad; then I say the game is not worth the candle, for it defeats its own purpose. Whilst, perhaps, guaranteeing the independence of a particular nationality, it is yet forging the weapons which are a danger to all liberty and independence, it is keeping back the growth of fraternity amongst the peoples of different nations, it endangers the feeling of international solidarity of the proletariat, and is preparing the minds of the masses for imperialist adventure, thus hindering the spread of Socialism.

Even if the rivalry between the great Powers does

ensure the independence of a small nationality, to support, or even not to oppose, this rivalry (always, of course, from a Socialist not a bourgeois point of view) strikes me as being very analogous with the Fabian policy of permeation or the reliance of a section of the Labour Party on the reforms to be granted by the Liberals. By this method one may indeed get a slight immediate reform of greater or lesser value, but not only does one run the not inconsiderable chance of getting in the guise of a reform a measure which only perpetuates the evil it is intended to cure, but one does the infinitely greater harm of demoralising the working class, of teaching them to rely on their enemy to defend or give that which their own right arm should protect or take. "When thieves fall out," says Quelch, "honest men may come by their own." Unfortunately, whatever may be the case with private thieves, this is very rarely so with the great Powers. When these thieves fall out, it is honest men who shed their blood and get all the kicks, whilst one or other thief pockets all the gains. The quantity, therefore, also the quality of the thief is changed fundamentally; therefore their nature and their quarrels, and the results of the latter, too, are essentially changed. There is a Russian proverb which suits the case much better, a rough translation of which is: "When the lords quarrel, their serfs have their hair pulled out." I do not expect "A land flowing with milk and honey, an earthly paradise" to follow the establishment of peace between the Powers and the abolition of all armaments (the latter at all events I do not think at all likely to happen under capitalism), but what I think we may expect as a result of it is the removal of one great obstacle to our propaganda, namely, that of national rivalry, national hatreds, the spirit of jingoism and imperialism.

As for the evil results of this, again I ask what is it but the huge armies of the Powers which keeps Finland, India, Persia, Ireland, the Congo, etc., under subjection? Abolish or very considerably reduce your armies and navies, and would not then the people of

these countries have some chance of maintaining their independence? Quelch speaks of a "well-armed police force" to keep them in subjection. Well, of course, if by that you mean practically modern armies and navies, only euphemistically calling them "police," then that is all right—but then, if so, I fail to see where "abolition" of armaments comes in? and what on earth was the meaning of "beating their swords into ploughshares," etc.? What of course is possible, indeed very likely, is that the capitalist Powers may concentrate their armed forces wherever their rule is threatened; but this, I maintain, will happen whether the Powers are at peace or at enmity with one another, and only adds an additional argument for the Socialists of every country striving to obtain a diminution in armaments and for the establishment of a citizen force, which could resist an invader, but might not allow itself to be used as a capitalist tool to such an extent.

With regard to home affairs, here again if Quelch's "armed police force" is a strengthened modern army, then things would be pretty much the same as they are now; if, however, armies have been abolished and the police are what we ordinarily understand by "police," then the revolutionary forces—the democracy—would have a decidedly better chance than they have.

Whether at peace or at enmity with one another, the capitalist Powers will give one another what protection they can, and dare, in the way of granting no asylum for refugees, and so forth. The exceptional laws against the Socialists in Germany were not abolished because England or Switzerland or France gave protection to the refugees, still less because these countries helped the latter with their armies and navies; political rights in England were not granted as a result of the threatening attitude of the other Powers; and so on. What leads to the revolt of the masses against oppression and to the granting of concessions by the ruling class it is not my purpose to discuss here, but certainly the reason the capitalist Powers do not help one another more against the masses was not,

and is not, because of their rivalry with one another. To encourage revolution, particularly the social revolution, is not the kind of revenge one Power will take against the other, however antagonistic they may be, or may appear to be.

I agree that in a United States of Europe a smaller army might be maintained than the total now comprising the armies of the European Powers, but, in the first place, we are very far from such a state, and it is a little premature to decide what exactly will happen when, if ever, that time comes under capitalism. However, I see no reason why it should be the most reactionary State that should dominate. In a United States of Europe there would be bound to be a great deal of local autonomy owing to differences in history, race, habits and customs, and the amount of freedom allowed by the central Government to the various countries would vary in accordance with these, just as even now in Germany some of the States possess more rights and more political freedom than others. It is even quite conceivable that the more progressive nations would have an influence on the more reactionary. True, the forces of reaction of all Europe would be united, but so would the forces of progress, the democracies, also be united.

Quite independent of the establishment of peace and the abolition or diminution of armaments, or of the formation of the United States of Europe, the capitalist Powers may decide on greater unity of action, owing to their ever-growing interests in common and particularly owing to their fear of the growth of the international proletariat; but the way to fight this combination is not by encouraging either real or fictitious national rivalries, but by fighting the latter wherever and whenever we can, and by presenting in opposition to international capital the united strength of the peoples of the world —and against such a force nothing will prevail.

So that I contend that what danger there is to fear from international capitalist combination will not be due to the establishment of peace and friendly

relations between the Powers, whilst, on the other hand, the positive advantages for the democracy from such a policy are considerable, and will be the greater the more consciously and energetically the proletariat strives to attain it.

As no good purpose can be served by continuing this discussion further at present, I take the opportunity of adding a few words here by way of conclusion. I am grateful to Miss Kahan for her contribution to the controversy, and am sorry that others have not taken part in it. My object in raising the question—as I have endeavoured to make clear—was to call attention to what appears to me to be a possible danger to International Socialism in its advocacy of peace, arbitration and disarmament between the capitalist States of to-day. I pointed out that, whereas it is a universally accepted theory among Socialists that war is inevitable under capitalism, there are unquestionably sentiments and interests growing which tend to disprove that theory. The development of internationalism in all capitalist enterprises, and the consequent growth of such ideas as that formulated by Mr. Norman Angell, that war is of no advantage to anybody, but that, on the contrary, it is a stupendous folly, and a wasteful folly at that, cannot but influence the ruling class of all countries in the direction of international peace and mutual combination and agreement.

I still think that is so. I do not think Miss Kahan has advanced anything in contravention of that point, but has, rather, said much that goes to support that view.

On the other hand, I was concerned to show that, however desirable might be this recognition by the ruling class of the folly of war, and their consequent agreement, combination, and even disarmament, it yet had its dangers—dangers to which, it appears to me, our Party has not been sufficiently alive. Miss Kahan has sought to controvert this position. I think, how-

ever, that what she has advanced tells more in support of my view than of her own. While denying, for instance, that any Social-Democrat regards peace and arbitration "as the be-all and end-all of popular agitation," she reminds us that in Germany "the four and a quarter million Socialist votes are frankly anti-militarist," and this fact is enlarged upon by every Liberal and Tory writer here in order to emphasise the contention that the bulk of those who voted for Socialist candidates in Germany are not Socialists, but merely Radical Pacifists!

I do not think the English working class are much behind the workers of Germany, either in regard to Socialism or armaments. Given the same electoral machinery, I think as large a proportion would vote for Socialist candidates here as in Germany, and considerably more than a third voted anti-jingo when jingoism was at its height in this country—in the Khaki Election of 1900. That, however, does not alter the fact that they see that a reduction of armaments would not be to their economic advantage. But the economic question is rather beside the point, and I only referred to it incidentally in arguing that the bourgeoisie is much more interested, economically, in the reduction of armaments than is the proletariat. But that belongs to the proofs of the folly of war—from the ruling-class point of view. My chief point is that a combination among the great capitalist Powers—an alliance, an understanding, a treaty of arbitration—is not likely to be for the benefit of the subject class or of subject peoples. Miss Kahan does not deny this, as I understand, but suggests that the quarrels and rivalries between the Powers have been of no advantage, and could be of no advantage, to the subject class or subject peoples either. It would be nothing against my argument if that were so. The point is, what has the democracy to gain by capitalist peace, and what dangers may menace it therein? But even here it seems to me that all the facts are against her. It is quite certain that French filibustering in Morocco, British domination in Egypt, the attack by Italy upon

Tripoli, the Russification of Finland, the grabbing of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the partition of Persia could none of them have taken place had any of the great European Powers considered them matters worth fighting about. What Sir Edward Grey said to the Liberals who protested against the Persian partition was perfectly true. Such crimes are the result of agreements and alliances, and must be connived at unless the objector is prepared to fight. Those alone have rights who dare maintain them. It is not merely, as Miss Kahan admits, "that in particular instances the independence of a small nationality may be maintained by the mutual jealousies of the great Powers," but that the combination of the great Powers, under present circumstances, means the inevitable absorption of all such nationalities. On the other hand, it is proverbial that the "difficulty" of a dominant nation caused by a war, is the "opportunity" of subject peoples. Roumania and Bulgaria, for instance, owe their national independence to the conflict between Russia and Turkey; and there would have been no revolution in Russia but for the war with Japan.

It is unnecessary to reply to Miss Kahan point by point; to do so would only be to go again over ground I have already covered. The question of the substitution of an international police force for existing armaments calls, however, for a word. Such an "armed police force" would not be a "strengthened modern army"; far from it. But it could, when all armies were disbanded, and all navies "scrapped," be kept up in sufficient strength to maintain the "law and order" of the ruling class, and to ruthlessly suppress any revolutionary movement at its inception. It is not correct to say that it is the "huge armies of the Powers which keep Finland, India, Persia, Ireland, the Congo, etc., under subjection." England has no "huge army" at all. Continental officers laugh at the British Army as beneath contempt, and the "effective" British garrison in India does not amount to 70,000 men! The British garrison in Ireland consists chiefly of Irish

policemen. In the United States of America there is no "huge army" to maintain the rule of the capitalist class, and to "railroad" any revolting wage-slave to the gallows; and in the United States of Europe, an international police could be just as efficient as are the police of the U.S.A.

Miss Kahan thinks that "if the establishment of peace between the capitalist Powers and the diminution or abolition of armaments really will put back the progress of Socialism," "then we should face the matter boldly and declare for bloated armaments and for the continuation of national rivalries." If there were no other way; maybe, yes. But recognising, as we do, the horrors of war; standing as we do, and must stand, for peace; it is for us, not to ignore the possible dangers of capitalist peace, but to strive to avert them by Socialist activity in the different countries. To realise a danger is a good step towards averting it. Forewarned is forearmed. There has appeared to me a tendency in the international Social-Democracy to attach too much importance to the bourgeois peace movement, and to the development of the principle of arbitration between the Great Powers. It cannot be too clearly understood that all agreements between the Great Powers, as I said of the Hague Conference in 1907, are only compacts between thieves, by which they hope to carry on their robbery with greater safety for themselves. They are simply manifestations of capitalist imperialism and consolidation, which it is no part of our duty to aid, but which can only be successfully countered by Socialist *Inter-Nationalism*—the free federation of autonomous nations.

H. Quelch.

THE FUTILITY OF IRISH NATIONALISM.

By E. J. LAMEL.

Occasionally copies of the Irish Nationalist newspapers come into my hands, and sometimes an odd number of one or another of the Irish-American journals blows across the Atlantic into my own particular, private den. There is an accumulation of papers on the table and upon the floor, and sometimes there has to be a clearance; otherwise, like Herr Teufelsdröck, I should be turned out by them. Upon such an occasion recently I made a small, separate heap of everything that related to Ireland, and a reperusal of part of it led to the following reflections.

The outstanding features of these Irish papers is the complete absence of any real knowledge of the true economic causes of the wrongs of the Irish people. There is nothing but a spirit of the bitterest animosity towards England, and *towards the whole English people;* an indiscriminate denunciation of everyone and of all things English in name and nature, conveyed in a style which leaves nothing to be desired in the way of lurid invective.

That the Irish people should ardently desire to be freed from an alien domination which has for centuries wrought them the most grievous wrongs; that there should be no love wasted upon those who have outraged and oppressed them; that they should cherish a heritage of hate against their oppressors from generation to generation; all this is but natural. We would, indeed, that the memory of our own people for the same, or similar, robberies, exploitation, outrages

and oppressions was equally persistent and vivid. As Hyndman wrote, long ago, in his "Historical Basis of Socialism": "No words can exaggerate the horrors wreaked upon the miserable people of Ireland in the years which immediately succeeded the great famine of 1847," and at other times. "No wonder that the remembrance of those fearful atrocities, carried out by the dominant class and encouraged by the English Government, should have raised up on the other side of the Atlantic millions of people of Irish descent who hate our very name and persistently strive to overthrow our power." "In Scotland," he adds, "the conduct of the landlords towards the crofters, in many instances, has been almost as bad." Wallace, in his "Land Nationalisation," and other writers, treat at length of these Muscovite abominations in the United Kingdom. In England itself there has been an oppression quite as severe, but this has taken more the shape of social and political injustice, an injustice which presses still upon our people, resulting in the wholesale depopulation of our countryside. In England, however, have been lacking those dramatic circumstances which throw the landed tyranny into such strong relief in Ireland and in Scotland. It has been no less present, for all that.

All the time that these agrarian outrages on the part of the great landlords were going on in the three Kingdoms, an immeasurably worse tyranny was fastening itself upon the people of country and town alike. The capitalists—a meaner and a worse, because a more insidious and hypocritical, class than the landed aristocracy—were advancing their power, generally in the guise of "friends of the people," and as opponents of the landed interest. To-day the landed aristocracy is a diminished, and diminishing, power. But in England, Ireland and Scotland, throughout the whole world, and pre-eminently in the United States of America, the power of the capitalist plutocracy is in the ascendant. For the great International of plutocracy do the white wage-slaves toil

and sweat, in factory and field and workshop, in coal-pits and chemical works and iron foundries, for the pittance of bare livelihood, risking life and limb—and oft-times losing them. To the Moloch of Mammon, of whom the plutocrats are the high-priests, are whole holocausts of victims, of all races, creeds and colours, offered up year by year, immolated by the slow method of physical exhaustion, or by the more rapid doom of bullet and shell. Yes, indeed! We may well wish that the minds and memories of our people were as wide awake to these things as are those of the Irish Nationalists to the particular wrongs of their own country.

Looking over these Irish papers, however, I find no really comprehensive knowledge or understanding. It would seem, instead, but a narrow, a partial, a parochial view that they take. The establishment of an independent Irish nation, presumably a Republic, is their sole aim and object. Beyond this, nothing. In what respect, then, could Ireland benefit? We will assume such a consummation—that the hated "Saxons" were turned, neck and crop, out of the Emerald Isle, and that none but those of Irish blood and descent were permitted to settle and hold property there, or to participate in the government of the country. Such an ideal, in these days of Internationalism, is, of course, quite as impossible as it would be in England or in any other country. But we will assume it of Ireland. The result may be the development of the national resources, the stimulation of the national industries, and the increase of the national population, many of the expatriated, and descendants of the expatriated, returning to the land of their fathers. How long would it be before the characteristic phenomena of capitalist exploitation manifested themselves? They would manifest themselves from the very outset, would continue to do so until the last state of that island was no better than the first. The enemies of its people would be literally they of its own household. For my part, if I have to be exploited, I care not a brass

button (other things being equal), of what race my exploiter is, English, Irish, Yankee, German, Jew, Turk or Armenian, or what is his religion, Christian or heathen, any more than he cares what is my race or religion so long as he can sweat enough profit out of me.

But a modern Irish Republic would not be so ideal as was the supposition. There would be imported into it American, as well as Irish, capital and capitalistic methods. Now, "American" is hybrid, consisting of Teutonic, Gaelic, Latin, Slavonic, and other elements. The question really is, whether there are sufficient attractions in Ireland to enlist their interest. If so, I venture to think they would have been on the scene before now; if not, all the wrongs of Ireland, even wholesale massacre from one end of the island to the other, would fail to move them. The bowels of capitalist compassion can only be moved by the scent of profitable enterprise. This being so, the Irish Nationalist agitation, in its present form, is as futile as that of Poland. Thus, I suggest, the Irish Nationalists are beating the air with vain words; they will never be allowed to translate them into action, though they may drill "volunteers" to their hearts' content in New York and elsewhere. It would be far better if they would try to realise that other people have wrongs, the hated "Saxons" no less than themselves. Far better if they would go into the larger and deeper question of the world-wide methods of exploitation, robbery, and tyranny inseparable from the capitalist system. If they would do this, they might be moved to put themselves in line with the International movement of Social-Democracy, which has for its object the freeing of Ireland, together with all other nations, from the dominance of a plutocracy which recognises neither race nor country, patriotism nor religion, save in so far as these things can be made to minister to its insatiable rapacity and greed.

There are, however, several things which Socialists, especially in England, can learn from the Irish Nationalists. These are their cohesion, their singleness

of purpose, and, as exemplified in the English Parliament, their aloofness from entangling alliances with either of the two political parties which divide between them the government of the country, an independence which has given to the Irish Nationalist members a power altogether out of proportion to their numbers. If we can learn this lesson, and apply it, Social-Democracy in England will become a stronger power than they. To such a Social-Democratic Party Ireland might look with even greater confidence, with a confidence more fully justified, than that which it bears towards its Nationalist but non-Socialist representatives in the House of Commons to-day. Social-Democrats stand for the rights of the Irish people, but we stand, also, for the rights of all the subject peoples of the world, in the same degree, and for the same reasons.

THE MONTH.

The outstanding event of the past month has been the great victory of our German comrades in the Reichstag elections. The significance of that victory, not merely for Germany, but for the whole International Social-Democracy, lies in the fact, not that our comrades have doubled their representation in the Imperial Parliament, but that, "in spite of all temptations," four and a-quarter millions of German men voted for Social-Democracy.

Writing a month ago in relation to the then pending elections, we referred to the Anglophobia which the reactionary parties and Press in Germany had succeeded in creating. We then said: "There is every reason to fear that the Anglophobia, which has thus been so persistently cultivated, will have due effect, and that our hopes in regard to the election may not be realised. If they are, however, the triumph will be all the greater for the efforts the enemy has made."

And the triumph is all the greater on that account. Every available and conceivable means was adopted to discredit the Social-Democratic Party, and to win votes from them. The drum patriotic and imperialist was beaten with redoubled vigour; a vote given to the "Reds" was a vote given against the Fatherland; the Socialists were in a conspiracy with the French to organise a general strike in Germany in the event of a French invasion. All in quite the approved style of our Anti-Socialist Press, which has discovered that the railway strike here was organised in Germany, in order to make a German invasion easy. But all to no purpose. The German workmen were not to be gulled by such silly nonsense, and so, to the number of four and a-quarter millions, they "voted Red."

And now, of course, we have our enemies—and friends—endeavouring to belittle the revolutionary significance of the vote,

on the ground that it was really only a vote for peace and reform, and not a vote for Socialism. That is not true at all. It may be that too much was made of the anti-imperialist, anti-militarist character of the vote; but that was rather the fault of their enemies than of our comrades. While German Social-Democrats have not hesitated to oppose militarism and imperialism, they have persistently and emphatically repudiated the notion that they were anti-patriots, prepared to disown the Fatherland and leave it defenceless to the invader. But their assurances on this head were disregarded. Their enemies preferred, in the hope of turning popular feeling against them, to represent them as anti-German: the "friends of every country but their own." The fact that, in spite of this, they polled four and a-quarter million votes, and won a hundred and ten seats in the Reichstag, certainly makes their victory over imperialism and militarism more significant, but in no way detracts from its Socialist character.

The lock-out in the cotton trade ended in a win for the masters, as might have been expected. It has added another to the countless lessons we have had of the dubious efficiency, not to say futility, of what is called industrial action unsupported by political effort. It is idle for the workers to strike against their masters while they continue to vote these same masters into power.

We had reason to congratulate many sections of the working class on the success of their revolt of last year; but that success lay mainly in the fact that it was a revolt rather than in the material gains which were achieved. The workers would be slaves indeed, slaves beyond all hope of redemption, if they did not revolt against the conditions which capitalism imposes upon them. And their position would get steadily worse instead of better. But there is no material *advance* unless they succeed in increasing the proportion of wealth the workers take, and decreasing that of their masters. And, so far, the masters have taken care that this should not happen. Shipping freights were put up to an extent that far more than covered any advance to seamen or transport workers generally long before any advance was made. The railway companies have richly recouped themselves for the slight concessions made to their men, by raising their fares, in many instances by from two to ten per cent. And the coal-owners and dealers took advantage of the first threat of a strike to raise the price of coal by more than the total amount a collier gets for hewing it.

That is no argument against transport workers, railwaymen or colliers striving to better their conditions by means of a strike. Not at all. It does prove, however, that "industrial action" alone does not get them much "forrader," and that, so long as the masters remain in possession, they will always have the whip-hand.

It is quite easy to understand many of the workers being discouraged and disappointed with the Labour Party. We certainly hold no brief for that highly respectable, moderate and statesmanlike body of petty-bourgeois politicians. But "Tu l'as voulu Georges Dandin." A people, it is said, gets the Government it deserves; and the Parliamentary Labour Party is evidently the kind of Labour Party its creators desired. Its members might, doubtless, have made a much better fight for those they claim to represent than they have done; they need not have been quite such lick-spittles to the Liberal Government; and they might, at least, have refrained from betraying the whole working class to Mr. Lloyd George. But in the main they have done just what might have been expected of them. Men do not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles, and the workers knew quite well what manner of men the Labourists were before they elected them.

The case was very well put by one of them when, on the eve of the meeting of the last Tory Parliament, he was asked by the present writer if any one of them would rise in the House next day and insist upon the claim of the unemployed—who were going there with that object—to be heard at the bar of the House on their own behalf. "No!" was the answer. "We shall certainly do nothing of the sort. We do our work in our own way; and that the working class prefer our way to yours is shown by the fact that they elect us, and they don't elect you."

When the workers want revolutionary action in the House of Commons they will vote for it; when they want Socialism they will vote for it. Until they do, and so long as they vote against both, we can only conclude that they don't want either—they will certainly not get either.

The Labour Party Conference was chiefly distinguished by its dulness, and by the astuteness with which the chiefs evaded or shelved any disagreeable question or criticism. It was rather

amusing, however, to hear so Liberal and moderate an assembly cheering our old friend Molkenbuhr, and congratulating our German comrades on a victory for that Social-Democracy which they themselves have done their utmost to betray and crucify.

The only matter of any importance to us as Socialists resulting from the Conference was the election of Mr. Henderson as Secretary. The Party has, of course, a perfect right to elect whomsoever it may choose to that office, and we have little doubt that Mr. Henderson will prove an admirable selection. The point for us, however, is that the British Committee of the International Socialist Congress—a body whose function it is to maintain the relations between the national movement and the International Bureau, and to make all the arrangements for the national representation at the Congress—fatuously decided that the Secretary of the Labour Party, whoever he might be, should, ipso facto, be secretary of that Committee.

The Committee consists of delegates of the bodies represented at the International Socialist Congress, each of which has to contribute its quota to the national contribution to the International Socialist Bureau. It is, or should be, therefore, a Socialist body, and its Secretary should, certainly, be a Socialist. But Mr. Henderson is, avowedly, not a Socialist; and it is certainly a grotesque arrangement that a Socialist Committee should have imposed upon it a Secretary who is not a Socialist at all.

Even if he were a Socialist, the appointment of a Secretary to a joint Committee by only one of the bodies affiliated thereto would be grossly improper, and a usurpation of the functions of the general body. The practice, hitherto, has been for those responsible for the conduct of international relations between Congress and Congress—Chairman, Secretary, and delegates to Bureau—to be elected by the whole national delegation at the International Congress. That election took place, as usual, at the Copenhagen Congress in 1910. But Mr. Sanders, who was then elected secretary, resigned, and then Mr. MacDonald was elected in his stead, by the Committee; although the latter then occupied the position of Chairman, and was also Parliamentary delegate to the Bureau.

Mr. MacDonald, however, subsequently refused to act as secretary unless it was agreed that whoever might be elected Secretary

of the Labour Party should also be Secretary of the Committee; and the Committee foolishly agreed to this condition.

This is only another instance of the persistent efforts made by the leaders of the Labour Party to usurp the functions of other bodies, instead of properly discharging their own duties. The original object of the Labour Party was to promote working-class representation in the House of Commons. Had those responsible for the conduct of its business done their duty in this respect, the Party would be filling a far more important part in the political world than it is now doing. But they set themselves to undermine and belittle the Trades Union Congress, and to usurp its functions; as well as to dictate to the General Federation of Trades; and also, at the same time, while avowedly a non-Socialist body, to control the affairs of the Socialist movement, nationally and internationally. That they will not be allowed to do. A nondescript Parliamentary Labour Party is one thing, but the Socialist movement is another; and so also is the Trade Union movement. Trade unions and the Socialist Party can work together for any common object; but each must be supreme in its own particular domain. Trade unions have no right to dictate the policy or appoint the officers of the Socialist Party any more than the Socialist Party has a right to order a strike, to interfere in the management of a trade dispute, or to appoint the officers of a trade union.

The Labour Party was originally a federation of trade unions and Socialist organisations to promote the common object of Parliamentary representation. That might have been a useful and fruitful combination. When, however, it came to be controlled—not either by trade unionism or Socialism, but by Liberal-Labourism, it was impossible for any independent Socialist body to remain affiliated. In any case, moreover, the Labour Party was a purely Parliamentary Party, and had no right to dictate to or control the trade unions on the one side or the Socialist organisations on the other. Above all, the Labour Party, as such, had no locus standi in the Socialist International, and was only admitted thereto by an unwarrantable stretching of the constitution.

The present position is certainly not a satisfactory one. It will be for the British Socialist Party, however, to face it, and to decide what its relations with the Committee, and with the International, are to be. And that must be done soon. The next International

Socialist Congress is to be held in Vienna next year. It is for the British Socialist Party to say whether the Socialist movement of this country shall be represented there, or if the British delegation shall be merely Labourist.

The workmen at the Thames Ironworks have scored in maintaining the forty-eight hours week instead of submitting to the attempt to force them back on the fifty-three hours. It is understood, however, that the works are to be taken over by a "Northern firm," which is one of the "Armour Ring." In this we see another instance of the growing influence of our "armour-plate patriots" in the Government, and of the growing supremacy of the Trusts.

Miners and mine-owners are still "conferring," and at the moment there appears every prospect of a national strike. If the determination of the men were the only factor, there is little doubt that a strike would take place. We are inclined to the opinion, however, that a compromise will be arrived at, and a strike averted.

EVENTS OF JANUARY, 1912.

AT HOME.

1—Flights made at Farnborough with new and perfectly silent aeroplane.

2—Admiralty announced that Thames Ironworks tender for two cruisers would involve loss of over £80,000.

3—Series of conferences held between masters and men at Manchester to discuss the "non-unionist" dispute.

5—Orange demonstration at Omagh.

Lord Chamberlain announced a scheme of stage-play licences for variety halls.

8—Mr. D. A. Thomas, of the Cambrian Combine, objected to Board of Trade interference in coal dispute.

Admiralty taking active steps to stock coal depôts.

10 & 11—Miners' ballot on minimum wage.

12—Rise in prices of coal.

15—Professor Reinhardt's "Œdipus Rex" produced at Covent Garden Theatre.

Death of Henry Labouchere, politician and editor of "Truth."

16—Proposals for truce in cotton dispute agreed to by representatives of both sides.

Ulster Unionist Council threatened "to take steps to prevent" Mr. Churchill speaking at Ulster Hall, Belfast.

18—Result of miners' ballot announced on proposal to enforce minimum wage: For, 445,801; Against, 115,721.

19—End of the cotton lock-out.

Miners to tender notices to terminate by end of February.

20—Sir Edward Grey replied to criticisms on his policy.

22—Resumption of work in cotton trade; demonstrations against non-unionists.

23—Thames Shipbuilding ballot showed men to be against 53 hours week or reduction in wages.

South Wales colliery mechanics declared for a strike.

Coalowners and miners met in conference.

24—Labour Party Conference opened at Birmingham.

Carmarthen Boroughs bye-election: Williams (Liberal), 3,836; Bond (Unionist), 2,555; Vivian (Independent Labour), 149; reduced Liberal majority.

25—Mr. Churchill wrote to Lord Londonderry offering to hold his Belfast meeting elsewhere than in Ulster Hall.

25—Strike of London carters employed by Great Northern Railway Company.
Lancashire weavers renewed demand for advance in wages.
26—Labour Party Conference concluded.
Mr. Bonar Law at the Albert Hall.
Earthquake shocks in Monmouthshire and Scotland.
27—Coal conference separated without definite settlement.

ABROAD.

3—Strike of 25,000 Belgian coal miners against fortnightly payment of wages.
South Australian Parliament dissolved.
6—Railway collision near Paris: nine persons killed.
7—Russia pursuing policy of wholesale executions at Tabriz (Persia).
Italian ships sunk seven Turkish gunboats in Red Sea.
Senatorial elections in France.
8—Russia notified China that the "independence" of Outer Mongolia must be recognised.
9—French Cabinet crisis: M. de Selves, Foreign Minister, resigned.
10—Fall of French Cabinet.
12—German Reichstag first ballots: Socialists obtain 64 seats; 21 gains; 4,238,919 votes.
14—Formation of new French Cabinet by M. Raymond Poincaré.
Spanish Cabinet resigned over King's reprieve of Cullera rioters under sentence of death.
15—Spanish Premier resumed office.
16—Attempted assassination of Yuan Shih-kai, Chinese Premier.
17—Feeling in France over seizure of steamship by Italy.
Severe fighting at Derna (Tripoli).
18—Scene in Belgian Chamber on high food prices: Emile Vandervelde beats off assailant.
19—French mail-boat Manouba with Turkish passengers seized by Italians.
20—German Reichstag second ballots (77): Socialists two net gains.
Differences between Sun Yat Sen and Yuan-Shih-kai.
21—Railway disaster in Illinois, U.S.A.: many killed and injured.
22—French Government demanded release of Manouba's Turkish passengers.
More Reichstag second ballots: many Socialist gains.
25—Last of German second ballots: Socialists gain more seats, making total 110, an increase of 57.
British "deputation" arrived at St. Petersburg.
French Senate adopted Morocco Agreement.
26—Manouba incident settled.
29—General strike in Lisbon.
30—Government declared martial law in Lisbon.

TUBERCULOSIS IN PARIS.

We purpose to lay before our readers a few of the results of the official inquiry into tuberculosis in Paris. These are based on some well-written reports made by MM. Juillerat and Bonnier, addressed to the Prefect of the Seine, and it is from these documents that we have obtained all our facts.

When one examines the statistics of mortality in Paris, it is noted that there is a decline in deaths with one exception, that of deaths due to tuberculosis. These show an increase. Now, the mortality due to that disease varies very much according to the different districts of Paris. The annual rate for a period of 15 years (from 1894 to 1908) varies from 0.670 per 1,000 in the ward of the Champs Elysées (a rich district) to that of 6.74 per 1,000 in the ward of St. Merri (a poor district); that is to say, that the rate of mortality is ten times higher in the latter than in the former district. As a general rule it may be stated that tuberculosis is found in dark districts with too narrow streets, having too lofty houses, which do not allow rooms to benefit from the influence of the solar rays, and in which the air, being always vitiated, can only with difficulty be renewed—these places are hot-beds of disease, which exists in a permanent form, and spreads over the whole town.

One of the first points clearly brought out by this inquiry, and which is insisted on again and again, is that in Paris tuberculosis is localised and concentrated in a relatively small number of places. The official documents show that in Paris there are at least 23,124 houses in which the only disease that has occurred is tuberculosis. These houses have a high rate of mortality, which is more than double that of the remainder of the town.

This persistency of the disease to return to the same spot shows very well that there must be an inherent cause in the houses themselves. These are, therefore, permanent hot-beds of disease, which can only be destroyed by concerted measures. The districts where tuberculosis is endemic are those in which the rooms are dark and badly ventilated. In order to wage war against them, we must make use of the sun, their natural enemy.

There are houses which, from 1894 to 1908, have had a yearly death-rate of 6.75 per 1,000, nearly double the general death-rate. In some "hotels" where the poor live this death-rate is terrible; in one street it was 42.63 per 1,000 in the "hotels," while it only

reached the already respectable figure of 21.71 per 1,000 in the other houses. This place is in the 4th Arrondissement. "It is impossible to state," says the report, "that the rooms situated in these houses are 'well lighted and ventilated,' and it is quite clear that the hotels in these districts should be rigorously inspected, and that it should be forbidden to let rooms without windows and ventilated from dirty gutters."

In a particular part of the 5th Arrondissement—not clearly specified—there is a house in which there are let suites of rooms and single furnished rooms, and which contain 90 inhabitants. Of these, 30—a third—died in ten years, a yearly average of 30 per 1,000. Should not such a house be pulled down at once? In certain houses, tuberculosis has killed, in ten years, more people than lived in the house in one year.

12,419 rooms or apartments were inspected from 1905 to 1909.

Of these 4,292 were only 1 room,
3,105 ,, 2 ,,
3,814 ,, 3 ,,
920 ,, 4 ,,
238 ,, more than four rooms.

As the writer of the report remarks, these figures have an eloquence of their own.

318 houses were visited in 1908, and in these 1,136 inhabited rooms had neither windows nor ventilation, and in 263 of them nothing could be done to improve matters; there were 18 rooms of porters (concierges) unfit for habitation; 134 inhabited rooms which had insufficient light and ventilation, and of these 91 were quite unfit to live in. That is to say, there were 355 rooms not having light or air, and which were unfit for habitation, although they might be improved. Three houses had too small courtyards. In the case of one house it was said that nothing could be done, and it should either be pulled down, or no one should be allowed to live in it. The reports of inquiries made in 1905 are very similar.

The reports from dispensaries are very similar. From the report from the Souye dispensary it appears that in the lodgings of 215 patients, 32 never had any sun, and in 59 there was very little sun. In a report of the Omer Talm dispensary we read that in a family of six, four children slept in two small, windowless closets, and that seven persons—five of whom were children, and the mother, who was consumptive—slept in the same room.

Of 114 rooms of patients attending the dispensary of the 8th and 17th Arrondissements, two rooms gave on to a narrow court, one on a blank wall, two are only lighted by ventilators, one has no window—the door being both window and door—and 48 rooms never get the sun. Of 83 rooms of patients attending the dispensary of the 4th Arrondissement, one only is described as rather well lighted, and in the other 82 they get no sun.

In a family of five living in rooms described as being in a disgraceful condition, three children, one being consumptive, sleep in

a garret. One patient's rooms had not been repaired for 28 years; it was falling to pieces, the walls were damp, the chimney did not act, and at certain times the room and the passage were full of dense smoke coming from a workshop. A family, consisting of man and wife, both suffering from tuberculosis, live in one room; the wife works at embroidery, and employs two girls, who stay all day in the room, being in close contact with the sick persons. Nine persons live on the ground floor in two rooms; the yard slopes, and is not looked after, and when it rains the water makes the house very damp.

The reports, which are so interesting, also give us some information on the population question. Of one family, we are told, the mother suffers from tuberculosis, she has lost ten children and has nine left. A patient has lost eight children in infancy, she has three left, one of whom is suffering from tuberculosis. One parent has lost five out of six children from tuberculosis; she is a rag-picker; her husband died from consumption.

Besides these houses there are others which are a danger to public health, but where the authorities are quite powerless. We are speaking of shops, workshops and offices in such an insanitary condition that tuberculosis exists there in an endemic state, and threatens the human beings who have to work there ten or twelve hours a day. It is known that the regulations on hygiene and the health of workmen say that the premises should be "sufficiently light," that is to say, that in a large number of cases only artificial light is used. It is, therefore, easily understood that if once these places are infected, they become active means of disseminating diseases. It is in those places that in many cases the workers or clerks catch the disease which they bring home. It is clearly established from inquiries made by the dispensary authorities that more than a third of the factories where the workers are employed are bad, or very bad. The underground workshop is one of the chiefest causes of spreading tuberculosis; the enormous number of women seamstresses who become ill from this disease is a proof of this, because their workshops are nearly always underground. Many of them are also damp, badly ventilated, and gas is alight all day. From the report of the dispensary of the Beaujeu Hospital, it appears that three workmen died from tuberculosis in a factory from which a patient was being treated.

The two causes which are generally assigned to the propagation of tuberculosis are, first, the overcrowding of rooms, and secondly, the want of air and light in these rooms. What can be done as far as the first cause is concerned? The report says, "Overcrowding is not illegal generally, and in the only case where the law allows the number of persons occupying a room to be limited, in 'hotels,' it is to be feared that it will be difficult to enforce it, because in certain rooms there are six or seven people." The report goes on to say, "If families go into insanitary rooms, it must be recognised that they do this because they cannot do other-

wise. This overcrowding could only be put a stop to if more rooms were provided at the same price. An increase in the number of sanitary rooms at a cheap price would soon put a stop to the evil, and any attempt to interfere at the present time would only be vexatious and futile." Besides, statistics prove that overcrowding is a far less active cause of tuberculosis than the absence of light and air, and in these cases much could be done if the authorities only dared to do it.

But here there is a shocking contrast in the good that could be done by hygiene and in the obstacles due to the selfishness of individuals, the timidity of the authorities who hesitate to make use of their powers, and the insufficiency of legislation.

The report says that "in 734 houses improvements are being made, and that till now the owners have shown no sign of resisting them." It goes on to say, and Socialists should note this, "It is with regret that we notice that the recalcitrant owners are nearly always those who are wealthy. Small proprietors, who must, however, feel more difficulty in carrying out the regulations, seem to understand better than the others the importance of a healthy house for others."

But the impression derived from the report is that the authorities are powerless. "In some houses the necessary repairs would involve the pulling down of half the house, and the forbidding of the letting of half the rooms. . . . . It appears difficult to do anything in these cases, and there are at least 52 houses which should be pulled down, and in which nothing has been done"; and in another place we read, "Those who live in these dangerous houses are generally forced to do so. They do so because they could not live anywhere else. The reports are conclusive. X. (a tuberculosis patient) had come to live in the place where he died because his work was near. This is always recurring. This shows what should be done. If we pull down these houses we must not drive the population away. Where the houses stood we should build houses having rooms at the same price. The old inhabitants must be able to live there, otherwise they will go in streets near to live, and will increase the risk of contamination. This is highly important, and shows the necessity for amending the law relating to insanitary houses."

The report advocates that certain districts should be pulled down, wide streets should be built, and the houses in them should be well lighted and well ventilated. But it is a question of money, and there appears little hope of this being done.

Meanwhile, are the authorities as powerless as the report says? We think not, and that much could be done already. The owner of the house should be compelled to rebuild if it is insanitary, or if he declined to do so, then he should not be allowed to let it. It may be that the law requires to be strengthened, but even such as it is much could be done, and the Socialist Party should insist that it should be done. E. L. in the "Revue Socialiste."

MONARCHY AND REVOLUTION.

It is usual to say that the reign of Louis XIV. was a great reign, and, indeed, it was the complete triumph of absolute monarchy and its highest state. For monarchy then triumphed over all classes; it levelled all subjects to an equal condition of servitude.

Louis XI. was the King of the middle class, for he relied on the tiers état (the middle classes) to attack the nobles. Louis XIV. oppressed the municipalities; he drew the nobility to his side with the money of the State; he pleased the manufacturers by protection; he satisfied the Church by revoking the Edict of Nantes, and the oppression of Protestants by dragoons. But there was one of his acts which made him so popular as to allow him to say one day, "I am the State." This quasi-revolutionary measure, which would make the Radicals to-day call out—that is to say, all those who flatter themselves on being the heirs of the revolutionaries of 1793—was taken on the advice of Colbert. Now, who was Colbert? He was a cloth merchant of Rouen, whom Louis XIV. made a Minister. He was in charge of nearly the whole of the public service (finance, industry, commerce, agriculture, public works, Navy, fine arts, colonies, police, legislation). During a period of twenty-two years Colbert carried on a gigantic work, working seventeen hours a day, checking the accounts, prosecuting State thieves, etc.; he was really devoted to the monarchy and to the pubic good. His first act on becoming a Minister was to institute a Chamber of Justice, which had to revise all public contracts entered into during the last twenty-seven years.

The fortunes of the financiers were sequestered and then confiscated. They, startled, begged for mercy, and tried to corrupt Colbert by offering him a bribe which would be worth 350 millions of francs at the present time. He refused, and had them all arrested. Some were hanged, others were sent to the galleys. Even in the Revolution measures were not so rigorous. He reduced the rate of interest from 40 or 50 per cent. to 5 per cent.; he made the fundholders restore half what they had received during the last thirty years; all titles of nobility granted during the last twenty-seven years were cancelled, and the newly-ennobled peers had to pay taxes. All common land alienated or sold during the last forty-one years was taken back without compensation.

Such a man was Colbert. "By his terrible though necessary acts," says Paul Martini, "Colbert, the grand justiciar, enabled the King to receive a sum which would now amount to 6,000,000,000 francs. The wars and the expensive buildings of Louis XIV. were thus made possible." This was the only result of the justice and vigour of Colbert, and his only reward for having made possible the autocratic power of Louis XIV. was to be disgraced. He died of grief. The ingratitude of the people has often been talked about; it has never, however, equalled that of kings. Colbert, among others, affords a striking example of this truth.

It was in 1661 when Colbert carried out his violent and just acts against the financiers. The millions which were got back by the State enabled the King to be all-powerful, and to be supreme over the nobles; they became his servants, and he had the judges, the middle classes, and even the clergy at his feet.

Yet, less than one hundred and thirty years afterwards this proud monarchy went down, with all the feudal system, before the revolutionary storm which was sweeping over the old world.

There is at the present time, owing to the corruption of our middle-class Republic, a kind of Royalist renascence. I do not know if the "Camelots" of the King, who fought for a popular monarchy, are inspired by the historic examples which I have just quoted. I heard the other day, in a public meeting, a "Camelot" of the King speak to us about a monarchy friendly to trade unions and to co-operative associations, helping the workers to get rid of the capitalist system by the simple virtues of co-operation, and I must confess that I was astonished at the weakness of the Royalist theories of my young and eloquent opponent. In the monarchy of Louis XIV. the monarchical theory made the King the absolute master of all Frenchmen. He owned the whole kingdom, and all the money each man had. The people had to pay whenever the King wanted money; they had to fight and die whenever the King wanted war. To-day this monarchical theory can no longer be held. But there is another one, quite its opposite, more in accordance with the democratic spirit of the twentieth century; it is that not of the sovereignty of one, but of that of all; it is the theory of France for Frenchmen, of the soil of the nation and all its riches for all the nation, for all the people.

The capitalists cannot enjoy its riches much longer; the owners of the soil, the possessors of capital, can only be considered as being, at the most, the provisional holders of the instruments and the results of work.

They will have nothing to say to the nation when, recognising that she is of age, shaking off the tutelary yoke, she shall wish to make a more equitable use of riches, more in accordance with the needs of existence and the protection of the human race.

It will not be necessary to make use of the instruments of torture of another age, of the barbaric epoch, to make the filibusters

of finance and the exploiters of labour give up their gains. Moreover, riches given back to the community, far from being used to restore a monarchy now no longer possible, will be employed in housing, feeding, and educating human beings. The proletariat must fight not for a good monarchy, but for a true Republic, the Social Republic.

A monarchy may, like a middle-class Republic, be friendly to trade unions and co-operative associations, but it cannot reconcile classes, nor suppress the class war; it cannot put an end to the misery and the war inherent in the capitalist system. Only the Social Republic, the true Republic which shall suppress classes by the socialisation of the means of production and distribution, can realise the emancipation of humanity.

—H. GHESQUIERE, in "Le Socialisme."

THE REVIEWS.

THE GERMAN REICHSTAG ELECTION.

Mr. Joseph King, M.P., writing in this month's "Contemporary Review," has the following to say about the German elections :—

The demand for female suffrage was not prominent at the recent election in Germany. At the great Liberal meeting at Munich above described, I heard the well-known Suffragist, Frau Anita Augspurg ; she took part in the free discussion, and another lady also spoke. But the tone of their remarks was moderate, and not directed primarily to "votes for women." The real agitation for female suffrage is carried on by the Socialists, whose party programme includes Adult Suffrage—that is, the vote for every person, man or woman, at the age of twenty-one. The 4,200,000 votes which the Socialists have polled must be considered as thrown in favour of Adult Suffrage. Then some of the left wing of the Liberal Party, the Democratic Union, have also Adult Suffrage in their programme. With manhood suffrage in operation for forty years, any limited female suffrage, on a property basis, such as so many English supporters of the cause desire, would be an untenable policy. Of course, there are no militant tactics by the female suffragists. Outside Social-Democracy they are, in fact, divided in tactics. A section, headed by Frau Augspurg, counsels the withdrawal of women from all social, communal, or public energies, and concentrates on agitation for the vote until the franchise is granted. Another section believes that the more women take part in committees, in social movements, and such opportunities for public work as are open to them, the sooner will the vote be given to them.

The Socialists utilise women more than the other parties in the electoral campaign ; few women appear in the meetings, or as active helpers of the parties of the Right. But special women's meetings were held by both Centre and Social-Democrats at Cologne and elsewhere. There is nothing corresponding to the Primrose League in Germany. In the election work of the Radicals (Liberals of the Left), and especially of the Socialists, many women are found actively engaged. Those who bring up late or laggard voters to the poll are called Schlepper—i.e., tugs ; and the service

of "tugs," which is so splendidly organised and carried out by the Socialists, for dragging up voters in the final hours of polling gains much strength from Socialist women.

. . . . . .

Whenever I saw anything of the Social-Democrats, I was impressed very powerfully by their solidarity as against the disorganisation and differences among the Liberals, of their sacrifices and devotion as against the feudal selfishness of the Conservatives, of their progressive democratic spirit as opposed to the narrow ecclesiastical outlook of the Centre Party. It is often said against German Social-Democracy that it is based on class-hatred, and can appeal only to the labourer and proletariat. This is not fair; true, that its Marxian economics teach the increasing misery of the labourer in a capitalist society; but many small traders, clerks, officials (in secret), such as postmen and railway men, many in all classes, who see no hope for democratic government save in the support of Social-Democracy, are in its ranks. It is not only the Socialism of this party which appeals; it is also the Democracy. There is a crying need of democratic government, and there is no solid progressive democratic party like the Social-Democrats.

It is often said, moreover, that Social-Democracy has achieved nothing, and can achieve nothing. This, too, is untrue. A man, who knows German colonial administration, told me that the exposure of colonial scandals by the Socialists in the Reichstag had purified colonial administration. A Central Party Reichstag member admitted that the social legislation of Germany was more the outcome of the Socialist demands than of anything else; indeed, Bismarck said as much over twenty years ago. A Prussian officer told me that the Socialists had exposed the ill-treatment of men in the army by their officers, especially non-commissioned, to such effect that the evils had been checked, and the morale, the temper, and the real strength of the Army had thereby been greatly improved. A Liberal journalist admitted to me that the Socialist were about the only papers whose policy was dictated purely without regard to any commercial considerations, and that there was far less dirty matter (Schmutz) in the "Vorwärts" and the other Socialist newspapers than in the ordinary journals. The Social-Democrats' steady and enormous growth, so that they now number 4,700,000 votes in the Empire, and ought, if seats were apportioned in fair relation to population, to command nearer 200 than 100 seats in the Reichstag, must have moral influence. I was frequently hearing that the Government policy will not be based on any consideration of the Social-Democrats; that whether they come fifty or a hundred strong to the Reichstag, they simply do not count. If this be so, it is a condemnation of those who ignore the most remarkable movement in European politics to-day. But surely, if the Social-Democratic Party outnumbers in Berlin all other parties by about seven to two, and if, while every Social-Democratic Reichstag member stands for an average of 50,000

voters, every Conservative member stands for only 11,000 votes in the country, then Social-Democracy must count for a great deal in the thought and policy of even the most self-confident of German Ministers.

The organisation of this Party is in itself a testimonial to its moral force. It has 800,000 subscribing members. A book is given to each subscriber, with pages marked out in squares for each week of the year; these squares are filled up, on the same principle as will be used in our National Insurance scheme, with special stamps of 10 pfennigs or of higher value, so that each subscriber gives at least fifty-two times 10 pfennigs (5 marks, 20 pfennigs) annually. This sum, at 800,000 members, works out at £200,000 a year. A simply astounding sum to collect from working men for social and political propaganda!

Besides, in a land of officials, no official is permitted to be an avowed Social-Democrat. This cuts off postmen, railway men, schoolmasters, and many others from openly joining the ranks. But as the cause of the lower orders of public servants always receives attention in the Socialist newspapers, and their grievances are always being ventilated by the Social-Democrats, both in the Reichstag and on other public bodies, under the secrecy of the ballot many officials "vote red," and quietly support the Socialists.

The devotion and self-sacrifice of the Socialists are notorious. They penetrate into the most unpromising districts as missionaries of Socialism, among peasant proprietors and as messengers of freedom of the feudal estates, where a man must vote as his landlord directs. A boot operative, outside a polling-station in Berlin, giving Socialist voting-papers to the voters, told me that he was giving up a day's work to be there, and had begun it at 5 a.m., distributing leaflets outside the Friedrichstrasse railway station; by 7 p.m. he would have put in 14 hours' continuous work. This is just a typical case. The Socialists have more political workers, who work with more energy, than the other parties; all their workers are unpaid, unless it be that an unemployed Genosse is given a small wage to keep him going. They agitate in season and out of season. While the political organisation and educational propaganda are more or less dropped by the other parties save at election times, the Socialists, year in, year out, are holding meetings, distributing literature, canvassing for new subscribing members. An enormous amount of their work is done through the trade unions. In a country where the cost of living has been constantly growing, and where the Government either cannot or will not do anything to relieve the strain on the workers, the trade unions offer the only hope of their improving their lot, and Social-Democracy is the obvious politics for the trade unionists.

The population in and around Berlin is overwhelmingly Social-Democratic. . . . . It is, indeed, hard to find anyone in Berlin who has a good word for the system of personal government by the

Kaiser and his selected Ministers, and who does not want to see a change made to Parliamentary rule.

. . . . . .

During my fortnight in Germany, I spoke, of course, with many persons on Anglo-German relations—with retired Ministers, professors, journalists, and others outside the political fighting forces, and with candidates and active politicians of very different groups. There is, undoubtedly, among many a deep feeling of distrust, disappointment, and even dread of British policy. The belief that our diplomacy is always being directed to thwart Germany all over the world was freely admitted to me. The conviction was expressed by men who surprised me by acknowledging it as they did, that the British Navy was more than once last year within a few hours of attacking the German Fleet or invading German waters. The irresponsible utterances of Captain Faber were taken as authoritative proofs of this intention. The recent espionage cases in Germany have been like lighted matches thrown about in a carpenter's shop littered with shavings. General distrust, and even despair, of good relations between the Governments was allowed by men who declared that the peoples as a whole were anxious to trade together, live in peace, and join in a common civilisation.

STRIKES.

"G.," writing under the above heading in the "Fortnightly Review," says:—

Such (he goes on to say, after curiously mixing up statements by Tom Mann and J. R. MacDonald) is the organised propaganda by which the English working man is unwittingly being led into a social war, the leaders of which aim, deliberately, at the isolation and industrial supremacy of a single class. The goal of the Syndicalist is that "the workers will become citizens of the industry in which they are employed, rather than subjects of the State in which they reside." And, again, "we shall unite all the workers in any one industry; and unite all industries." We will build a "State within a State." When the household of the State is thus divided against itself, for how long shall that household stand? And this supreme class is to win its ultimate separate existence by the class war, seductively preached as an immediate means of raising wages, and relieving the hours of labour. The British working man does not want the class war, the expropriation of the owners, the "State within the State," the Social Revolution. But he does want, and he rightly wants, a living wage. As the strikers of Leven declared in December, "We are not out against property, but against starvation." As the London dockers said last August, when the overcrowded pawnshops could take no more pledges, "it is better to

starve quickly than to starve by inches." And if no other remedy is offered to the workman save that offered, daily and weekly, by the persuasive tongue of the Syndicalist, who shall blame him if he tries it? What wonder if he follows the only leaders who promise him speedy redress, worked by his own hands—if he is intoxicated by the heady arguments supplied to him. And if a strike secure some immediate benefit, as it often does, the validity of these arguments seem to him incontestible. The English working man knows, to our shame be it said, what is meant by keeping a home together on 20s. a week. He knows the excessive hours, and the speeding up, which make overdrafts on his physical strength, already undermined by the insufficiency of his food. He experiences daily the pinch resulting from the rise in food prices, the half-empty grate due to an increase of 33 per cent. in the cost of coal. He can appreciate the truth of the warning, promulgated twenty years ago: that "it is neither just nor human so to grind men down with excessive labour as to stupefy their minds and wear out their bodies." John Bull is the father of a large industrial family. These children of his work hard; they have helped to build up a great Empire, a world-wide commerce. And what is his care of them? In a typical English city *one-seventh* of the wage-earners, all loafers being excepted, were recently receiving wages *insufficient to keep them in bare physical efficiency*—that is, for bare housing, bare clothing, bare food. In the capital of the Empire *thirty per cent.* of London working men receive wages *below the subsistence level.* Beguiled in his distress, in his stupefied brain and underfed body, by false leaders, the working man is at last embarking on the only prompt measures offered to hand—the strike, the multiplied strike, the general strike. . . . .

FAIRY TALES OF REALITY.

"There are no fairy-tales more beautiful than those invented by life itself."—Andersen.

I.

In Naples the tramway employees were striking. A line of empty tramcars were drawn up all along the Riviera Quiaca, while on the Piazzo Triumphatore a group of drivers and conductors collected, all merry, noisy Neapolitans, volatile as quicksilver.

Above their heads, behind the railings of the garden, sparkled the thin jet of a fountain, as sparkles the blade of a dagger in the air. A great concourse of people, wanting to get to all possible parts of the great town, surrounds the tramway men, and all these shop assistants, apprentices, hawkers and seamstresses are abusing the strikers in loud and angry tones. Angry words were heard, malicious remarks, and hands move ceaselessly through the air, hands with which the Neapolitan knows how to speak quite as expressively and fluently as with his unceasing tongue. . . . . A light breeze wafts from the sea, and the enormous palms of the town park rustle their dark-green, fan-like leaves, while their trunks resemble the feet of monster elephants, and appear to be carved in stone. Little urchins—the half-naked children of the Naples streets—hop about like sparrows, filling the air with their loud cries and laughter.

The town, which looks like an old engraving, is flooded with hot sunlight, and gives forth a sound like an organ; the blue waves of the sea's bosom beat rhythmically against the stony shore, accompanying like a tambourine the murmurs and cries of the people.

With depressed countenances the strikers crowd together, hardly heeding the irritated cries of the bystanders. They climb on to the park railings, and look uneasily over the heads of the people down the street, like a crowd of wolves who are surrounded by dogs. It is clear to all that these men in uniform are bound fast together by an indomitable will, that they will not give way; and this circumstance embitters the crowd of people still more. There are, indeed, some philosophers among them, who, quietly smoking, try to appease the over-eager opponents of the strike.

"Hé, Signor! But what can they do if there is not enough for macaroni for the children?"

In groups of twos and threes stand the showily dressed officials of the municipal police, attentively watching that the crowd should not disturb the carriage-traffic. They are strictly neutral, and look with the same complacency on accusers and accused, and joke good-humouredly about both whenever the gestures and cries

assume a menacing character. In case of serious disturbances, a division of Carabinieri are stationed in a small side alley along the houses, armed with carbines. That is a rather ominous group; impassive, silent men, with short, black cloaks and narrow red trouser-stripes, which look like thin stripes of blood.

Suddenly the scolding and laughing, reproaches and warnings become silent; there is a movement in the crowd which seems to bring it together; the faces of the strikers grow still darker, and they draw closer together as the cry rings out among the crowd:

"Soldiers!"

A mocking, triumphant whistle assails the ears of the strikers; the soldiers are greeted with joyful cries. A stout man in a grey summer suit, with a panama hat on his head, begins to dance, stamping heavily on the pavement with his feet. The conductors and drivers push their way slowly through the crowd and approach the cars; some of them climb on to the platforms. They look still more sullen now, and reply to the hostile cries with rough words. It begins to become quieter. As the strikers pass through the hostile crowd they split it up into different sections and groups, and give it a new mood, not so noisy, and more human.

From the Santa Lucia shore, with lightly tripping feet, approach little grey-coated soldiers, their feet keeping even time, and their left arms mechanically swinging. They look as if they were made of tin, and as fragile as mere toys. . . . . At their head walks a handsome, well-built officer, with knitted brows and scornfully drawn lips, and beside him runs, with a hop, skip and a jump, a fat man with a top-hat, who talks to him ceaselessly, cutting the air with countless gestures.

The crowd has shrunk back from the tramcars; the soldiers have dispersed themselves like a string of grey pearls along the line of cars, and taken up their stand by the platforms, on which the strikers are standing.

The man in the top hat and a few other persons who have surrounded him cry, like mad creatures, waving their arms:—

"For the last time. . . . . Do you hear?"

The officer, rather bored, twirls his moustache while he has bent his head. The man who was accompanying him before runs to him, raising his top hat, and hoarsely calling something to him. The officer looks sideways at him, raises himself to his full height, throws out his chest—and the loud words of command are heard.

Instantly the soldiers begin to jump, two at a time, on to the platforms of the cars. But at the same time the drivers and conductors jump off.

This seems ludicrous to the crowd. Howling, whistling, laughter breaks forth, but dies again immediately. In deep silence the people, with suddenly aged, grey, drawn faces, and eyes staring in astonishment, draw back from the sides and back of the cars, and rush in a body to the front of the first car.

And there, at a distance of two feet from the front of the car,

across the rails, bareheaded, and with the face of a soldier, lies a grey-haired driver, his breast bare, his face turned upwards, and the ends of his moustache pointing towards the sky. With the rapidity of a monkey, a young boy threw himself down beside him, and after him others, without haste, lay themselves down, one after the other, on the ground, on the track of the cars. . . . . A suppressed roar breaks from the mass of people; voices are heard in terror invoking the Madonna; some curse sullenly, the women scream and groan, while the little boys, struck by the drama, jump about everywhere like india-rubber balls.

The man with the top-hat roars something in a sobbing voice; the officer looks at him and shrugs his shoulders; it is his duty to replace the drivers by soldiers, but he has no orders to make any attack upon the strikers.

Then the man in the top-hat, surrounded by any who are willing to help, rushes to the Carabinieri. These begin to move, arrive on the spot, bend over those who are lying on the rails, and try to lift them up.

There begins a struggle, a turmoil. But suddenly the whole grey, dusty mass of onlookers gets into motion. They roar, howl, stream on to the rails; the man with the panama hat pulls it off, throws it high in the air, and lays himself as a first on the ground, tapping the striker lying beside him on the shoulder, and shouting encouraging words to him.

And after him countless merry, noisy people who, three minutes ago, were not near the place, began dropping on the rails as if their feet had been cut off. Laughing, they threw themselves down, made some grimaces, and called out something to the officer, who, laughing and shaking his handsome head, called out something to the man in the top-hat, gesticulating with his hands, and twirling his gloves under the nose of the latter.

In the meantime, more people kept coming and laying themselves on the rails. Women threw their parcels and baskets on the ground, little boys rolled themselves, laughing, together, like dogs when they feel cold; respectable, educated people rolled themselves in the dust from side to side.

Five soldiers looked down from the platform of the first car on to the heaps of bodies under the wheels, their hands on the edge of the carriages, and their heads thrown back, and roared with laughter. They no longer looked like the tin toys of a little while ago.

. . . . After half an hour the tramcars were rushing, with many a shriek and squeak, through the streets of Naples. On the platforms stood the conquerors, merrily smiling, and along the cars, too, they went, politely asking:—

"Tickets?"

The people who handed them the red and yellow strips of paper winked at them, laughing and teasing them good-naturedly. . . .

MAXIM GORKI.

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THE
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SOCIALISM AND THE COAL STRIKE.

By H. Quelch.

At the time of writing the national coal strike is in full swing, if that term can be properly applied to a cessation of work. The position appears to be one of deadlock. The men have presented their minimum demands, which the masters declare they will not concede, and the Government, which, at the eleventh hour, intervened to effect a settlement, is not prepared to enforce. The outlook at the moment, therefore, is not very hopeful; although there can be little doubt that the men must win if only their leaders maintain the same firmness they have hitherto displayed.

Already, however, there are not wanting those among the professed friends of the miners who are urging them to be moderate, and to submit their schedule of minimum rates to arbitration. They are told that they have gained a great victory in securing a recognition of the "principle" of a minimum wage, and that the actual amount is a mere matter of detail about which they should be prepared to chaffer and

haggle, and eventually have it submitted to some court of arbitration.

To this the men reply that their minima represent the rock-bottom prices at which they are disposed to sell their labour, and they are therefore not prepared to argue or chaffer or arbitrate about them. And they are perfectly right. If they stick to that position they will win. If they recede from it they will be tricked and swindled out of their victory, just as the railwaymen were. There is no "principle" about a minimum wage in itself, it depends entirely upon its amount. In the present instance the amount errs, not on the side of extravagance, but on that of moderation. The men are asking for too little; not for too much.

But it is urged that seeing how indispensable coal is to our social well-being, to our industries, to our very national existence; seeing the misery, privation, and suffering entailed on the whole people—especially the poorest—by the cessation of the coal supply; the miners should be prepared to waive their demands, or at least suspend them, and go on working pending some adjustment of their claims.

But why should it always be the workers, the actual producers, the wage-slaves, and never the shirkers, the mere profit-receivers, who are called upon to sacrifice themselves for the common good? The life of the miner, even at the best, is one long sacrifice, one long martyrdom; a life of arduous, irksome, disagreeable and dangerous toil, for which no mere money reward could be excessive. Why, as soon as a strike makes people conscious of the value and importance of the work of the miner, should he be called upon to continue to still further sacrifice himself, instead of the exploiting capitalist being called upon to surrender some of his profits?

The answer to this question is perfectly simple. It is because we are living in a capitalist State, a capitalist system, the Government and all the political institutions of which represent, and exist to maintain, capitalist interests. To make profit is the sole object of all

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production. Mine-owners are not concerned with supplying human or national needs—any more than are ship-owners, mill-owners, railway-owners, landlords, or any other set of monopolists. All they are concerned about is making profit by the exploitation of their monopoly and of the labour employed therein. In so doing, of course, they exploit and batten upon the want and misery of the poor and the needs of the community at large. The restriction of the supply to meet those needs caused by a coal strike affords them still greater opportunities of exploitation. How absurd, therefore, to suggest that they should forego their very reason of existence as mine-owners by surrendering any of their sacred profits. There is no patriotism or humanity in "business." The coal-owners would quite willingly send every ton of coal out of the country—if it paid them to do so; just as the builders of war-ships and big guns are quite eager to supply ships and guns to a rival Power. It is only the workers who can reasonably be expected to be patriotic or humane.

If the Government really represented the common national interests, instead of those of the capitalist class, the strike would be settled at once. The owners would be compelled to surrender sufficient of their profits to ensure the men at least a "living" wage as a minimum. Representative solely of the capitalist interests, however, the Government, even if it reluctantly coerced the owners into conceding the men's demands, would compensate them—as in the case of the railway owners—by recognising their right to "take it out" of the public.

In this fact, in the capitalist nature of our Government and all our political institutions, lies the cause of the strike, and from it are to be drawn the lessons the strike teaches. Not that the cause of the strike is political; far from that. It is crudely economic. It is very amusing to find people, who are blind only to the obvious, endeavouring to discover some occult, mysterious, esoteric cause for what is so transparently simple in its origin as the present coal strike. Thus

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald finds that cause—the cause of all the recent and present "Labour unrest," indeed—to be the Osborne Judgment! As if the Osborne Judgment opposed any bar to voluntary political action on the part of those workers who may be inclined to take it! Thus, too, the mineowners, and their fuglemen in the press, like the railway magnates, amazed at any display of discontent on the part of their underworked and over-paid wage-slaves, discover the cause to be the machinations of those wicked Socialists, or the development of "Syndicalism" in the trade unions.

Syndicalism, as a matter of fact, notwithstanding all the talk there has been about it of late, has no existence in this country. There is not one in ten thousand of British trade unionists who knows anything at all about it, or understands what it means, and it is entirely foreign to the spirit and methods of British trade unionism. On the other hand, we Socialists have never advocated strikes. We have always maintained that the working class should jealously guard the right and the power to strike; that they should refuse to be shackled by any sort of compulsory arbitration, or any other restriction on their right to withhold their labour; and we have always given every possible support to any body of workers who have been on strike. But we recognise that the power to strike is generally more efficacious than the strike itself; and that the latter is, at best, but a cumbrous and a two-edged weapon.

The present strike is neither political nor revolutionary in character or in inspiration. It is not caused by disgust at the slow operation of political methods, nor inspired by a determination to abolish the class ownership of the mines and the mineral wealth of the country. The cause of the strike is purely a matter of wages. It is due, as were the strikes of last year, to the fact that wages have not risen proportionately to the increased cost of living, aggravated, in the case of the miners, by the stoppage of the customary supplementary pay for work in "abnormal places." In coal mining, as in

all other industries, the tendency has been to screw up and intensify labour, and thus, even where there has been a rise in wages, to get more work done for less wages.

That, really, is the sole cause of the trouble; the reason for the demand for a minimum wage. And in pressing this demand, the miners have not been precipitate or hasty. They allowed the ten-months' strike in South Wales—due to precisely the same cause—to peter out, without resorting to a general strike. They have tried every conceivable means to arrive at a settlement without having to resort to a strike. Even when a ballot was reluctantly taken, and an overwhelming majority of the men declared in favour of a strike, there was the absurdly protracted notice of six weeks in which an arrangement might have been arrived at, and during which masters and middlemen were reaping hugely-enhanced profits.

Months ago, had the Government of this country been other than a capitalist Government, effective steps would have been taken to avert the strike. And that is why, although the strike is in no sense political, its cause is to be found in the class character of our Government and our political institutions.

And from that fact also we may draw the most important lessons of the strike. Were our Government representative of the nation as a whole instead of being a capitalist Government, the strike would have been settled ere this. But then there would never have been any occasion or menace of a strike. In other words, had the workers generally used such political power as they have possessed since the last great coal strike in 1893 to capture the political machine, instead of steadily voting their masters into control, the present strike and those of last year would have been absolutely unnecessary. That is the all-important lesson which this series of strikes should have taught the workers—industrial organisation, by all means; industrial action, certainly, in order to defend what you may have, or to win some better con-

ditions—but let your political organisation and political action keep pace with and reflect your industrial organisation and action; for without that the latter must be largely ineffectual and futile. There is no essential antagonism between industrial action and political. But a strike costs much in sacrifice and privation, whereas it costs nothing at all to vote. And if one is prepared to strike against the masters, one should, at least, be prepared to vote against them.

There is no doubt, moreover, that the present strike and all its lamentable consequences will considerably strengthen the demand for the nationalisation of the mines. It is absurd, truly, that a mere handful of plutocrats should be masters and owners of the mineral wealth of the country; of the coal which is the very foundation of our national life. Without coal our industries are idle; our navy is helpless; our food supplies are cut off, and we are stricken with national paralysis. Therefore nationalise the mines. Surprise is sometimes expressed that the miners, although they have repeatedly passed resolutions in favour of nationalisation, have yet not shown any great enthusiasm therefor. Why should they? The experience of other servants of the State is not encouraging nor will be while it remains a capitalist State. It is necessary not only to nationalise the mines, but to nationalise the State; to democratise, de-capitalise it. The socialisation—not the capitalisation; either by the State, or by joint syndicates of masters and workmen—of the mines, the railways, the factories and the land is the only way out of the present difficulty, the only solution for the present "labour unrest." And the way thereto is by the capture and transformation of the present class State.

SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL.

By George C. Swanson.

Social and religious philosophy, down to within recent years, hovered around the question of the power of the individual in affecting social conditions, and it was only with the advent of that social outlook now known by the name of the Marxian Philosophy that social science has concerned itself with the determining effect of social conditions upon human character. Nor is the reason of this far to seek. Ancient research had no information to give regarding the structure of society as we now understand that term; it was accepted, without question, that happiness was a natural sequence of an upright and holy life, just as much as punishment followed hard upon the steps of the transgressor. The only factor in framing human history was the human heart, and the history of a people depended upon their integrity or malevolence, as the case may be.

The struggle for existence being comparatively confined to the struggle against nature, there was ample room for such a view of life and society, but the fruition of competition brought the serious sociologist face to face with the fact that, notwithstanding the psalmist line of righteous contemplation to the contrary, it often did occur that the righteous man had to beg his bread, and his seed end their days in miserable penury, forsaken, apparently, by God and man. Here, then, was a new problem, and the endeavour to solve it gave birth to that famous dictum of Marx that in every historical epoch the prevailing mode of production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily

following from it, can alone explain the political and intellectual history of that epoch.

Such an assertion at once confronted the opinion, so long held, that human mental and intellectual development expressed itself in social conditions, and the war began, to be fought, it must be confessed by those who have the best desire to give an unprejudiced judgment, with increasing success for what is now known as the Materialistic Marxian Philosophy.

In the lapse of time the individualistic school of thought divided itself into two parties, the new party being admittedly the smaller of the two. The larger party, still adhering to the position that evil economic conditions are the outcome, the material expression of the shortcomings of the human heart, which is full of deceit, lying and all uncharitableness, maintains its unceasing propaganda against the evil individual by all the old methods of preaching and moral suasion of every kind. The small party, on the other hand, finding its adherents among those of anarchistic tendencies, asserts the goodwill of the human individual, which is nullified and frustrated by the dominance of State Governments. Remove oppression and force of every kind, say our friends the goodwill anarchists, and the people will arrange their own affairs and live comfortably together. Believing sincerely in the domination of the human mind and heart in matters economic and social, they assert the millennium is only retarded by the sway of force.

To consider first the position of those individualists of the former school, one is at once met by the thought that if the human heart is bad, and the only way to social salvation is by the road of moral and religious education, how is it that, although propaganda of this kind has continued almost since the world began, social conditions do not improve, rather do they grow worse, and peculiarly enough they seem little influenced by moral preaching, but only to be affected by economic development? Has any new factor appeared on the

horizon of this kind of philosophy which warrants the belief that, although such action always has failed, now it is going to succeed, and that it is for us the only avenue of hope?

Again, if the power of the human heart is dominant over the power of social environment, and being bad expresses itself in poverty, etc., how can there be any hope in its future effect unless moral education, by some means of jugglery, changes the human heart entirely? To preach the salvation of society through the miraculous changing of the human soul of man is a perfectly logical position once you assume the existence of a soul, but this is not the position taken up by the orthodox social reformer; he works upon the assumption of the saving grace of floods of rhetoric and seas of literature more or less well-informed. However logical and however efficacious the evangelical reformer may be, certainly the reformer pure and simple is none of these, and it is difficult to see any good point in his argument. The goodwill anarchistic individualists appear to be in just as parlous a condition once the light of analytical criticism is thrown upon their position. History does not afford any instance of a happy, contented society without organisation, whereas it is replete with instances of gory misery where organisation has been lacking. After all, the governing machinery of a State is but the executive functionary of the people themselves, and a nation will always have the governing body they themselves produce. Such a philosophy mistakes symptoms and effects for causes; the removal of a scab does not cure a body diseased, the only efficacious method is to purify the blood. Nihilism never can improve society, each crime being succeeded by a perpetuation and often an accentuation of the evils it endeavoured to abolish.

Furthermore, if goodwill stamps itself upon the individualities of the lower stratum of society, why is it that it skips the cradle of the child of the aristocrat? Such picking and choosing is difficult to understand from such a ghostly sprite as this goodwill seems to be.

Truth to say, the fundamental of the individualistic position is a denial of evolution. To assert that it is possible by mere persuasion to roll back the influence of years of social growth of which the human entity is partly conscious, and, worse still, partly unconscious, is to deny the action of growth. We know that we ourselves are bound around by certain limitations, and over those barriers we cannot leap, wished we ever so well. Like the tree of another kind the human tree is the materialistic expression of certain conditions acting upon the germ of life, and the longer the period of growth the more difficult does change of habit become, and the nearer do we get to that period when disruption, be it ever so gentle, means death.

Nor is this to be regretted. Were we at the mercy of every ephemeral fallacy which flits across the mind of man we should be tossed hither and thither with each succeeding fancy, but happily we are saved from that. Development—evolution—is a slow way but a sure one, and in it we can see that Providence which shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will. Our political movements and agitations are but the casting of the shadows before, and do but help on the great car of human progress to economic freedom.

The fundamentals of the individualistic positions appear, therefore, to contain within themselves their own denial, and the truth as regards the analysis of society would appear to be in another direction.

The primary impulse in mankind is the desire to live, from the puling babe which sucks even before consciousness begins to the weariness of old age; the basis of human action is life, life, continuing life. The only means of obtaining the means of life to a race existing in a world where such means have to be won from sometimes reluctant natural forces is to battle against them; we must either work or die. Obviously, where such a struggle is going on, unless the human digits fight together immediately congestion arises they must inevitably find that they are fighting each other, and that is exactly the modern trouble. Work-

ing in unison against the forces of nature, an easy and comfortable existence for every human being were an easy matter, but seeing that so much of our time is spent in combating each other is it a matter for surprise that many of us starve? Selfishness, sin, crime, the bugbears of religious philosophy, are but expressions of the desire for life in a race intent upon living. The human race means to live somehow, co-operatively in a co-operative society, but competitively in a competitive world. if you will have it so. Given an economic system, the human individual will adapt himself to it somehow, and to plead with him to do otherwise is to advocate the undesirability of living, which he will have none of.

After all, we know that selfishness per se is more strongly expressed in the struggle for bread than it is in the struggle for water, that it is accentuated in the searching for those things which are at once necessary and scarce. While there is plenty of water and air for all no struggle for these things exists, but bread is scarce and has to be won by hard fighting. So the human entity fights and the theological fraternity stands at the edge of the crowd and calls him a selfish brute, who only wants to be preached at long enough and to have sufficient tracts flung at him for him to be converted into a cooing dove.

"Wealth," Robert Owen said, "can be made to flow as freely as water," and does it never occur to our individualistic friends that were the necessaries of life as plentiful as water, and under proper conditions they could be, the struggle as we now know it, the gory, blind rush for the means of existence, would naturally die for the lack of sustenance?

There would appear, then, to be no good reason for postulating that human nature, as we generally mean the term, is either good or bad, but that the human individual is very much the expression of the economic conditions which obtain at any given time.

This is not a purely materialistic conception of society, it is but an admission that in this material

world the method of obtaining the means of life is the dominant factor in determining human character and social history. If we push back the boulder which covers the seed, opportunity for growth will then follow; and once the human race has crossed the river of economic freedom the world of human possibility will immediately expand, and the more we conjecture the farther does the horizon recede from our view.

While man has to compete with man in securing the means of life his existence must at best be but a caricature of what is possible under communistic conditions. May the day of Communism come soon.

RECENT SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN FRANCE.

By Paul Descours.

We sometimes hear both from the leaders of the Reactionary parties in France, as well as from some of the revolutionary office-holders of the trade unions in that country, that nothing has been done by the Republicans to improve the condition of the workers. It is true that the remedies proposed are widely different, for while the heads of the *Action française* can only see a hope for better things in the advent of the King (the Duke of Orleans), the revolutionaries wish for a general overthrow of all existing institutions, the *grand soir* which, under the leadership of M. Pataud, is to bring about the reign of justice and love by first destroying everything. Now, I by no means wish to defend the policy of the Republic in all that it has done. I much regret that its leaders, since 1881, have pursued—following our bad example—a colonial policy of conquest in Tunis, in Tonquin, in Madagascar, in West and Central Africa, and in Morocco. But leaving this on one side, I think that in social legislation the record has been a good one, and I propose briefly to give a summary of this—especially of the work done in more recent years.

The first great law is that of 1884, passed by Waldeck-Rousseau, when Minister of the Interior in the Cabinet of Jules Ferry, which legalised the position of trade unions. Till that date their legal position was unsettled, and there were grave doubts whether at any time trade unionists could not be prosecuted for belonging to an illegal association. It is true that unions did exist. There were unions even under the Second Empire, as Napoleon III. was

favourable to working men uniting for certain purposes. The Emperor, bad as his rule was, tried at times to set himself right, in order that people might forget the criminal origin of his government. This law, however, gave a legal status to unions, and the formalities to be accomplished were simple and inexpensive. The Act has been very beneficial; and though at times some unions have shown revolutionary tendencies, it has at least put a stop to all secret societies.

In 1889 the Paris Labour Exchange was established, and since then many exchanges have been opened, but there is no national organisation, and whether there is any co-ordination depends entirely on the officials. But these exchanges have provided, free of cost, convenient places for the offices of unions and also halls where workers may meet and discuss matters relating to the affairs of their trade.

In 1891 the Labour Department was formed, and there many of our friends are engaged. The office issues a most valuable monthly journal, giving particulars similar to, but more detailed, than those in our "Labour Gazette." At the same time a Consultative Committee—the Conseil de Travail—was formed consisting of members elected by the employers, the workers, the Senate, the Chamber of Deputies, the Chamber of Commerce of Paris, the Labour Exchange, and the Co-operative Productive Societies, while three members are appointed by the Minister of Labour, who is the President of this body. There are two Vice-Presidents—one representing the employers and one representing the workers. Our friend M. Keufer, the Secretary of the Printers' Trade Union, has been the Vice-President since the beginning, and still holds that position. This body considers Bills affecting the workers, and has produced some very valuable reports.

In 1892 an important Factory Act was passed dealing with the labour of young persons and of women. Children may not begin to work before the age of thirteen, with certain exceptions allowing them to work at the age of twelve, but they and women must not

work for more than ten hours a day, and not between the hours of 9 p.m. and 5 a.m. Women are not allowed to work underground in mines and quarries, and some trades are scheduled as forbidden to women and children. This law was followed in 1893 by one directing that workshops should be better ventilated. In 1900 it was enacted that seats should be provided in shops for the women employed.

In 1898 a Bill granting compensation to workmen who were injured became law. This Act, which does not apply to workers receiving more than £96 a year, enacts that payment shall begin after four days' incapacity to work. If the worker is permanently incapacitated he or she is to receive two-thirds of his wages for life, and if the injury has diminished the capacity of earning then half the amount due to that is to be paid. Payments have also to be made for temporary incapacity, and if the accident has caused the death of the worker then payments have to be made to the widow during widowhood, and these vary according to the number of the children. If the widow dies, then the children receive an allowance. Should the employer or the insurance company be bankrupt, the State pays. Of course when this Act was passed the employers declared that they would be irretrievably ruined, but then of every Act regulating and improving the condition of labour the same result has been invariably predicted. The prophecies, however, have not come true. This law has greatly contributed in an indirect way to make the conditions of labour better by improving the workshops. A useful clause in the Act provides that the court fees shall be very low and that counsel shall be assigned to the workers suing if they are too poor to engage a lawyer themselves.

In 1901 the celebrated Associations Law allowed Frenchmen for the first time to found all kinds of associations. This was passed by Waldeck-Rousseau not only in order to put a stop to the illegal religious orders, but at the same time to permit laymen to found

societies for various purposes. It is by virtue of this law that the Société Positiviste Internationale was formed in 1906, and that thus for the first time it became possible for the Positivists to legally own property in France and have a corporate existence. In the same year, 1901, a system of old age pensions was established for all men and women working in mines and quarries. The pension begins at fifty years of age, and is constituted by contributions from the worker and the employers, with a bonus added by the State.

In 1902 an eight hours day was granted to all workers in Government factories. This not only applies to men and women employed in the arsenals of the War Office and Admiralty, but to those working in tobacco factories and in powder mills—these latter industries being Government monopolies. Foreigners visiting France complain that matches are dear, but they should not forget that those who make them are paid a living wage; it is possible to buy goods too cheaply if they are made by sweated labour. Free registry offices were established in 1904. This was obligatory in all towns having more than 10,000 inhabitants, and henceforth no registry offices may be held in places where intoxicating drinks are sold. Power was given to the municipalities to close old registry offices after paying compensation, and no new private registry offices were to be opened. By a law of 1905 a nine hours day from bank to bank was given to miners; the hours of labour were to be reduced to 8½ a day in 1907, and to 8 hours in 1909.

In 1905 a law was passed granting relief to men and women over seventy and to those incapable of earning their living if they were more than 16 years of age. Previous to this there was no compulsory poor relief in France. In each Commune there was instituted an office for granting relief, but the Communal Council was not bound to vote anything for this purpose. By the new Act not less than 4s. or more than 16s.* a month was to be given to an individual. The money

* In Paris the amount is £1 4s. a month.

is found partly by the Commune (i.e., the parish), partly by the Department, partly by the State. The amount granted by each authority depends on the relative poverty of the Commune and on the number of persons relieved. The poorer the Commune and the more poor it has, the less it has to pay in proportion. The decision rests with the local authorities, but there can be appeals to a Departmental Committee and to the Council of State. It is alleged that there is a tendency for the local authorities to be too ready to grant relief. I have not found any statistics showing the total amount spent in a year, but in this year's Budget a sum of £1,840,000 was voted as the share to be paid by the State, and on June 30, 1909, there were 507,167 persons receiving relief. The law will probably be soon altered so as to give greater power of control to the State, and also probably to increase the contribution of the local authorities. Whatever the abuses, the law has undoubtedly relieved much suffering.

In 1906 M. Clemenceau appointed M. Viviani to a new office, that of the Minister of Labour, and brought under one head all the departments in which Labour is directly interested. The new Minister was formerly a Socialist, and he was very much criticised for his first speech, in which he said that, "as the lights in the heavens had been put out, it was the duty of Governments to improve matters on earth." But a great deal of the criticism was unfair. M. Viviani is an orator, and therefore fond of rhetoric, but all his speech really meant was that while in the old days you could tell the worker that he would be rewarded after death, now that freethought had increased you must not ask the proletariat to reckon on a better state of things in another world, You must improve his condition now. And few people—even theologians—would disagree with him.

In 1906 a law was passed securing twenty-four hours' rest a week to every worker. This is generally to be on Sunday, but another day may be chosen. It

was found difficult to put this law in force, but things are now better. Fanciful pictures were drawn of Paris being as dull as a Scotch town on Sunday, but in this there was much exaggeration, and undoubtedly the law has given thousands a day of rest who would otherwise have had to work seven days a week.

In 1907 a law relating to provisions for safety, etc., on merchant and fishing vessels was passed, which is practically the same as the law in this country. It will have the same effect in reducing the loss of life at sea. In the same year a law was passed giving married women the control of their earnings. Also in 1907 the laws relating to the courts for settling disputes between employers and workers were consolidated. The special courts called Conseils de Prudhommes are elected by employers and workers to decide disputes about wages, and there is no appeal in cases where the sum involved is under £12. The parties must appear in person, and the fees are very low. Since 1908 women may act as judges. The object is to decide a question quickly and cheaply, and the Act has given great satisfaction.

In 1908 pensions were granted to sailors over fifty years of age. The system adopted is one of contributions from the men, the shipowner, and the State. If the man is lost at sea, pensions on a reduced scale are given to the widow and orphans. In the same year the use of white phosphorus was prohibited in the manufacture of matches. And in 1909 a law was passed forbidding the use of white lead in any kind of paint after 1914. By a Ministerial decision this has not been allowed to be used on any Government buildings since 1901. In the same year the payment of wages in public houses was forbidden. Working men must be paid at least twice a month. A system of pensions to railway servants similar to that already adopted for miners and seamen was adopted. It begins at fifty years of age for drivers and firemen, at fifty-five for porters and outdoor employees, and at sixty for clerks.

(To be continued.)

AUGUST STRINDBERG.

August Strindberg, Sweden's great writer, attained the age of 63 on Jan. 22. On this occasion a national testimonial of 45,000 crowns was presented to him. A deputation, headed by our comrade Hjalmar Branting, also presented him with an address. He has never been distinguished by the Nobel Prize or any other official mark of appreciation. Who can say whether this great and outstanding genius might not have produced works far greater even than he has if something of the present comprehension, appreciation, and sympathy had been meted out to him at the beginning of his career! The unhappy experiences of his youth necessarily left marks on his sensitive mind which can never be obliterated, and which account for much in his character.

Already in his parents' house Strindberg felt himself an unwelcome stranger. His father, a cultivated man who had seen better days, was ruined financially a short time before August's birth. For a long time the family, consisting of husband and wife, seven children and two servant girls, lived in a dwelling of three rooms, which were so small that the little ones had to sleep on chairs and ironing-boards. In his novel, "The Servant-Girl's Son," he describes something of his gloomy childhood and youth. He felt like a stranger, too, among his brothers and sisters, especially since he was once undeservedly punished for stealing and lying, and forced by a thrashing to confess the crime he had not committed.

Soon after the mother's death, the father married again. August was never able to make friends with his uneducated step-mother, which was probably not

altogether her fault, but which depressed his soul still more. She, like his father, belonged to the extreme evangelical, puritan persuasion. Young August, too, now at school, soon came to look at things the same way. It was a hard religious struggle that he fought through before emerging at 16 as a Freethinker and member of the Freethinkers' Rifle Club movement. The latter, we are told, frightened his family so much that they instituted prayers for his erring soul.

His student years were for him a time of the hardest trials. He abandoned the plan of becoming a clergyman, as contrary to his newly-won convictions, and went at the age of 18 to the University Upsala to strive for the Doctor's degree. The first term he only had £4 10s. at his disposal, and at the end of it the money was at an end too. This obliged him to return to Stockholm and teach in the national schools in order to exist. This post gave him a good insight into the lives of the very poorest, and he has made great use of it in his works. Later on he returned to Upsala, where he lived in the utmost poverty, and began his public career with dramas, the greater part of which, however, he, discouraged by uncomprehending fellow-students, soon burned. So poor was he that his bed had neither sheets nor pillow-cases; he had to sleep in his under-clothes, and to read by the light of a candle stuck in the neck of a beer-bottle. He only got food when his friends gave him a little. The only days he did not suffer from cold were the Thursdays, for a chimney from below was built through his room, and on washing-days the chimney was hot. Then he stood leaning against the warm chimney, his hands behind his back, and composed poetry.

The Doctor's degree was refused him, his studies had been too irregular; moreover, his relations with the Professor of Æsthetics had been strained since on one occasion he had spoken with scant respect of Dante. He now tried acting, but nothing came of it. He then tried alternately reporting for the great Stockholm paper, "Dagens Nyheter," and editing an insurance journal,

to drift at last altogether into the insecure harbour of literature.

Therewith closes the history of Strindberg's hard and unsettled early youth; his other, riper youth begins with the historic and yet so modern play, "Master Olaf," in the year 1872. And his star rose to its zenith in the eighties and nineties. But that which gave to this strangely glittering star much of its red, ominous light was without doubt the hard trials of the first, merciless years of his early youth.

HERVÉ ON THE GERMAN ELECTIONS.

Gustave Hervé, whose continued imprisonment is a disgrace to the French Republic, is well known as the chief champion of "syndicalism" and "direct action," and is often cited against us as being opposed to working-class political action. As we have frequently pointed out, the conquest of the political machinery by the working class must be the immediate direct object of the working-class movement on its road to power. But such political action in any form in nowise excludes the use of any other means which may be found at any time efficacious for the end in view. A man is not less able to strike straight, or even to shoot straight, because he votes straight. The trouble is that so many of the workers in this country will make enormous sacrifices to win some petty concession from the masters by means of a strike, and then will go and vote these same masters into power, and thus enable them to take everything back again by process of law. Political action on the part of the working class is not played out; it has not yet been "played in."

What Hervé says in the following article, which appeared in a recent number of his paper, "La Guerre Sociale," of the French movement in relation to the German elections is not without its moral for the working-class movement in this country. Without endorsing it in every word, we cannot but regard it as a striking admission, coming from such a source, of the great importance of political organisation.

"While we may consider the vote as of only secondary importance as a revolutionary weapon, we cannot deny the importance of four million and a-quarter of suffrages.

"Without giving offence to anyone, it seems to me that even if I were an anti-voter (a mania with which I have never been

tainted) I still could not repress a certain jubilation when I see the magnificent slap in the face that the German Socialists have administered to the Kaiser, and to the united Protestant and Catholic Clericals.

"I have formerly jeered at the German Socialists somewhat. I believe that I even said once to its face—to be sure it was only for the purpose of spurring it on—that it was only a machine gathering votes and dues.

"When last summer our German comrades made their splendid manifestation against war, and when in France we had shown so little of brilliancy—we who are usually so noisy—then it was that I realised that this formidable machine for the gathering of votes and dues might transform itself, if the Kaiser became too brutal, into a formidable machine with which to smash him and his supporters. Then I began to wish that we had such a machine in France.

"And I wished this all the more when I came to see that the Socialists were moving further and further from dogmatic doctrinarism into actual life. . . .

"Now that the German Socialists have turned from metaphysics to practical tactics it is time to quit smiling, my Emperor.

"Do you know of what this continuous, irresistible march reminds me?

"It recalls to me the great enveloping movement of the army of the Royal Prince of Prussia in August, 1870, against the unfortunate army of Napoleon III., and the forced marches which ended at Sedan.

"But this time it is not the army of Napoleon III. that is being surrounded and besieged. It is that of Kaiser Wilhelm. The Catholic Centre still resists like the infantry of marines at Bazeilles. But this Centre, recoiling upon itself, is losing hold, and one feels that its resistance will soon have an end.

"The heavy battalions of the Socialists march methodically forward, making no mistakes, no false movements, but occupying one by one the cities, investing one by one the villages.

"A new imperial Sedan is impending, whose end will be a new republic—the German Republic.

"The Kaiser knows this. He well knows that any European war, no matter what might be its result, might easily precipitate the catastrophe. He knows that he cannot, with impunity, put arms into the hands of a military people, which has this superiority from the revolutionary point of view over the English people, that it was trained in the barracks to use the rifle and cannon. He knows that he cannot, with impunity, put arms into the hands of a people, even though peaceful, who have given proof of their bravery on a hundred fields of battle, and who have as part of their past history what seems, perhaps, the greatest revolution of modern times—the Protestant Reformation.

"The electoral triumph of the Socialists is not alone a victory for German liberty, it is a victory for international peace.

"Do we in France know enough to draw from the victory of our friends in Germany the lesson of organisation, of method, of discipline, of harmony that we need?

"We certainly have need to attend their school for a little while. They have attained to a cordial understanding between the Socialist Party and the unions, they have created within the bosom of the German working class two formidable organisations: one political, the other economic, marching ever forward in harmony, hand in hand, giving to the German people faith in themselves and that enthusiasm which moves mountains.

"We, on the contrary, whose political life is further advanced than that of the Germans—we have, by means of our internal dissensions, our sterile discussions of personalities, developed a party on the one hand and a general federation of labour on the other, equally stagnant, with equally ridiculous inefficiency, treasuries without money, journals without readers, and have engendered demoralisation, scepticism, and disgust.

"In truth, I begin to ask myself if, with our great phrases of insurrection, direct action, sabotage, and 'chasing the foxes,' we are, after all, from a revolutionary point of view, little more than children beside the Socialist voters of Germany."

THE MONTH.

The all-engrossing topic at the moment, as its menace has been for weeks past, is the general coal strike. This is unquestionably the greatest industrial revolt that has ever taken place in this country, and has already—within a week of its outbreak—had most disastrous effects on commerce and industry. Several hundreds of thousands of workpeople in other industries have been thrown out of employment, many of the railway companies have reduced their service of trains by a third; the already high prices of provisions have gone up still further, and we are threatened with general industrial paralysis and stagnation.

People are already beginning to blame the miners for their obduracy and unreasonableness. Really the only persons to blame are the mine-owners, aided and abetted by His Majesty's Government. There would have been no strike had the owners not so willed it, or if the Government had dealt firmly with them. But the strike has afforded a rich harvest for the owners and the middlemen; and the crushing down of miners, or disaster to the rest of the community, is a small matter so long as they can make profit thereby.

It is nineteen years ago since the last great coal strike, and then not more than a third of the present numbers were out. That strike was against an attempted reduction of 20 per cent. in the men's wages. Then, as now, the masters wanted a strike, and would have demanded a 40 or 50 per cent. reduction if that had been necessary to force the men out. As it was, the strike lasted 16 weeks, during which the miners, with their wives and little ones, had to endure all the hardships and privations want of employment entails. In the meantime, coal prices went up to an abnormal height, the owners cleared off huge stocks of rubbish at the price of best coal, and netted fabulous profits. One company alone was reported to have made thirty thousand pounds *additional* profits

out of the strike. Eventually, when the owners were satisfied, a compromise was arrived at, and the men returned to work on a 10 per cent. reduction.

There is little doubt that the mine-owners will make as good a thing out of the present strike as they did out of that of 1893. But it ought not to be possible for the conclusion of the dispute to be so futile. The Government has been endeavouring to trick the men into a settlement similar to that of the railway strike, but they were not to be "had." Now there is great talk in certain quarters of "co-partnery" as the only solution of this and similar disputes. We scarcely think that the men will be so foolish as to allow themselves to be led up that blind alley. Co-partnery means practically a conspiracy between masters and men to fleece the public of profits for the sole benefit of the masters. The men are offered a share of the profits as a sort of bribe to betray their class and the public interest. They find in the long run, however, that their share of the profits is a fraud and a delusion. What is really "shared" is the extra wages they are compelled to earn. They get a percentage of the profits, but they have to do more work in proportion in order to make these profits. Thus they really do more work for less pay, at the same time that by this sham sharing of profits they are made to regard their interests as identical with those of the masters instead of with those of the rest of the working class.

Recent bye-elections seem to indicate that the Government is being found out, and that their attempt to gull the workers by Lloyd George "social reform" has failed. The tremendous transference of votes in St. Rollox and South Manchester shows that the mischievous nature of the Insurance swindle has been at last exposed, and that our efforts in that direction have not been in vain. The result in both cases may also be regarded as a censure and condemnation of the general conduct of the Government in the recent strikes. The Ministry has been indeed weighed in the balances and found wanting.

The resolution in connection with the coal strike put forward by Messrs. MacDonald, Roberts, and Parker, on behalf of the Labour Party, must have afforded the capitalist House of Commons considerable amusement. It ran:—

"That this House regrets the action recently taken by owners and middlemen in raising the price of coal to consumers for no other

reason than to take advantage of a national crisis for securing inflated profits out of the necessities of the general community, and considers that this exploitation of the public is a motive inducing sections of the employers to resist the reasonable demands of the workmen ; and, further, this House is of opinion that a Committee should be appointed to consider and report how in future the general community can be protected against such action."

There's boldness for you! Real "boys of the bull-dog breed" are our Labour members. They coo as gently as any sucking dove. Well may the mine-owners say "Let them roar again ; let them roar again." What lucky fellows are the miners to have such doughty champions!

The Labour Party cannot, indeed, be congratulated on the figure they have cut in the Session, so far. They have allowed all the discussion which has taken place in the House on the miners' strike to pass without a single clear and definite pronouncement on the side of the men ; their amendment to the Address was a mere piece of make-believe, and the abstention of 19 of them from the division on their own motion, moved by Thorne in favour of fair wages in Government employment, was disgraceful. We should not object to all this ; we have long been convinced of the utter futility of this Parliament Group of moderate Lib.-Lab. Nonconformists masquerading as an "independent" Labour Party. The trouble is, however, that they play right into the hands of those who would persuade the working class that all political action is useless. It certainly would be if it could produce nothing better than the present "Labour Party."

On the other hand, however, the British Socialist Party is steadily growing in strength, solidarity and vigour, and should be in a position at the next General Election to take the field as the clear political expression of the class-conscious working-class movement.

There is every indication that the Chinese revolution will not result in the establishment of the Republic which some people have prematurely acclaimed so enthusiastically. It is much more likely that we shall see the return to power of the representative of the ancient Ming dynasty. What appears fairly certain is that China has not been "Westernised" to nearly the same extent as Japan,

and that she will work out her own destiny in her own Oriental fashion—if only she is left alone to do so.

All the protests of Liberals and pacifists to the contrary notwithstanding, the partition of Persia may be regarded as an accomplished fact. The attempt to make Sir Edward Grey the scapegoat for the mischievous foreign policy of which this is only one of the evil consequences not only signally failed, but invited the snub which was administered by the bestowal of the Garter on the Foreign Secretary. That was clear proof that that policy had the approbation of the Court—the real power in foreign affairs.

As advocates of Adult Suffrage and believers in the political and social equality of the sexes, we cannot but condemn, in the strongest possible manner, the disgraceful hooliganism of the so-called "militant" suffragists. We are no sticklers for mere legality, and we agree that the means must be adapted to the end. To do their worst to suppress the right of public meeting, and to organise a wanton campaign of indiscriminate window-smashing, in which persons who have nothing to do with the granting of votes to women are chief sufferers, can, however, only have the effect of injuring the cause they profess to be advocating, to prejudice all impartial people against it and them, and to prove their utter unfitness to play any part in public life.

The 7th of the present month was the 70th anniversary of the birthday of our comrade H. M. Hyndman. The event was made the occasion of a reunion of his old comrades and friends of the S.D.F. at a dinner at the Café Monico. At least three hundred of the friends and admirers—old and young—of our veteran comrade and leader assembled there, at the invitation of the Old Guard of the S.D.F., to do him honour. It was a notable and representative gathering. Of the men of 1881, there were present A. S. Headingley, James Macdonald, J. E. Williams, Dr. G. B. Clark, H. Quelch, and W. Horrocks. Among those who spoke in praise of the life-work of the guest of the evening were Walter Crane, who presided, G. B. Shaw, Dan Irving, H. G. Wells, Jean Longuet (for the French Socialist Party), M. Vibant (Holland), Hunter Watts, J. Köttgen, Russell Smart, and Leonard Hall. Among others present were Dr. and Mrs. Eder, Mr. and Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Mann, Summers, Barwick, Lewis,

and many other comrades. Congratulatory messages were read from Bebel, Kautsky, Adler, Dr. Russel Wallace, Professor Beesly, Frederic Harrison, George Lansbury, Keir Hardie, and a host of others. The speeches were excellent, and the spirit of good comradeship displayed by everyone made it a veritable triumph of Socialist unity. It was the most memorable Socialist gathering of the kind that has ever been held in this country.

THE EVENTS OF FEBRUARY.

AT HOME.

1—Miners served strike notices.

2—East Edinburgh bye-election: Hogge (Liberal), 5,064; Jameson (Unionist), 4,139. Reduced majority.
Submarine A3 sunk with four officers and ten men.

7—Failure of National Conference to adjust minimum wage dispute.

8—Mr. Churchill addressed Home Rule meeting at Belfast.

9—Mr. Churchill, at Glasgow, spoke of German Navy as a luxury.
Resignation of the Lord Chamberlain.

10—Death of Lord Lister, "founder of aseptic surgery."
Settlement of Glasgow dock dispute.

12—Sir Edward Grey promoted to the Order of the Garter.
Lloyd George at the London Opera House on Insurance Act.

13—Several Cabinet changes.
Miners' Federation reaffirmed position re minimum wage.

14—The King opened the Parliamentary Session.
The Road Board announced willingness to contribute £875,000 towards a new approach to West London.

15—On the Address the Labour Party amendment re minimum wage and nationalisation of mines and railways debated and voted on: For, 45; against, 226.
Renewed troubles on the Clyde.
London and North-Western Railway Company appointed a "grievance hearer."

17—Sir Edward Grey at Manchester on foreign policy.

19—Negotiations between coal-owners and miners resumed.

20—Prime Minister invited coal-owners and miners to meet him.
House of Commons: Lords reform amendent defeated.

21—House of Commons: Debate on Persia.

22—Coal-owners and Miners' Federation met Premier separately at the Foreign Office.
House of Commons: Tariff Reform amendment discussed.

23—Coal-owners' committee conferred with the Premier for several hours.
House of Commons finished Address debates: peasant proprietorship discussed and defeated.
Injunction granted prohibiting Sheffield Corporation from carrying on business of electric light fitters.
Mr. Lloyd George at Albert Hall on Woman Suffrage.

26—Several thousand Derbyshire miners started the general coal strike.
St. Rollox bye-election: McKinnon Wood (new Secretary for Scotland), 8,530; Macquisten (Unionist), 8,061. Greatly reduced Liberal majority.
27—Government submitted to both sides proposals to settle coal dispute. Many thousands ceased work.
28—Government's proposals for a minimum wage accepted by coal-owners of Durham and Federated Districts. 115,000 men on strike.
29—Eight hundred thousand miners idle. Mr. Asquith conditionally promised a Bill to enforce a minimum wage.

ABROAD.

1—Serious riot in Paris in connection with taxi-cab strike.
Portuguese strikes ended.
4—German Supreme Court sentenced Bertrand Stewart to 3½ years' detention for espionage.
5—Bavarian Diet elections: Clerical majority reduced to 11.
7—New Reichstag opened by the Kaiser.
9—Lord Haldane lunched with the Kaiser.
Herr Scheidermann (Socialist) elected First Vice-President of Reichstag.
10—Herr Spahn (Centre) refused Presidency of Reichstag because of Scheidermann.
Death of M. Louis Delaunay-Belleville, inventor of Belleville boilers.
11—French Senate adopted Franco-German Treaty in Morocco.
Great unrest in Mexico.
12—Abdication of the Manchu dynasty in China.
14—Radicals elected to Presidency and Second Vice-Presidency of Reichstag.
15—Belgian miners resumed work.
Yuan Shih-kai elected Provisional President of the Chinese Republic.
16—Imperial Chancellor delivered a speech in Reichstag on the German election results.
17—Death of Count Aerenthal, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister.
German Foreign Secretary discussed the Agadir incident.
Launch of the German battleship Prinz Regent: Speech by the Kaiser.
23—Italian Chamber ratified the Tripoli Annexation Bill.
24—Italians sunk two Turkish warships at Beirut.
26—Collision between police and strikers at Lawrence, Mass.
Serious rioting at Kingston, Jamaica, over the local electric tramway company.
27—Fierce engagement at Margheb—"hottest of the war."
29—Peking sacked by Chinese troops.

DEMOCRATIC AND SYNDICALIST ILLUSIONS.

By GUSTAV ECKSTEIN in the "Neue Zeit."

I.

The great trial in California has terminated for the present in the confession of, and sentence on, the brothers MacNamara. The investigation concerning the dynamite outrages still continues, and it is the great aim of the prosecuting authorities to involve in it as many trade union leaders as possible. But of far greater importance still are the reflex effects that this trial, which was so remarkable even considering American conditions, will have on the political life of the nation, and in particular on the Socialist Party.

It is true the brothers MacNamara were not Socialists, and did not belong to the Party. But the latter was only doing its duty when it threw all its energy into the defence of the accused, who, simply as workmen, could make a claim on their support. This was all the more necessary from the fact that, in America more than anywhere else, well-filled coffers are absolutely necessary in order to meet with even a limited amount of justice before the Courts, and as already the illegal and violent method of the introduction of the trial showed in what spirit it would be carried on.

Of course, the opponents of the Socialist Party eagerly took advantage of this opportunity to represent it as the protector of assassins and dynamitards, and to accuse it of propagating crime. The suddenness of these attacks and the consternation at the unexpected turn in events, at the apparently spontaneous confession of the men whom most people had up till then supposed to be innocent, resulted at first in a violent repudiation on the part of the Socialists, who were not content with declaring that the MacNamaras had never been members of the Party, and that the Party had never advocated attacks on property, but who also, to a great extent, joined in the moral condemnation pronounced by the bourgeois Press on the violent "crime," admitted by the accused, and even in some instances took part in the general cry for the condemned to be hanged.

But soon other opinions began to be voiced in the ranks of the Party. Especially the Left wing, which is intimately connected with the Syndicalist "Industrial Workers of the World," took the

part of the accused, and William D. Haywood, delegate to Copenhagen in 1910, one of the best known and most remarkable personalities in the Party,* went so far as to express, in a speech to the Coopers' Union, his strong sympathy with the brothers MacNamara and their act.

"There are few who know," he said, according to the Press reports to hand, "what the class struggle means. These men who were incarcerated at Los Angeles and then brought to San Quentin, they know what it means. They knew it, and, therefore, my heart is with the MacNamara boys, as long as they continue in the fight against capitalism."

And after setting the innumerable victims of capitalist rapacity against the 21 victims of the dynamite outrage, he said again: "I repeat once more: I am, and always shall be, on the side of the MacNamaras."

This speech made all the more sensation in the American Press for the reason that a pamphlet appeared at the same time by Haywood and Bohn, expressing the same point of view.

"In war," it says,† "the killing of men and the burning down of cities is reckoned as a patriotic work. Success gives to many such actions the appearance of being legitimate and commendable. In industry the capitalists enslave little children, and the profit wrung from their hard labour is used to build churches and universities and to support Christian missions. The murderous capitalist who gets his money by robbing children is extolled as being highly charitable, virtuous, religious, etc.

"If the worker, either in consequence of his own experience or through the study of Socialism, realises this, he acts accordingly. He has absolutely no respect for the profit-getter's 'right' of property. He makes use of any weapon which will decide the struggle in his favour. He knows that the present laws of property are made by the capitalists, and *for* them, and therefore he does not hesitate to break them. He knows that any action is right which tends to promote the interests of the working class; for such action saves the workers from ruin and death."

Both the speech and the pamphlet made an enormous sensation, and raised excited discussions in the whole of the Party Press. Some of the most esteemed leaders of the Party expressed themselves with great decision against these views, and labelled the instigation to illegal acts as morally unjustifiable and ruinous in practice. In an autocratically governed country, such as Russia, they said, a revolutionary Party was obliged to fall back upon violent methods; but not in a democratic Republic, where the

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* Since then Haywood has been elected on to the Party Executive.

† "Industrial Socialism." By William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn. (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Co.) 64 pages. Price 10 cents. (Page 57.)

proletariat enjoys the same rights of citizenship as the other classes, and where the political struggle can, therefore, be waged within the limits of legality.

But these expressions of opinion did not remain uncontested, and especially the assertion of the moral objectionableness met with much opposition. As a matter of fact, it is just in America that this conception is extremely unconvincing, even if one otherwise admits its reasonableness. One need only glance at the practices of the great American undertakings, one need, above all, only read the crushing accusations raised and substantiated against the magnates of capital by Gustavius Myers in his "History of the Great American Fortunes,"* to find it utterly absurd to exact from the workers that they alone should in their struggles consider themselves bound by the legal code, and that on moral considerations. For in America the great capitalists do not only commit those crimes which are in the nature of capitalism and permitted by its laws. They do not confine themselves to merely crushing down their weaker opponent by competition and denuding him of all he possesses, to starving the workers and making them "pliable" by means of lock-outs, to shutting down works and throwing the workers on to the street, to driving women workers to prostitution, and young workers to crime by starvation wages, to leaving the most dangerous machines in factories without protective appliances, to neglecting the ventilation in mines, thus killing and mutilating hundreds of workers year by year. All that is their "just" and legal right; but the American magnates of capital do not stop there. Trusting to the colossal power of their money-bags, they scoff at bourgeois law and justice, and there is hardly a crime from which they would recoil in the carrying out of their financial plans, if it only seemed likely to serve their ends.† It is, therefore, no wonder that a clergyman, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, speaking recently in the Church of the Messiah, New York, declared from the pulpit:—

"If I had to choose, I would rather be a criminal with blood-stained hands than one of the leaders of the Steel Trust." And, turning to the MacNamara case, he went on: "As long as human nature remains human nature, dynamite is inevitable in such circumstances. For what means of protest has the worker to-day but deeds of violence? There are no laws in his favour, and no courts of justice which would carry out such laws. The Press misunderstands him, and the Church shrinks from taking his part. Violence cannot be justified from the point of view of absolute ethics; for America is not yet Russia, even taking the steel industry into account; but neither can it be indicted as long as the accusers shall not have removed all provocations and given the worker a means of protest."

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* Chicago, 1910: Charles H. Kerr and Co. Three volumes.

† Myers especially has given proof of this in his book.

Similar views are expressed by Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist Party's candidate for the presidency, in an article as thoughtful as it was courageous, in the January number of the "International Socialist Review":—

"If the two MacNamara brothers had been trust-detectives, and if they had shot 21 innocent pickets instead of laying dynamite under the walls of the 'Los Angeles Times,' they would be protected by the law and extolled as heroes by admiring capitalists."

The quarrel about the attitude towards the act of the MacNamara brothers is creating a tremendous stir in our American brother-Party. This is seen with special clearness by the many letters received by the Party papers from their readers, taking sides hotly both for and against Haywood's attitude in this affair. And it is, indeed, a question which is not only of importance in itself, but one in the discussion of which the two tendencies become sharply defined which have gained a large following among American workers, and even in our American and other brother-Parties—the democratic-opportunist and the syndicalist tendencies.

II.

The kernel of the question upon which the discussion turns is this: Whether the Social-Democrat should consider himself bound to respect the existing laws. Above all, what is the value of law and legality in the eyes of the Social-Democrat?

Here two fundamental conceptions stand in sharp opposition to each other, which can be expressed most concisely in the following two sentences:—

"The law is the result and the expression of the will of the people."

"The history of every previous state of society is the history of class struggles."

According to the first, bourgeois democratic, conception, the law is based upon a sort of tacit agreement between all the individuals of which society is composed. That does not, it is true, mean that it must answer to the needs and wishes of them all. But it is then the business of those who are at a disadvantage to bring about an alteration in the law. An absolute State force can only exist so long as it answers to the wish of the people. If that ceases to be the case, and if the will of the people expresses itself in a decided manner, it has to resign. If it does not do so, then the people have the right to a violent revolution. But this is not the case where the political machinery grants to all the citizens of the State the same rights, where, therefore, the expression of the popular will is not restricted by extra-legal forces, thus especially not in a democratic Republic.

To this conception that of the proletarian Social-Democrats is sharply opposed. The latter do not look upon the people as a homogeneous whole, nor as a number of individuals, but as a conglomeration of classes with different, often sharply opposed, econo-

mic and social interests. For them, therefore, the law is not the expression of the general will, but the expression of the rule of a class, and at the same time a weapon for the preservation of that rule. This way of regarding it, of course, involves quite a different valuation of the various State-constitutions. These are not products of art, results of a creative agreement ; but, on the contrary, they are the forms in which class rule finds its expression, forms not freely chosen, but necessarily resulting from the structure of society, from the nature of the ruling class and the resistance of the oppressed, even though the same State-forms often seem to answer to quite different economic conditions. Thus the democratic republic is to be found among peasant peoples as well as at the highest stages of capitalist development. But this similarity of State-forms is only apparent ; their nature varies very much. The American Republic under Roosevelt is as different as possible from that Republic under President Lincoln, although the old Constitution is nominally still in force. The Third Republic of France has little but the name in common with the First. The modern bourgeoisie has understood in a most masterly way how to convert the once revolutionary State-forms, won in the struggle against absolutism, into the tools of class-rule. To-day it need not take refuge beneath the protecting wing of a Napoleonic military dictatorship in order to be safe from the proletarian on-rush ; to-day it has means at its disposal the effect of which is more certain, without the same degree of danger to itself.

In his article in the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" on the June battle of the year 1848, Marx raises the question :—*

"Should the deep gulf that has opened before us confuse the Democrats, or lead us to suppose that the struggles around the State-form are empty and illusory?"

And he replies :—

"Only weak, cowardly souls can raise this question. The collisions which arise out of the conditions which govern bourgeois society itself must be fought through, they cannot be charmed away. The best State-form is that in which the social antagonisms are not obscured, and are not forcibly or artificially covered up or restrained. The best State-form is that in which these conflicts can be fought out freely, thereby attaining their proper solution."

Marx considers the Republican State-form as the one in which the social antagonisms can be best fought out to a finish. But there he over-estimates the courage, and under-estimates the meanness, of the bourgeoisie. The examples of the French, and especially of the North American Republics have shown that the modern bourgeoisie has succeeded in making the Republic into a State-form wherein the social antagonisms are more and more blurred and veiled than in any

* Mehring : "Aus dem literarischen Nachlass von Karl Marx, Friederich Engels, und Ferdinand Lassalle."

other. Of course, we must aim with all our might at the realisation of the Republican State-form; for only on the foundation of a republic is it possible to force through our most important demands; but a Constitution such as that of France or the United States to-day would not help us much.

Marx had feared that the oppression exercised by an absolute or even constitutional monarchy would unite all classes, all oppressed elements, among the people in a common self-defence, thereby veiling and bridging over the class antagonisms. Thus it happened in Russia to a considerable extent before the revolution, when country noblemen, capitalists, peasants, and proletarians joined in the struggle against Czarism. It was only the revolution itself which proved how deceptive were the hopes based on such an alliance. And this led to its sudden collapse.

In a republic, Marx thought, this danger need not be feared, for here the social antagonisms were brought directly into opposition, and no external, absolute power intervened either to repress the class struggle artificially or to unite all classes of society in the struggle against that power itself. Facts have shown that Marx was mistaken in this. In monarchies the extension of the proletariat, and of its social and political importance, scared all the bourgeois parties into taking refuge more and more under the protection of the sword, which, however, has had the effect of constituting the monarchical power the evident patron of all the propertied interests against the forward movement of the proletariat. Even the Russian bourgeoisie preferred to take up the yoke of Czarism again rather than owe to the proletariat a victory the fruits of which they would have to share with it. But Czarism, on the other hand, found itself obliged to act as the patron of large capitalist and landed interests against the proletariat in order to finish with the latter. So also to-day in the apparently constitutional but really absolute monarchies, where capitalism has assumed highly-developed forms, as in Germany and Russia, the class antagonisms are much more sharply defined, they force themselves much more visibly to the front, than in republics like France and the United States. It is true the State-form is not the only cause of this phenomenon, but it is one of the most important determining factors.

(To be continued.)

THE REVIEWS.

SYNDICALISM AND THE LABOUR UNREST.

Mr. J. H. Harley writes the following in the current "Contemporary Review:—

"It is becoming more and more clearly evident that the mental regeneration of Europe must precede its social regeneration." These were the confident words of J. S. Mill, in 1842, and in the days when they were written the future appeared to be all on the side of science and reflection. Men would run before they leapt. They would appeal to reason before they would rely on myths or mysteries. All that was real was rational, and all that was rational was real. Spectacled professors controlled speculation in the magazines or ransacked the corners of the earth for strange fossils and ape-like human skulls. Professor Huxley discoursed on the Gadarene swine. George Eliot called for a statesman to lead who would have some sense of the "stability in human affairs."

How different is the outlook to-day! The floodgates have been opened and the meadows overflow! Physical science has lost its ordered calmness in the speculations of Gustav le Bon, and biology has become catastrophic and revolutionary in the theories of Hugo de Vries. Sentiment and mystery have displaced logic and reason. Political essayists invite us to overturn the whole fabric of society on the smallest and slightest pretext. All ranks and classes seem to have joined in a conspiracy to overthrow—

"The god of bounds,
Who sets to seas a shore."

. . . . . .

This is a serious conclusion; but at no side of the social fabric does it suggest more extreme consequences than in connection with those manifestations of dissatisfaction and revolt which the newspapers call the Labour Unrest. Ours is the age of the Fourth Estate. Labour is in the limelight. Tramps and stonemasons write arresting autobiographies. Railwaymen, cotton-weavers, and miners successively combine to make society tremble. The men in great industries tear up old agreements and turn their backs on their chosen leaders. Everywhere there is the disposi-

tion to trust to brute force rather than gentle argument. When George Eliot developed the Radicalism of Felix Holt, she made him hate above all else on earth disorganised rebellion and barbarous physical repression. . . . . Far otherwise would act the Radicals of the Industrial Revolution of to-day! They might be found with "King Pataud" turning off the electric lights of Paris, or with Mr. Vernon Hartshorn preaching revolt in the valleys of Wales. Syndicalism, open or baptised under the name of Industrial Unionism, is one of the unsettling influences in the world of workers, and the high priest of Syndicalism is the French writer and speculator, M. Georges Sorel.

Sorel started his literary life in a spirit of revolt. "I am neither a professor nor a popular writer," he says, "nor even a claimant to party leadership. I am only a self-taught man who offers to a few people the copy-books in which he has written the letters of his own alphabet. That is why the rules of art have never much interested me." The sincerity of this confession will never be doubted by any student of Sorel's writings. There is in none of his books any straining after lucidity. There is in all of them the suggestion of the copy-books from which notes have been somewhat miscellaneously drawn. He says himself that he sought in every book he read, not for the popular thought, the thoughts that afterwards became current coin in the world, but for the unpopular thoughts, those that he could not find elsewhere, and those presumably which had not found favour among the aristocratic artists of their time. On the second floor of his little house at Boulogne, surrounded by many books, he is still engaged in the somewhat difficult task of exhuming Syndicalism from the literature of the past. Now and then he turns back on his notebook and writes an article for the "Mouvemente Socialiste" to serve as an inspiration to the clever young men who in that magazine do the thinking for the French Syndicalists. Visit him at his home and pass up the little garden which separates it from the street. There you will find an eager student about sixty years of age, surmounted by a straw hat in summer and an ancient cap in winter, who will deliver himself somewhat dogmatically, and perhaps you will add one-sidedly, of his opinions on men and things.

. . . . . .

In 1897 he wrote a magazine article on "The Socialist Future of Trade Unions," and this was the beginning of his influence on French Syndicalism. These trade union speculations were published just at the psychological moment. For some years before 1897 there had been, at any rate in working-class circles, a reaction against excessive centralisation of the French administrative system. It was only in 1864 that the right to coalition was recognised, and not till 1884 that any measure of liberty was granted to the unions. Sorel's sketch of their Socialist, or rather their Syndicalist, future came to these struggling Labour associations as a revelation of unexhausted strength. He upheld the unchecked

liberty to combine. He was all for autonomy among the workmen's societies. The unions must be true to their own destinies. They must not degenerate into benefit clubs. They were more than co-operative stores. Why should they accept the patronage of Ministers or expect their leading officials to become functionaries of the overshadowing State? In the first draft of the book Sorel said nothing of the General Strike. In the additional chapters added to the Italian edition he explains that he had really in 1897 written a chapter on the subject, but suppressed it because the idea of the General Strike was then so unpopular.

It was not till 1902 that Sorel's sketch of the trade union future bore fruit at Montpelier in the constitution of the since notorious Confederation of Labour. Sorel himself disclaimed all the merit of being its first and only founder. He rather attributed to Fernand Pellontier, a deserving minor official who, unrecognised and unrewarded, founded the Bourses du Travail, the merit of giving the original impulse to the Syndicalist movement. But there were features about the thought of the men who made Syndicalism powerful which showed the influence of Sorel's characteristic ideas. In the Confederation every union counts as one, and none as more than one. The railwaymen command no larger number of votes than the Union of Parisian Compositors. And besides this equal value of unions there is a duplex system of representation. Each union is affiliated to a Bourse du Travail on the basis of locality, and has also a vote in the Confederation as included in the central federated organisation of its own particular trade. In other words, the leading officials of the Confederation have learned from Sorel that the great thing is to foster the spirit of combination and co-operation to match the overweening power of the State.

There is a very great deal in this mode of thought with which many of us must cordially agree. The voluntary association has certainly come to stay in the organisation of democratic government. As against the German tendency to exalt the bureaucrat, Sorel's proclamation of a trade union democracy comes as a refreshing surprise. But when Sorel goes further in his thought and proceeds to explain the direct action which is the method of trade union legislative activity, he gets entangled in consequences which are a good deal more than questionable. Of course, the trade unionist must never take his cue from politicians. He can exist and grow strong far apart from State patronage and control. His methods are street demonstrations, strikes, boycotting, sabotage, and the trade union label—not Labour legislation, or the Parliamentary tactics of Socialist M.P.'s. And there is even a more sinister and forbidding spectre in the background! At Tours, so early as 1892, Fernand Pellontier took it upon himself to mention the General Strike, yet notwithstanding the animated advocacy of M. Briand, then a member of the Socialist Party, it was some time before the new idea was naturalised among the rank

and file of the Syndicalists. But Sorel persevered unceasingly. In January, 1906, he published in "Le Mouvemente Socialiste" the first draft of his "Reflections on Violence," in which he went in whole-heartedly for the General Strike, or at least for the myth of the General Strike, as a necessary and energetic stimulus to proletarian action and combination. Still, with all his knowledge and ingenuity, it must be admitted that there is by no means complete agreement among the Syndicalists as to the course of events in the great expropriation of the future. Pouget speaks of the expropriation as if it might be gradual and partial. Labriola, their Italian representative, hardly looks on violence as a real necessity at all. Yet the young "intellectuals" are with Sorel, and in the whirl of speculation the brain gets what it wants at last. In the "Mouvemente Socialiste" Edward Berth writes on philosophy and politics. Hubert Lagardelle discusses the general rationale of the new conceptions. And both acknowledge Sorel as their master, and put the whole power of their undoubted ability at the service of Sorel's conception of the ultimate end of Syndicalism.

THE GREAT STATE AND THE COUNTRYSIDE.

Lady Warwick writes a very interesting article in this month's "Fortnightly Review," under the above heading. She says:—

The dividing line which separates the country from the town, the countryman from the townsman, is a comparatively recent phenomenon in human affairs. Almost to the end of the eighteenth century—except in a very few great cities such as London, Rome, Constantinople, and Paris, for example—there were not many members of a civilised State who were entirely divorced from a share in the work and the pleasure of the fields and woods. The great towns of the Middle Ages and the earlier modern period were of a size that would now be entitled to the name of little market-towns, except for the few of the rank exampled above. As for their inhabitants, take the case of the woollen-spinners, when they began to build up England's industrial supremacy; they were at first merely an agricultural peasantry, who occupied their spare time and the time of the unemployed members of their families in spinning in the rooms and sheds around their cottages. They were much more entitled to the name of agriculturalists than the description of industrial artisans. But this is not the place for a study of the history of the countryside; suffice it to sum up the matter by a specific illustration: the town of Warwick, as it stands to-day, is a fairly typical example of the normal towns of the earlier period, while Manchester or Birmingham is a typical city of modern life. The radical distinctions between the two classes are fairly obvious, and a clear conception of this fundamental fact of the

modern city will be a convenient starting-point for our examination of the possibilities of country life under the ideal conditions of the great State.

It will be for others to discuss the phenomena of the intervening period of transition from the present to the future: it is the business of this essay to describe the country as it visualises itself to the mind of one who accepts and hopes for the Great State as the most probable and most desirable condition of human society, as it will one day be organised. It will be a frankly ideal presentation of the countryside of the Great State. But although it will be a statement of an ideal place, it does not necessarily follow that it is based on phantoms of the imagination. On the contrary, we idealists of the Great State claim that our visions are founded on a substantial groundwork of hard, material facts; we reach our ideal by rational conclusions from things which already exist. We argue from the known to the unknown.

At the beginning of this statement it seems very clear that no rational ideal can admit the possibility of the continued existence of such an unsightly social sore as Manchester, or Liverpool, or Newcastle, or the suburbs of London or its East End. There will, of course, be no room in the Great State for towns of factories belching forth yellow fog; there will be no place for congested areas of slums. But our rebellion will go further than this: for the fresh air of the country, with its quiet sunshine and open fields, with their flowers and birds, are all such a vital part of a rational human life that no civilised beings will be content to be buried in the middle of great cities, however healthy they may be made. Perhaps the most fundamental change in the ideal Great State will be the abolition of the over-swollen town, and the revival of the saner towns of earlier days. There will be fewer enormous cities like New York and Chicago, there will be more boroughs of the size of Ipswich, Chester, Reading and York. The radical distinction between the country and the town will have disappeared.

This change will be rendered possible because the means of transit—railways, trams, light railways, and motor traction, perhaps aeroplanes or something better—will be so vastly improved that there will be no need for people to herd together in closely-packed groups. When it is a simple matter for the citizens to move themselves and their belongings and the produce of their labour from one point to another, almost the whole advantage of town segregation will vanish. The railways and trams and cars will then be communal and free services, just as the roads are free to-day. The waste of innumerable ticket-collectors and booking-clerks will be saved; the citizens of the Great State will regard transit as a commonplace, which they will provide without stint, and encourage everyone to use without a moment's hesitation.

* * * * * *

Town life has brought many evils in its train, but there are certain invaluable advantages which only the town segregation can

procure. For example, a well-equipped opera house, a theatre, a concert hall, art galleries and museums, libraries, swimming baths, specialised medical advice and special instruction, facilities for higher education, large shops with a full variety of choice for their customers, the invigorating interchange of the social intercourse of large gatherings; all these things demand a town of a fairly extensive size for their accomplishment. The torpor of the rural dwellers of to-day is largely the consequence of having to do without these advantages of the city; and they will remain torpid until some method is discovered of placing them within the reach of the countryman and woman. The countryman of the Great State will always be within easy reach of the town. Indeed, when we consider the organisation of the agricultural work of this Great State, it will seem probable that comparatively few people will live outside the town.

FAIRY TALES OF REALITY.

"There are no fairy-tales more beautiful than those invented by life itself."—Andersen.

II.

In Genoa, on the little square in front of the station, a tightly-packed crowd of people are assembled. Workmen predominate, but many well-dressed, well-nourished persons are also present. At the head of the crowd stand the members of the municipal administration. The heavy banner of the town, artistically embroidered in silk, floats in the air, and beside it wave the many-coloured banners of the Labour organisations. The gold shimmers on the tassels, fringes, knots, and on the ends of the banner-poles, the silk rustles, and the mass of people, in solemn mood, murmur like a choir singing in an undertone.

Above them, on a high pedestal, towers the fine figure of Columbus, the dreamer who suffered so much because he believed, and—gained the victory because he believed. And he still looks down upon mankind as though his marble lips would say:—

"Only those gain the victory who believe."

At his feet, round the pedestal, the musicians have deposited their brazen trumpets, and the brass shines in the sun like pure gold.

The heavy marble house of the station stands in a concave half-circle, and has spread out its wings as though to embrace humanity. Through the portal the loud panting of the locomotives reaches the ear, the rattling of chains, whistles, cries; but on the square, flooded with burning sunlight, it is still and oppressively hot. On the verandahs and at the windows of the houses stand half-dressed women with flowers in their hands, and children dressed as for a fête, looking like flowers themselves.

A whistle from the engine approaching the station. There is a movement in the crowd. Like blackbirds some hats go up in the air, the musicians seize their instruments, some of the older, more serious men step to the front, turn their faces to the crowd, and give some order, motioning with their hands towards each side.

Heavily and slowly the crowd draws aside, leaving a broad pathway free to the street.

"Whom are they receiving here?"

"The children from Parma."

There, at Parma, the workers are on strike. The employers do not give in, the position of the workmen became daily more difficult. They therefore got together their children, who were already beginning to sicken with hunger, and sent them to their comrades in Genoa.

From behind the station's rows of pillars there emerges a strange procession of little people: they are only half-clothed, and look in their rags like shaggy, odd little animals. They walk in rows of five abreast, holding each other tightly by the hand—small, dusty, visibly tired. Their faces are solemn, but their eyes are shining, clear, and lively; and as the music breaks forth in their honour with the "Garibaldi Hymn" a bright, contented smile passes over these thin, peaked, hungry faces.

The crowd greets these people of the future with a deafening roar, the banners droop before them, the trumpets blare. The children are a little confused by this reception; for a moment they shrink back, but then all at once they close up their ranks, forming themselves into a solid body, and with hundreds of voices, which come as if from one breast, give vent to the cry:—

"Long live Italy!"

"Long live the youth of Parma" drones the multitude, falling upon them.

"Hurrah for Garibaldi!" cry the children, cutting like a grey wedge in among the crowd and disappearing there.

At the windows of the hotel, on the roofs of the houses, countless handkerchiefs flutter like white birds; a rain of flowers pours down thence on the heads of the crowd, loud, merry cries are heard.

Everything has a festal air, everything seems clad with new life; even the grey marble has blossomed out in gay hues.

The banners wave, hats and flowers fly through the air; over the heads of the grown-ups little children's heads have appeared; little, dark-skinned claws clutch through the air after the flowers and wave to the crowd, and above everything sounds uninterruptedly the mighty cry:—

"Long live Socialism!"

"Long live Italy!"

Almost simultaneously all the children are lifted up, placed on the shoulders of the grown-up people, or pressed to the breast of some rough-moustached man. The music is hardly audible in the general noise, screams, and laughter. Women appear among the crowd and divide the still remaining children among them. They call to each other:—

"Will you take two, Anita?"

"Yes, indeed, and you too!"

"And one for lame Marguerita."

Everywhere there are signs of joyful excitement, faces with a festal expression, kind, tearful eyes. Here and there the strikers' children are already nibbling at sweets or eating bread.

"In our time this was not thought of," said an old man with a beaked nose and a black cigar in his mouth.

"And yet how simple it is!"

"Yes. Simple and reasonable!"

The old fellow took the cigar out of his mouth, examined the one end, and with a deep sigh shook off the ashes. When directly after he found two of the Parma children close beside him, evidently brothers, he made a fierce face, tilted his hat over his eyes, and opened his arms. The children, first looking solemnly up at him, pressed closer together, and shrunk back with darkening faces. Suddenly the old fellow bent down and began to crow. The children now laughed merrily and jumped about the pavement with their bared legs. But the old man stood up, pulled his hat to rights, and walked off with an uncertain step, evidently of the opinion that he had done all that was necessary.

A hunch-backed, grey-haired woman, with the face of a witch, and harsh grey hairs on her bony chin, stands against the pedestal of the Columbus monument and—weeps, drying her red-encircled eyes on the end of a faded shawl. Sombre and malformed, she seems so strangely solitary in this cheerfully excited crowd of people.

With a dancing step a black-haired vegetable woman comes past, leading by the hand a little man of seven years, with wooden shoes on his feet and a hat which reaches to the shoulders on his head.

He shakes his head about to throw the hat back on to his neck, but it keeps slipping over his nose again. The woman pulls the hat off his head, and waving it laughing in the air sings loudly some song or other. The boy watches her, his head thrown back and his whole face full of laughter, and then leaps up to get back his hat, and both disappear in the crowd.

An overgrown man in a leather apron, with bare, enormous arms, holds a six-year-old girl on his shoulder, and says to the woman who walks at his side leading by the hand a boy with fiery red hair:—

"You understand that if this becomes a general custom they will have hard work to get us under, eh?"

And he laughs in a loud, deep, triumphant voice, tossing up his little burden towards the blue sky:—

"Hurrah for Parma!"

The people disperse, carrying or leading the children away with them. On the square there remain only crushed flowers, paper bags emptied of sweets, a merry group of blue-clad porters, and above them the noble figure of the man who discovered the new world.

But from the streets which, like enormous tubes, converge on the square, sound the merry cries of the people who are going towards the new life.

MAXIM GORKI.

TRUTH AND THE JOURNEY.

AN ALLEGORY.

By May Westoby.

I am lying at Death's door. Throughout the long night I have been watching for it to open, and thinking.

Now the soothing peace of dawn possesses me, and hope has lifted up my eyelids that once more I may look back across the desert.

Already day begins to unroll the first delicate banners of its pageant against the eastern sky, and I can see the path I have marked so slowly and with so much labour. Are there plants struggling to live where I have watered it with my tears? I cannot see.

But the path is there, while above me flutters the flag that shall encourage him who is destined to see it and to carry it forward.

If in the distance I should even now descry a solitary figure!

But the path stretches, lonely, desolate, until sight loses itself and only thought can go back into those inhabited places whence I issued in the search for Truth.

I was young when, kneeling before Her altar, I gave myself to Her service and set out to seek Her that I might enthrone Her in the heart of humanity. At first I followed where others had led, taking this path and that, to find, after long experience, they only merged into one, as tributary streams flow into a river and journey with it to the ocean. Then I pressed on until I came to the untrodden desert.

Now I am lying at Death's door, which gloomed upon me suddenly as I flew the flag of progress upon the last inch of discovered ground.

Beyond me voices are murmuring; they grow louder; Death's door is opening and I can see within. Who are these two that are glorified by the light which shines from one? Listen!

"Is he not my servant? Let me go to him, great Death."

"Your servant has he been indeed, oh, Truth. But now he is worn out, and can serve you no longer, he is mine."

"Alas! It is always so. They strive and strive; and when they are tired and I am fain to help them you bar my way."

"Shall Truth be told truth? Men must strive and men must die. But the journey to the fair City of Light grows easier. See how this man has made a way for those who shall follow him. Not all the sands of Time shall cover it. While to those who seek you after him my door shall not lie here, but nearer your kingdom, Truth. Until at last it shall lie beyond the gates, and mankind shall enter and dwell in its white and perfect light."

Truth had stood with bowed shoulders, but now she lifted herself up and her grave eyes glowed.

"It is so," she said, and then, softly, "I will speak with him before you speak."

Death answered, "We will go hand in hand."

They are coming. It is colder and the light dazzles me. Truth has touched my flagstaff to strengthen its hold upon the sand.

Death beckons me. Away upon my path I fancy I can see a human form.

My pencil slides—my papers fall——

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RIOT AND REVOLUTION.

By H. Quelch.

During the series of strikes which has marked the last twelve months there has been manifested a very general disposition to regard this industrial upheaval, this "labour unrest" as it has been called, as something quite phenomenal and unprecedented.

There is a type of mind, and, indeed, one that is not at all uncommon, which is prone to see in any event, not of everyday occurrence, something strange, mysterious, ominous; a "problem," the cause of which is occult and fateful, and the solution of which is not less abstruse and difficult to discover. A simple explanation for quite simple phenomena will not suffice, and they find it necessary to grope in outer darkness for the hidden, mysterious cause, the "psychological moment," of a movement, the real moment of which should be apparent to the most superficial observer.

In these recent strikes it was not at all difficult to comprehend that their direct, immediate cause was a simple economic one—the fact that wages had not

increased in proportion to the increased cost of living. That fact, in conjunction with the further facts that trade was booming, work was brisk, and unemployment at a minimum, afforded quite sufficient explanation for the strikes among sailors, dockers, carmen, lightermen, and other transport workers last year. In the case of the railwaymen there were the further contributory causes afforded by the fraudulent "settlement" of which they were the victims in 1907, and the stimulating effect of the comparative success of the other strikes.

In the great national coal strike which has just concluded the same causes undoubtedly were at work, but in this case, the immediate cause was the question of payment for abnormal places. Failing a satisfactory arrangement for such payment, it was generally felt by the miners that the only way out of the difficulty was to fix a minimum wage, below which no one should be paid, whatever the amount of work he might do.

That really was the fount and origin of the colliers' strike, and in that respect it differed from the preceding strikes; and to that extent it was exceptional. Unlike most other strikes, it was not directly occasioned by a demand on the part of the whole body for an advance of wages, or for a levelling up of wages to meet the increased cost of living. It was a demand of the whole body for comparatively fair treatment for the worst paid and least fortunate among them.

It has been repeatedly stigmatised by the reptile press as a "selfish strike." It is doubtful if ever there was a strike to which such a term was less applicable. The majority of the men had nothing whatever to gain by it; and were actually sacrificing themselves on behalf of the minority. And this was none the less the fact because members of the majority to-day might be in the minority to-morrow.

All that apart, however, the fact remains that the cause of the colliers' strike, as that of the strikes of last year, was the simple economic question of wages. Only that and nothing more.

BRITISH MUSEUM

It suited the master class and their henchmen in the press, however, to pretend that such a simple cause was quite inconceivable to them. Lord Claud Hamilton was indignant at the idea that plutocratic railwaymen, earning the princely income of a pound a week, could possibly be discontented with their idyllic lot. They must have been led away, misguided, blinded to their own interests by those wicked, cunning, clever, "brainy" Socialists. Mr. D. A. Thomas expressed the same opinion about the miners. Their occupation, he contended, was healthy and well-paid. It was a mistake to suppose that the strike was a question of wages; it was a revolutionary Socialist movement.

That, of course, was quite obviously the proper card for Hamilton, Thomas and the other capitalists to play. Once convince the general public that behind the apparently just and moderate demands of bodies of workmen there lurked the sinister spectre of revolution, with its menace of red ruin and the breaking up of laws, and their game was won. That card was played by the enemies of the men for all they were worth—and with conspicuous success.

Unfortunately—not for the immediate result, because there it did not make a particle of difference—but unfortunately for the working-class movement generally, there are not wanting those on our own side who have been in entire agreement with the capitalist view as to the cause and origin of the strikes. It is the misfortune of a revolutionary party to be afflicted with two sets of foes in its own household, so to speak, both of whom see the revolution in any sort of violent movement, or unusual stir. On the one side are those who flinch at the mere mention of the word revolution, because they suppose that it necessarily implies violence and disorder; and on the other side are those who welcome any violent outbreak, any sudden movement, any revolt, however ill-conceived; any riotous disorder, however senseless, futile and reactionary, because they fondly suppose that any form of violence is necessarily revolutionary.

The first are careful to explain that they are evolutionary, not revolutionary Socialists—thereby implying their ignorance of the meaning of both evolution and revolution—the others sneer at any condemnation of violence as ultra-Parliamentarism, and estimate any point gained, not by its intrinsic economic or political value, but in direct ratio with the degree of violence by which it has been attained. Thus, for instance, a maximum working day secured to all by legislation—to say nothing of a minimum wage acquired by such means—would be very small potatoes indeed. But let any body of workmen acquire either of these objects by means of a strike—especially if the strike should be attended with riot and disorder and great privation—then that is a gain indeed, even though it may be wrested from them on the very first slump in the market.

So, too, with the Suffragist agitation. Our extremist friends are wont to belittle the vote, as a thing of no importance at all; and the whole international Socialist movement is opposed to the agitation for the extension of the suffrage to certain women only, on a property qualification. When, however, a few well-to-do women mislead others of the working class, and, with their aid, indulge in an orgy of rowdy hooliganism and window-smashing, the vote suddenly becomes possessed of transcendental importance; and its attainment by bourgeois women would be a revolutionary achievement.

These two sets of our friendly enemies play into each others' hands nicely. The ones by their timidity and depreciation of revolution give excuse for the hostility to political action and the admiration of violent "direct" action which the others express; while the latter, in their turn, by their foolish glorification of violence for its own sake, and their hostility to organised political action, do their worst to strengthen the anti-revolutionary sentiments of the first.

The difficulty, it appears to me, arises from a misunderstanding of terms, and the confusion of the end with the means. An object is not necessarily revolutionary because its attainment is attended by violence;

nor is a revolution less a revolution because it has been achieved in a perfectly peaceful fashion.

It would be scarcely too much to say that so far from disorder, riot and violence being the essential accompaniments to revolution, the greatest revolutions would have been peaceful enough but for the riot and violence invoked by the counter-revolution.

Riot, violence, disorder, so far from being appealed to, are always to be deprecated and condemned by the revolutionists. We Social-Democrats have always deprecated strikes, not because they are necessarily attended by riot and disorder, but because they entail loss and privation and want upon the strikers, and very real sacrifice, for, at best, a dubious gain. Generally they are futile, but even at the best they achieve no more than could be gained at far less cost and with greater certainty by other methods. In a strike, naturally, we always support the workers, but we do not the less regret that they should not make use of more efficient weapons, and weapons less dangerous to themselves.

But if we deprecate strikes, how much the more must we deprecate violence which is not only futile, but plays directly into the hands of the enemy. We have over and over again appealed to soldiers not to allow themselves to be made use of against strikers and not to fire on their fellow-workers. But such appeals are ridiculous if at the same time we are going to encourage riot and disorder on the part of the strikers. Our whole case in that respect rests on the assumption that the provocation comes, as, indeed, it generally does, from the side of the masters and the authorities. In such case we may excuse, but we cannot advocate violence. Violence, disorder, riot are in themselves evils only to be resorted to in self-defence. The workers have no interest, indeed, even in attacks on property. They made the property, and should own it. How foolish, then, to destroy what they should own.

Moreover, riot, violence, disorder are, in existing circumstances, so futile. *A la guerre, comme a la guerre;* and in the class war in which we are engaged I admit that we are not called upon to be too squeamish as to the means or weapons to which we may have recourse. I myself have said, and have no hesitation in repeating, that the Social-Democrat should be prepared to use any means that would achieve our object—"any means, from the ballot box to the bomb." I say that here, as I have said it before, in all seriousness and a complete sense of the full significance and implications of the expression. *But*, the point is that we have to adopt means to the end; we have to make sure that they are means; that they are at least not disproportionate to the end in view, and that they will hasten, not retard its attainment. We can have no respect for the established order of things, knowing its utter ruthlessness, its disregard of human life, its utter indifference to human suffering and misery, its rapacity, its bloodthirsty ferocity. No consideration for the moral turpitude of any act of violence against this brutal blood-cemented capitalist system need, therefore, deter us from committing it. We can even palliate the crimes of the felon, created a criminal by society, and extenuate and excuse the destructive frenzy of the dynamiter, the "saboteur," or the regicide, moved by tyranny to the "wild justice of revenge." But we know that the crimes and violence of such enemies of society only serve to strengthen and arm society against them, and that they are not revolutionary but reactionary in their effects. But our intransigeants, who affect to admire the bomb, shudder at the ballot box.

Revolution to be successful must be the effort of the ordered, organised movement of the masses. It cannot be accomplished by any sudden outbreak of undisciplined violence, or by a coup de main. I have heard it said more than once during the course of this "labour unrest" that the governing class are so scared and feel so insecure that "if only the revolutionary

party were sufficiently well organised they might easily be masters of the situation." Exactly. If only they were organised. I have witnessed a similar situation more than once before. But it is precisely the organisation that has been, and is, lacking. If we had had the organisation the ruling class might have been deposed long ago. To organise steadily, soberly, quietly, orderly, to depose the master class—that is really revolutionary. To merely kick up a row, to smash windows, wreck shops, stone soldiers or policemen, is simply the display of impotent rage of the small boy who throws stones and runs away.

All Governments rest on force; but it is idle for the people to appeal to force while all the arms are in the hands of their enemies, the ruling class. It may well be that the Revolution will not be achieved without violence; but we should be fools to provoke the fighting when we should have to fight at a disadvantage, and when all the resources of civilisation are held by the master class, and all we have to oppose to them is brickbats and broken bottles.

In such circumstances, any appeal to force, quite obviously, plays into the enemies' hands; every riot, every outrage, every attack on property, gives them an excellent excuse to indulge in reprisals. I never believed that the brothers Macnamara were guilty of the Los Angeles outrage; and, if anything, I believed it still less when they confessed to it. Such an outrage, justifiable as it may have been, was so obviously to the advantage of the master class, and to the detriment of the working-class movement, that it is impossible to conceive any "Labour leaders," who were not stark, staring mad, being guilty of such criminal folly.

And that is almost invariably true in all such cases. The "saboteur," the "rattener," the violent "propagandist of deed," is usually either a fool or a knave; either carried away by sheer lunacy, or actuated by some sinister motive of personal gain or revenge.

While he may, therefore, in certain circumstances, excuse or even justify acts of violence and riot, the

revolutionist, so far from advocating them, sets his face as flint against them. His is the far harder, if less showy work, of organising for the revolution through the conquest of political power. He has no illusions as to the value of the vote. He can therefore afford to smile imperturbably at those who sneer at Parliamentarism, and jeer at the little accomplished by our German comrades, with their four and a-quarter million of votes. He knows that those votes are but the outward and visible sign of an inward invisible class-consciousness; the expression of a working-class revolutionary organisation, ever growing and ever marching forward, resistlessly, slowly, without haste and without rest, to the inevitable goal. He knows that nothing would please the German ruling class better than to goad those organised Social-Democrats into premature "revolutionary" violence. He knows that this formidable, orderly organisation offers a far more formidable menace to the existing order than any number of such outbreaks as that in the Moabit quarter of Berlin. He knows, moreover, that when the British working class are really revolutionary they will show equal voting strength, equal discipline, equal sturdy determination, with their German comrades. He knows, in a word, that when they really want the revolution, and are prepared to strike or to fight for it, they will at any rate have the sense to vote for instead of against it. In the meantime, he can only smile scepticically at the frothy talk of the inner revolutionary meaning of foolish outbursts of impotent violence.

"BOWING DOWN IN THE TEMPLE OF RIMMON."

By E. Belfort Bax.

The question indirectly raised (in "Justice") by "Tattler's" remarks on the marriage relation is one which is continually confronting us in the present day, and which I take it is of salient importance in the propaganda of Socialist principle, as opposed to mere Socialistic legislation and to Labourism. By Socialism in this sense I, of course, mean conceptions logically involved in Socialism as a social ideal. It is useless attempting to confine Socialism to a bare economic formula. People very naturally, and very properly, insist on knowing what its outlook is on the other aspects of human life. Now, singularly enough, it is these other aspects of human life which the bourgeois opponent of Socialism is fond of selecting as his special ground for attack. They resolve themselves in the main into three points: Marriage, Religion and Country. In fact, the ostensible object of the zeal of the Anti-Socialist he often tries to make appear is more the integrity of religion, family, and the national State-system as at present existing than it is the preservation of current economic conditions. This, though usually but a subtle device to delude the unsophisticated, does not fail of its object, and sometimes even deceives the very elect. How often do we find exponents of Socialism who ought to know better eagerly protesting that Socialism need not in the least affect the cherished bourgeois prejudices and conventions professedly so dear to the heart of his opponent. He does not stop to reflect that the preservation of the institutions for the integrity of which the Anti-Socialist professes so

much zeal means the continuance of a system of forcible coercion of persons in their private relations which is radically incompatible with a condition of society having for its aim, as Frederick Engels used to put it, "the substitution of the regulation of things for the coercion of men." Stripped of all its specious verbiage, what the bourgeois advocate really professes is a zeal for the direct coercion of individuals in their intimate and private relations of sex, and their indirect coercion in their opinions on speculative questions, inasmuch as he wants the continuance of a favouritism to be officially shown by society in its corporate capacity towards a certain set of such opinions handed down by tradition, as opposed to other, it may be contrary, opinions. Since no Socialist proposes persecuting anybody for their religious beliefs, this can be the only possible meaning attachable to the portentous fuss made by Anti-Socialists anent Socialism and Atheism. Similarly with the patriotic zeal of the same individuals. What the bourgeois patriot means is the right of his particular national State to crush other countries if it suits its purpose, and if it can do so with a minimum of danger to itself, and of the duty of every member of his national State to support his country in its action, right or wrong—in a word, to force that member to do violence to his own moral convictions, Now, what I contend is that the Socialist advocate only too often when faced with these objections is apt obsequiously to protest the neutrality of Socialism in such questions. Frankly speaking, such an attitude I cannot find consistent with straightforward dealing. Why cannot every public advocate of Socialism follow the example of some I have heard, and say openly: "Yes, Socialism is incompatible with all these things for which you profess so much zeal!" and follow this up with an explanation of how and why, in the Co-operative Commonwealth of the future, Marriage and the Family, institutional Religion, and Patriotism must pass away, at least in the forms in which we know them, explaining, further, that Socialism has an ethical as well

as an economical content, and that with this ethical content the above institutions, as at present existing, are at variance? Thus should we see an end of this perpetual grovelling before the bourgeois Rimmon.

I had not intended adding any more in connection with the recent controversy between "Tattler" and myself, but "Tattler's" championship of the unlimited right in an "economically free society" to impose conditions "for entering upon or assenting to any course of action" compels me to put one or two questions to him on this point alone.

A man sees another drowning. Technically he is not bound to endanger his own life to save him. He is a free agent. And as a free agent he claims "the right to impose conditions." His conditions for saving the other man are that the latter shall become his bond-slave for ever after. Does "Tattler" think this is a contract which could be consistently enforced by the law or public opinion of a Socialist society? Again, A, who is possessed of exceptional surgical or medical skill which, as a free agent, he can employ or not, as he likes, in any given case, agrees to save the wife or daughter of B from a dangerous malady on the condition that B should subsequently shoot himself. Does "Tattler's" zeal for "the right to impose conditions" lead him to assert that an economically free society should give such a contract as this the seal of its protection and approval? "Love and hunger" are alike powerful aids to the extortion of unfair conditions, and though in an economically free society the latter might no longer be operative, yet it is obvious that the former would probably still be available. For my part, while conceding the right of the individual in a free society in general to do or to forbear, I should entirely demur to the proposition that this right included "the right to impose conditions" if by this be meant to extort any conceivable terms from weakness or infatuation, and then to expect society in its corporate capacity to use its influence to enforce such terms. To my thinking "the right to impose conditions" is a right which ought to be very severely controlled in any society.

CO-OPERATION AND TRUSTS.

By J. MACLEAN.

It is to the lasting credit of our organisation that it was the first to draw the attention of the trade unions to the rise in prices since 1896, unaccompanied by an equivalent rise in wages, whilst surplus value has leaped upwards by unprecedented leaps and bounds. This tendency of latter-day capitalism it is which has served as cause of and justification for the industrial strikes so popular at present. That prices shall still further rise is likely from the continuous increase in the output of gold in reduced time. This I venture to predict in spite of Professor Ashley, whose little pamphlet, "The Rise in Prices and the Cost of Living," ought to be spread among every section of the working class.

We must also have the credit of showing co-operators how this upward movement of prices, restricting the purchasing power of the workers, not only nullifies the benefits of the dividend, but likewise drives hard-pressed housewives past co-operative shops to those of the multiple firms. It has been customary in the past to look askance at Co-operation on the ground that it is run on capitalist lines, that the benefit of the dividend is elusive, in so far as it is neutralised by reduced wages, and that the movement has no ideal outside the wages system. To my mind such arguments are insufficient as excuses for indifference to this great popular movement, as I will try to show before proceeding further.

Co-operation is certainly run on capitalist lines; it had to be or it would have gone under. But it is

democratic in constitution and is composed essentially of wage-earners who can mould it as they choose. Thus it is distinguished from a normal capitalist concern. If employees are badly paid and otherwise maltreated the working class is to blame and the working class can make good again. Share capital and interest can be regulated to suit the ideas of the members, and thus the few need get no overwhelming control. If by getting from a co-operative shop goods of the same price and quality as from an outside source I save 2s. 6d. per £, obviously that is an advantage, and if I join a union and prevent my wages falling, as otherwise they might do, then I retain the advantage. The return to labour is not a fixed quantity, and no more depends on a fixed standard or cost of existence than prices depend on wages under general circumstances; it can grow although circumstances such as a rise in prices due to gold or trusts may more than neutralise the modest immediate gains accruing from co-operative or trade union effort. Such a rise shows the futility of neither of those popular movements, but solely their limitations and the need for a re-organisation of society on the basis of social ownership. That some men may have exclusively relied on these agencies as the way to the elimination of poverty in no way proves their uselessness, but rather demonstrates the folly of attempting to solve economic problems without a full knowledge of the economic structure and evolution of society.

The early pioneers of Co-operation had the ideal of a commonwealth of co-operative communities more or less self-sacrificing and entirely free from the disbursement of surplus value. On platforms to-day perorations shadow forth the old ideal; but practically Co-operation is run on purely business lines, apart from the funds devoted to educational and charity purposes. Whilst of itself it is impotent to evolve into a non-plunder society, we have to settle with ourselves whether it is not a force working inside modern society that makes for our goal.

In the same way that trusts, municipalities and States make for the unification, the centralisation, of production and distribution, so also does Co-operation. That no one would deny. But it can well be urged that multiple shop companies are doing exactly the same, and hence are as valuable from our point of view as co-operative societies. In so far as the latter are working-class organisations, we must undoubtedly see in them weapons of defence in the class war, and of aggression in the expropriation of the capitalists, apart altogether from the training in business methods afforded to so many workers.

Of greatest value to us, distribution is a field where the class war is beginning to break out with a virulence equal to that experienced in the economic and the political fields. Economic necessity drove the weavers of Rochdale into co-operation, and the same cause led to its expansion. Conflicts with the interests of private traders arose, and this, inevitably, produced the boycott and other forms of guerilla warfare. That the traders got the worst of it was a foregone conclusion, as they represented a more primitive system of retailing goods. Some twenty-five years ago, optimistic co-operators anticipated that soon they would monopolise the trade of the working class; but within the last twenty years there has arisen the multiple system alongside a tremendous expansion of the huge emporium system, and these separately (and in the near future, perhaps, conjointly) are beginning to threaten the very existence of the Co-operative movement.

Reference to the "Co-operative Annual" will show the steady growth of the movement in members, sales, and capital; and even to-day, when we make allowance for growth of population, its aggregation in centres supplied by Co-operative societies, and the rise in prices, we see that the sales are on the increase, although not so rapidly as should be in consequence of the increased variety of disposable commodities. This latter fact shows that co-operators are not as "loyal" as they ought to be; are, in fact, tending to patronise

the coming enemy—the multiple concern. The multiple shops have increased most obviously within the last decade, and although reliable statistics anent their number, trade and real profits are not available, yet we are assured that there are over 70,000 of them, against about 30,000 (including branches) co-operative stores. The Maypole Company lately declared a distributable profit of over £492,000: the real profit will be far in excess of that. As this firm boasts of about 700 branches we may reckon the profits of the whole of the companies at anything between £25,000,000 and £50,000,000. That implies a trade over £120,000,000, much in excess of that of the Co-operative movement in the retail department. From this we can deduce that the multiple system is developing twice as quickly as Co-operation, and both are growing at the expense of the private trader, whose day is about past.

I contend that this rapid growth of capitalist retailing has been largely fostered by rising prices and the increasing difficulty housewives have in making ends meet. Many of these firms have as "draws" articles such as tea, butter and margarine, well known to be highly susceptible of adulteration. These articles, actually sold above value, are sold at prices seemingly low, and as a result readily bait the desperate domestic economist. The abnormal profits thus obtained enable other prices to be cut keenly, and so trade expands. It is no wonder, then, that the multiple shops are spreading so rapidly.

These organisations, starting as local businesses, in the end become national, and with funds drawn from their large reserves they can risk opening up new branches here and there to see if profits will arise. This freedom of experimenting, used judiciously by eager managers, also explains the celerity with which the new system has grown and is likely to grow.

Although Co-operation in large centres is slightly feeling the pressure of the new opposition, this has been only incidental to the extension of this system.

Very soon the intensive cultivation of the various rival businesses will lead to price-cutting and then amalgamation—exactly what we have witnessed on the productive and wholesale distributive side already. More than that. There is a clear tendency for retailers to take to production, and for manufacturers to take to distribution. This is quite natural in the process of industrial integration, and tends to accelerate the growth of trust control of distribution. Given productive-distributive trusts on a national basis, and an upward movement of prices, it would be quite possible for these, each in its own line, to select a particular area of Britain, and there keep prices below cost price until the Co-operative societies were wiped out. Taken thus in detail, the country might be cleared of Co-operation entirely. By adopting such tactics trusts have already driven rivals out of production. What is possible in production is equally possible in distribution, and the probability is not far distant. Besides that, the wholesale societies are dependent upon shipping and railway companies for the transit of goods, and on other capitalist concerns for raw materials and finished articles. The manipulation of transit charges by the granting of rebates to trusts and the stopping of supplies of raw material or finished goods by other trusts could very soon reduce Co-operation to impotence. These are but a few of the dangers that lie in the path of this movement.

Directors and employees are becoming keenly alive to the menace of the multiple firms, although the majority are content to drift along whilst yet the sales go up. Last year, through my society, I tried to raise the question definitely at the Bradford Congress, but was side-tracked to the Scottish Conference. Not having an adequate opportunity, I was asked to write a paper for the Renfrewshire Conference. This I did. The paper has also to be read at the Glasgow and Suburbs Conference. I have lectured to a few societies on the issue. And again my society is trying to get the issue raised at this year's Portsmouth Congress.

My desire is to get the Co-operative Union to appoint a Commission to investigate the whole situation and then come forth with proposals that will be applied systematically over the whole country. Already I have suggested that the land here and in the Colonies, and the means of transit, should be socially owned so that the sources of raw material and transit be safeguarded. Agricultural co-operative associations, pledged to trade directly with the people's societies, ought to be fostered and formed. Co-operative production ought to be largely extended. Retail societies ought to be put on a national basis so as to avert the calamity of extinction through price-cutting. Over and above this the employees ought to link up with those under the capitalists so as to avoid different rates of pay and unfair competition through sweating. Every step possible should be made to get the State to standardise quantities and qualities sold for all commodities liable to adulteration or fraud of any kind. Finally, I uphold the abolition of dividend, as without it the multiple system grows, and the building up of a reserve fund large enough to leave the movement independent of individually-owned capital and the need for the payment of interest.

These are merely thrown out as suggestive expedients to arouse others to the formulation of fresh ones. Here is a large new field for immediate agitation work among the workers before the Congress takes place. It should likewise be a duty to see that the whole issue is thrashed out at the Congress, as much as a means whereby prices might be reduced to suit the people just now as one for the re-adaptation of the structure and methods to meet a new type of opposition.

The more we explain the meaning of the opposition as one of Capital versus Labour, in which the capitalists, with their huge capital already invested in production and transit, and deriving therefrom a surplus-value far in excess of the wages earned by the workers, have every possible advantage when it comes to a real, deadly struggle, the more will co-operators realise

that the opposition of the multiple trusts is but another expression of the class war, and the more will they understand that, whilst the movement may live for a time, yet by itself it cannot hope to lift the people into economic salvation, but must simply act as a stand-by until the workers, by political action, seize hold of all land and capital and use these for social production and social distribution.

OLD AGE PENSIONS IN FRANCE.

By Paul Descours.

In "The British Socialist" for last month I briefly described the recent social legislation in France. A Bill for establishing a system of old age pensions was carried in the Senate and referred to the Chamber of Deputies, which, in its anxiety to secure the passing of the law, adopted it just as it was received from the Senate. It has now become law.

The question, as might be supposed, has often been discussed, and the last Chamber of Deputies, just before its dissolution in 1906, passed a Bill and sent it to the Senate. That body has taken no less than four years to consider the matter. When they received the Bill they referred it, as is usual, to a Committee. This body thought that the matter had not been discussed enough, and at once began to make an exhaustive inquiry into the subject. Circulars were sent out to trade unions, committees of employers' unions, chambers of commerce, etc. It must be admitted that the Chamber of Deputies had been very generous in their measure, and had not troubled at all as to where the money was to come from which would be required for the working of the Act. I am afraid that many deputies are rather reckless in what they agree to, because they know that the Senate has a way of clipping measures referred to it. There is a strong temptation to men, especially when going before the electors, to be very profuse in their promises. The Senate was so dilatory in dealing with this matter that it was feared nothing would be done, but M. Briand, the Prime Minister,*

* The French Constitution allows a Minister to speak in both Houses, even if, like the Ministers of War and Marine, when those offices are held by officers, he has no seat in either.

succeeded in getting the Bill discussed by the Senate and ultimately passed.

The law requires all persons of both sexes who are paid salaries, and who are engaged in industry, commerce, or agriculture, or who are domestic servants and who are not already entitled to a pension, to insure in order to obtain a pension at the age of sixty-five, provided that they do not receive more than £120 a year. It has been calculated that this will apply to 11,408,620 people. Minors under the age of eighteen will have to pay four francs fifty centimes (3s. 9d.) a year; women over the age of eighteen, six francs (5s.) a year; and men over the age of eighteen, nine francs (7s. 6d.) a year. The employer has to pay a similar amount himself, and to deduct the workman's contribution from his wages. The workman receives a card free, on which it is stated that the money has been deducted, there being a scale regulating this. The employer is subject to severe penalties if he neglects either to deduct the money or to pay it in. At the age of sixty-five the State makes a yearly grant of sixty francs (£2 8s.) to each person assured; but this is only if for thirty years he or she has paid the sum required by the law. If, however, the assurance has been paid for at least fifteen years, then for each year there will be a grant of one franc fifty centimes, e.g., if twenty years' assurance had been paid, then the grant would be thirty francs £1 4s.), and so on. Special provision is made for those who are more than forty-five years of age at the passing of the law; the yearly grant in this case is greater, e.g., for a person aged forty-six it would be sixty-two francs (£2 8s. 1d.), and for one of sixty-four years of age it would be a hundred francs (£4). Persons over sixty-five years of age will receive a hundred francs (£4) a year till they are seventy years of age, then they would come under the law of 1905, which permitted allowances to be made to poor persons over seventy. Provision is made for the pension beginning in certain cases at the age of fifty-five, but in that case the Government grant would be less.

In an ordinary pension no part of the money paid in would be granted to representatives of the assured, but it is optional for a person to insure with a provision that the amounts paid in should be returned; but in this case the amount received as pension would, of course, be much less. However, if no pension has been paid, then, if the widow has at least three children under 16, she receives 250 francs (£10), if one child under sixteen she receives 200 francs (£8), and if she has no children she receives 150 francs (£6)—provided the amount paid in has not to be returned; in that case the children and widow would get nothing.

In the case of foreign workmen, they and the employers will have to pay the same contribution as French workmen, but they will not receive the bonus from the State, unless in their own country French workmen have similar advantages. The workman would only get a pension based on his contribution, and the money paid by the employer would be paid into a reserve fund. Thus, if an Englishman is employed in France he would not come under the law, as Frenchmen are not eligible in this country for old age pensions. If a workman is at work after the age of sixty-five he will still draw his pension and be exempt from any payment, but the employer will have to pay his contribution, which will be paid into a reserve fund.

In the case of metayers*, farmers and masters only having one salaried workman it is optional whether they come under the law or not. If they choose to do so, then they can pay not less than nine francs (7s. 6d.) nor more than eighteen francs (15s.) a year, except in the case of metayers, who may pay not less than six francs (4s. 9d.), nor more than nine francs (7s. 6d.) a year, and in the latter case a similar amount must be paid by the proprietor. If they elect to come under the law they will receive, when sixty-five, a yearly bonus from the State, which varies, but cannot in any case be more than sixty francs (£2 8s.) a year.

* A system of farming in which the owner finds the land, buildings, etc., and divides the produce with the tenant.

Wives and widows of workmen, etc., and men and women earning more than 3,000 francs (£120), but less than 5,000 francs (£200) a year, may also insure, and will be entitled to a bonus on attaining the age of sixty-five, of not more than sixty francs (£2 8s.) a year. It is estimated that these classes include 6,000,000 persons.

If a person belongs to some friendly society granting an old age pension, whose rules have been approved by the Government, then these societies are to collect the contributions of their members under the pension scheme, and for their trouble they will receive from the Government an allowance of one franc fifty centimes (1s. 2d.) a year for each person contributing through their agency. This rebate is to be devoted to the reduction of the contributions and subscriptions to the society's sick fund.

The funds received by the State from the workers and employers are to be paid into a central fund, under the management of a Government institution. The money may be invested in State funds, in departmental and other loans which have been authorised by a law, in shares in the Credit Foncier, in developing waste land, in afforestation, in societies for building working men's dwellings.

A great deal of discussion arose both in Parliament and outside on this point. The question was, should the funds be capitalised, or should the money be paid into the Exchequer with the ordinary receipts of the country? The Confederation Générale du Travail, a very revolutionary body, whose leaders are opposed to any Parliamentary action, was particularly virulent in its attacks on the measure. According to them, the whole thing was a fraud, and the Government simply intended to take the capitalised funds without paying any pensions. M. Jaurès, on the other hand, contended that if the money were simply paid in yearly, then in a bad year there might be a danger that payments of the pensions would cease. The leaders of the trade unions on the whole approved the method of capitalisation,

and at the last Socialist Congress, after an exhaustive and acrimonious debate, the system adopted was approved as preferable.

It will be seen that, with the exception of persons who are now sixty-five years of age, it is not possible to say what the pension will be. The only constant is the sixty francs (£2 8s.) which the Government grants. It, has, however, been estimated that if a man has paid nine francs for thirty years, i.e., 270 francs (£10 8s.), he would receive a yearly pension of 415 francs (£16 12s.), while a woman who had paid six francs for thirty years, i.e., 180 francs (£7 4s.), would receive a yearly pension of 270 francs (£10 8s.) But in many cases the amounts paid in would be much more, as the worker may be employed for more than fifty years.

It is a pity that the pensions are contributory, though had that not been the case the measure would not have received the blessing of Conservative journalists in this country. The reason given for the adoption of a contributory system is that the financial state of France makes this necessary. It is estimated that for the first year the cost to the State will be 138 million francs (£5,520,000), which will eventually rise to 164 million francs a year (£6,560,000), and that then the amount will decrease, and finally will be 120 million francs a year (£4,800,000). Now, it is quite true that the French finances are in an unsatisfactory state, and that the taxation needs readjusting, so as to make richer men pay more. The opponents of a contributory scheme have said with truth that many of those assured will never receive a pension; that is quite true, but it must be remembered that a grant, though small, is made to the widow, and all the money will not be lost. On the other hand, if only one year's pension is paid the recipient will be the gainer by the bargain. It has also been urged that the workman will not only pay his contribution, but also that of the employer, who will really pay him less wages, as he has to pay this tax. But this is our old friend the wages fund in another form, a theory which has the gift of eternal

youth, and, though often slain, yet always rises again. Every time a Factory Act has been proposed, or an Employers' Liability Act, or an Act for raising the age at which children can be employed, this perennial fallacy has been trotted out. It is quite cosmopolitan, and turns up in all countries. If it were true the employer would not offer such opposition to reforms, and his doing so sufficiently shows that at heart he does not believe in his bogey.

The Bill is not a final one, and M. Jaurès, in supporting it, while objecting to the changes introduced in the Senate, said that it would require amendment. But with all its imperfections it is a step in the right direction.

I fear that the reader will find this list of measures rather wearisome, but I hope that I have been able to show that the Republic, in spite of many errors, especially in Colonial policy, has done good by not forgetting her humble citizens, and that some attempt has been made to incorporate the proletariat into society.

NOTE.—It is now proposed, by a Bill before the Chambers which the Government supports, that the pensions should begin at 60, instead of 65.

THE MONTH.

Writing last month on the coal strike we said, with reference to the proposal that the men should accept the "principle" of the minimum, and leave the actual figures to be haggled over, "To this the men reply that their minima represent the rock-bottom prices at which they are disposed to sell their labour, and they are therefore not prepared to argue or chaffer or arbitrate about them. And they are perfectly right. If they stick to that position they will win. If they recede from it they will be tricked and swindled out of their victory, just as the railwaymen were."

Well, the men—or their leaders—did not "stick to that position," and they have been "done," just as completely as the railwaymen were done last year.

As to who is to blame for their defeat, that is another matter. Naturally, the "balance of criminality" rests with the Government. The whole of the negotiations carried on by Asquith and his colleagues were undertaken entirely in the interest of the master class; and their precious Bill was devised in order to put the men in the wrong, and to save the situation for the owners.

All that, however, was what might have been expected. The men should have known, and did know, that the Government was simply the instrument of the class they were fighting, and that all talk of impartiality on the part of Asquith and Co., was simply transparent humbug. If they had ever had any doubt as to the class character of the Government, or its incapacity to hold the balance even in a dispute between capital and labour, they had the "settlement" of the railway dispute before their eyes to disillusion them on that point. But the men themselves had no illusions on the subject. They knew quite well that the Government was against them. Therefore, it is idle to lay the blame for the adverse settlement upon the Government. None but a man's friends can betray

him. The Government did not betray the men, because they were —and were known to be— in league with their enemies.

Who, then, was, or is, to blame? Is anybody, really? Were the men defeated or betrayed? It is easy to blame the leaders, who, by their public utterances, left it to be inferred that they were divided in opinion as to the value of the terms offered by the Government. In this connection we certainly cannot exonerate from blame those members of the Labour Party who were at some pains to lecture the men in the public Press on their obduracy, and to tell them that they should gladly accept the Government terms. It must be said, moreover, that the men were badly served by the Labour Party, as a whole. The Bill was never fought as it ought to have been fought, and although the Party voted against it on the third reading, the mischief had then already been done. The Tory trick of moving the rejection of the Bill in order to ensure the support of the Labour Party for it was so transparent a device that even our simple Labourists might have been expected to see through it. But the Tories seem to have got their measure pretty accurately. Under no circumstances dared they side with the Tories against the Government, and so the trick was done—and the miners as well.

Had this Bill been defeated, the miners might still have had to capitulate; but they would, at any rate, not have been tricked. Had the Labourists fought the Bill all through and had it passed in spite of their opposition, they would, at any rate, have had no responsibility for it, and whether the men had accepted or rejected it, they could not complain that they had been betrayed, as they can now.

The mischief in the present instance, as on previous occasions, has arisen from the complete misconception the Labourists have of their proper function in Parliament. "The way of the peacemaker," said Mr. MacDonald, on a former occasion, "like that of the transgressor, is hard." In that phrase he stated his attitude, and that of the Parliamentary Labour Group, as a whole, not only towards Labour disputes, but in politics generally. They are there to act as peacemakers, to play the statesman, to patch up agreements, to arrange "settlements." That is the rôle they have set themselves to play. But we need no Labour Party to play *that* part. The proper function for a Labour Party in a capitalist Parliament is that of an aggressive force in a hostile country.

They should be there, frankly, as the champions and advocates of the disinherited, who have no other representatives there. They have no more right to play the part of peacemaker than a barrister has to betray his client to the other side.

Once the Bill was passed, with the assistance of their own champions, there was nothing for the miners to do but accept it. It has been suggested that their leaders should have advised them to hold out. We are not sure they could have done that in any case. It may be that the miners themselves could have held out for some weeks longer, although it is doubtful if even all of them could have done so; and it is quite certain that the strain imposed upon some of the unions in other industries had almost reached breaking point. If they could have held out, and had done so, then it is quite certain they would have won—Act or no Act. We are by no means sure, however, that, with the best will in the world, they could have held out much longer. If they had tried to do so and had failed, they could only have been defeated, it is true; but the defeat then would have been a rout instead of a capitulation.

In the circumstances we can scarcely blame the leaders for advising a return to work on the result of the ballot. What we do blame them for is their indecision with regard to the Bill at the outset, the whittling down of the demand for a national minimum, and their pretence, when advising a return to work, that the reverse the men had suffered was a victory. Never before, we imagine, in the whole history of strikes, have men shown such reluctance in accepting the reward of victory.

The strike, however, with all its loss and privation for thousands, has not been a useless sacrifice, if only its lessons are taken to heart. This great struggle has shown once more the futility of strikes as a general rule, and the supreme folly of giving the other side months and months of notice in which to prepare, while making no adequate preparation ourselves for a protracted struggle. The employers were fully prepared; the Government, acting in the employers' interests, dawdled and delayed in order to exhaust the men's resources, and it was clear, when they refused to make any modification in their Bill, that they knew they had the men beaten. That fact by no means exonerates the Labourists from blame; but it should teach the men and their leaders the necessity of adopting more hustling tactics whenever again they enter upon such a struggle.

Another and the all-important lesson to be drawn from the strike is the folly of leaving all the political power, all control of the resources of government and authority, in the hands of the master class. Men are in prison to-day for appealing to soldiers not to fire upon strikers. But whose fault is it that soldiers are ever turned out to be used against strikers? Whose, but that of the workers themselves? The present Government of strike-breakers and striker-butchers are in power by the votes of the workers themselves. That is a fact which needs to be driven home at the present time. If ever anything could teach the workers the need for political organisation and action, this series of strikes, and especially that of the colliers, should do so.

Socialists complain, and rightly, of the timidity, supineness, and subservience of the Labour Party. But, after all there are only forty of them, and most of them were well known, before they were elected, to be devoted adherents of the Liberal Party. The House of Commons consists of 670 members, and the working men of this country have, roughly, four million votes out of a total of six millions. And they elect a House of Commons which consists of 630 Liberal and Tory capitalists and their paid hacks, and a sort of make-weight of forty who profess to be an "independent" Labour Party, but most of whom are also hangers-on of the plutocratic Liberals. And the Liberals are in power, and Asquith is Prime Minister—all by the votes of British workmen!

And then a few men appeal to British soldiers not to shoot down their fathers, brothers, mothers, and sisters of the British working class. And they are promptly thrust into gaol for so doing. And no wonder! Why should the soldiers not shoot the workers? It is pretty evident that the latter like the idea of being shot. Asquith's reputation rests on the murder of miners in the last great colliers' strike nineteen years ago. He will be known in history—when the shameful fact that he was afterwards made Prime Minister by the votes of the workers is forgotten—as the Assassin of Featherstone.

Asquith's record as the murderer of strikers is very well known. Lest it should be forgotten, he took good care to impress it upon the workers in connection with the railway strike, and his colleagues—Birrell, Churchill, Lloyd George—have not been slow to emulate him. And they seem to know the working class as well as the Tories understand the Labour Party. The workers

evidently appreciate the little attentions of bludgeoning and shooting they receive at the hands of these worthies, and reward them by electing them to power and to highly paid offices.

All the same, it was somewhat unkind on the part of the Government to prosecute and punish men for appealing to the soldiers not to shoot. Even though they know that they have the approbation of the workers when they indulge in a little blood-letting, they need not be too hard on those who dare to differ from the great majority. They might at least be satisfied with the knowledge that in spite of Syndicalists, Pacifists, or Socialists, they can still count on the approbation, and, above all, on the votes, of the great majority of the working class.

The sentences of nine and six months' imprisonment passed upon Guy Bowman and the two brothers Buck, respectively, were brutally excessive, and out of all proportion to the alleged offence and the object with which the prosecution was instituted. It is true the sentences have been reduced; but they ought to have been at once repealed. The prosecution altogether was a blunder. Its only effect has been to give bold advertisement to what is called "Syndicalism."

"Syndicalism" really amounts to nothing at all in this country. It has no influence, and is not likely to have any influence in the trade unions. Like all other forms of Anarchism, however, it has a mischievous effect upon the Socialist movement. The idea that it is something ultra-revolutionary, offering speedier and ampler results than are to be achieved along the slow and toilsome road of steady, plodding organisation, it appeals to the young and impatient recruits to our movement. They suppose it to be something quite new: the latest discovery in revolutionary theory and tactics, instead of being an antiquated survival. And so they are spoiled for any useful work. In a little while they become disillusionised, their enthusiasm is killed, and they wander away and become entirely lost to the movement.

The returns for the past month show that trade is still "booming," the exports and imports for March being in excess of all previous records. There is something ghastly to contemplate in this fact that, while something like a million of men have been on strike and millions of men, women and children have been literally famishing, our "national" prosperity should have been greater than ever before. It is one of the most horrible paradoxes of the capitalist system.

A SONG OF WARNING.

By W. Albery.

Prince, it may be that thy people
  Murmured so loud that thine ears
  Shuddered ; it may be the cheers
Rang out from steeple to steeple
  Louder than all of their cries ;
  Yet in thy manhood arise !
God's is the voice of the people.

Statesman, behold in thy lore
  Fruit of thy weighty discerning !
  Lo ! without wisdom or learning
Fools have discovered before
  Dung in the palace of riches
  More than the dirt in the ditches
Turned by the toil of the poor.

Trader, the sweat of another
  Swells the gold grain for thy bread.
  Feast, for behold ! thou art fed
Out of the flesh of thy brother,
  Out of the blood of thy slaves.
  Haply shall thy children's graves
Fatten the soil of another.

Priest, at the tomb of thy faith
  Christ with a frontlet of thorns
  Stares at life's pageant and mourns,
Wasting the words that He saith,
  Calling. And who is there heeds?
  Lo ! for the sake of His deeds
Kindles no beacon save death.

Hungerer, hunger for peace.
  Here the reward of thy labour
  Counts but for gain to thy neighbour;
Day and the morrow's increase
  Bring only surfeit of sorrow;
  But there shall yet be a morrow
When even hunger shall cease.

Soldier, the pay of your lords
  Gives neither honour nor ease;
  What if they bid you to seize
Comrades to straighten with cords?
  Arm! for the might of the right
  Looms in the lust of the fight
Stronger than sabres or swords.

People, though, spite of your strength
  Pity shall serve ye as scorn,
  Charity sting as a thorn,
Right be ashamed, when at length
  Laggard and labouring light
  Shatters the mist of the night,
Spare ye, because of your strength.

EVENTS OF MARCH.

AT HOME.

1—House of Commons: Registration (Plural Qualifications) Bill read second time.
Woman Suffragists smashed West End windows.
Coal conference with Prime Minister suspended.
2—Last coal strike notices expired.
4—Industrial Council met to discuss coal strike.
Two hundred Woman Suffragists arrested for window smashing.
5—South Manchester bye-election: Glazebrook (Unionist), 7,051; Haworth (Liberal, Junior Lord of the Treasury), 6,472. Unionist gain.
Police raided offices of Women's Social and Political Union.
6—Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Tuke charged at Bow Street with conspiracy in connection with Suffragist outrages.
7—Historic assembly of Socialists at Café Monico to celebrate H. M. Hyndman's 70th birthday.
Frederick Crowsley committed for trial at Aldershot for inciting soldiers not to shoot strikers.
8—Conferences between Government and mine-owners and colliers resumed.
W. A. S. Hewins (Tariff Reformer) returned unopposed for Hereford.
9—Guy Bowman and two brothers Buck charged with inciting soldiers to mutiny (i.e., not to fire on strikers).
12—J. Morley and T. Mayfield arrested at Ilkeston for sedition. (Nelson King arrested next day.)
14—Henry Seddon at Old Bailey found guilty of murder by poison: acquittal of his wife.
15—Coal conference of Ministers, mine-owners and miners broke up without agreement.
Housing of the Working Classes Bill read a second time and, against Government advice, sent to Standing Committee.
16—P. and O. liner Oceana sunk in the Channel.
Hon. Rupert Guinness (Unionist) returned unopposed for South-East Essex.
18—Another strike of London taxicab drivers.
H. F. Wright (Unionist) returned unopposed for North Herefordshire.
19—House of Commons: Premier introduced Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Bill.
Arrest of Tom Mann for inciting to mutiny.

21—House of Commons: Second reading of Minimum Wage Bill.
H. Keswick (Unionist) returned unopposed for Epsom.
22—Government refused to fix a minimum wage in Minimum Wage Bill: Bill hung up for further conference.
Guy Bowman sentenced to nine months, and B. E. and C. E. Buck to six months' hard labour for article in "Syndicalist."
24—London taxicab strike settled.
25—House of Commons debated the "Don't shoot" prosecutions.
26—Coal negotiations on "5 and 2" broken off.
27—House of Commons at 3 a.m. passed third reading of Minimum Wage Bill—213 to 48 (Labour Party voting in minority).
Miners' Conference decided to take a ballot on acceptance of Bill and resumption of work.
28—Commons rejected Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill—the "Conciliation Bill"—by 222 to 208.
29—Mr. Ashton, secretary Miners' Federation, issued a manifesto advising miners to vote for resumption of work.
Royal Assent given to Minimum Wage Bill.
House of Commons: Employment of Children Bill, second reading.
30—Inter-University boat-race: both boats sunk; "no race."
Tom Mann committed for trial, but admitted to bail.
31—Great Free Speech demonstration in Trafalgar Square.
Great National demonstration for Home Rule in Dublin.

ABROAD.

1—Looting in Peking.
Revoluton in Paraguay.
3—Fierce attack by Turks on Derna (Tripoli).
7—Captain Amundsen returned to Hobart, Tasmania, having discovered the South Pole on December 14, 1911.
The American Senate struck out Article III. of the Arbitration Treaties.
8—Fresh election of Reichstag officers: Scheidemann (Socialist) replaced by a National Liberal.
9—Yuan-Shih-kai installed as Provisional President of Republic of China.
11—Miners on strike in Westphalia and France.
14—Anarchist attempt on the King of Italy.
21—Militant Suffragists invaded Chinese National Assembly at Nanking.
22—New German "Defence Bills" proposed increased expenditure on Navy.
25—Greek elections.
26—Massachusetts millowners decided on general lock-out.
29—Kaiser Francis Joseph threatened to abdicate.
30—French Chamber passed an Eight Hours Bill for miners and slate quarrymen.

DEMOCRATIC AND SYNDICALIST ILLUSIONS.

By GUSTAV ECKSTEIN in the "Neue Zeit."

II.—(*Continued*).

Democracy awakens the illusion that all the citizens of the State have indeed equal rights, and that, therefore, it is impossible for a minority to tyrannise over a majority. If this does, in exceptional cases, happen, it must be the fault of the majority themselves, they must have neglected their own interests. It is only a question of getting the right men in sufficient numbers on to the representative bodies, especially into Parliament, and that they, when there, should do the right thing, especially that they should only demand that which is in the interest of the majority of the people, and which the people will, therefore, support. Thus voting becomes not only the central point of all political life, it becomes the paramount interest; and from the point of view of bourgeois democracy, for whom the law is the result and expression of the popular will, and at the same time the determining force in social and political life, this conception is only consistent. But its instability shows itself more and more distinctly.

In the first place the fact is often overlooked that in the great democratic republics of to-day the legislation does not depend alone upon the Parliamentary bodies which are elected by general and direct suffrage, and therefore alone have the right to be looked upon as representatives of the popular will. That which is done in France by the Senate is in America the business of the Supreme Court. These cleverly-contrived institutions make it possible for the bourgeois parties who are, respectively in Congress and in the Chamber, dependent on the "will of the people," to make a show of the most popular and radical policy, to decide upon the most popular laws, without fear of having to be responsible for the results. The wicked Senate, and the Supreme Court, which arbitrarily steps in, they alone bear the blame for the rejection of all the well-meant popular measures, and the struggle against these odious institutions gives the "people's parties" a new glamour, increases their popularity. Further, the bourgeois-democratic conception overlooks the fact that just the most important, the fundamental political rights are surrounded with legal guaran-

tees which make their alteration by legislative means an impossibility. But even more important is this: that not only have the ruling classes made all the existing laws to serve their own interests, but have also adapted the rules for their alteration to the needs of their own class rule. And they still hold the control of the legislature in their grasp, and can thus at any time change these rules in a legal manner, close the road to their opponents, and make it more difficult for those who refuse to do their will.

But even should the Opposition succeed in attaining a majority in Parliament and in forming the political laws according to their own needs, what would they have gained? The State-force is an entirely different thing to-day from what it was in pre-capitalist times. The gigantic growth of the armies and navies has not only given a colossal military power into the hands of the Governments, on which Parliament, even in "democratic" Republics, has practically no influence, but it has also given the Governments an excessive economic power, which is further strengthened by their control over the most important means of transit: the railways, telegraphs, telephones, over the post, which to-day is also everywhere a powerful banking institution, over the mines, arsenals, docks, etc. But not only has the Government by this means at its disposal whole armies of proletarians and officials who are quite at its mercy, but, by granting concessions, by favouritism in the bestowal of offices, by making use of the financial means at its disposal, for which has been found in high tariffs a very prolific source, free from the changing Party combinations, it creates a widely spread net of dependencies, which, whether "ordained by God" or not, are incomparably more secure than the bands of feudalism ever were. These make the Governments more and more independent of Parliament, making them indeed, and the cliques from which they come, almost absolute lords. And really the struggle of the bourgeois Parties in Parliaments of those States where capitalism is highly developed is no longer directed towards the conquest of political power, but towards gaining the highest possible post in the Government. What is it which to-day still divides the politics of the great bourgeois political Parties? Is it difference of principle? Their differences are ridiculously superficial. Or class antagonisms? These were generally a determining factor in the formation of the parties, and have stamped their character upon them, and even to-day they are the most weighty determining factors in the party policy; but their character has changed; now all the class antagonisms of the bourgeois world are sunk in the general antagonism to the proletariat. At Parliamentary elections the sharpness of the division does not yet show itself completely, as the Parliamentary struggles do not centre round purely class questions, and the representatives of the proletariat often have to assist in the conquest of rights which are not demanded by their class alone. But in the struggles for the purely class demands of the proletariat, thus first and foremost in the

trade union struggles, the only sharply defined line of demarcation is between the proletariat and the united bourgeoisie. The struggle of the bourgeois parties is no longer directed towards getting hold of the reins of government, but to the question out of what classes and circles the officials shall be chosen, what interests the taxation and commercial policy shall serve, who shall be patronised in ordering army supplies, etc. The expression, "the one reactionary mass," is now coming true; for, as Hilferding says* :—

"Through the separation of ownership from the function of the management of production, as seen in the joint-stock companies, there arises the possibility, and, with the rise in the rent of land on the one hand, and the rise in industrial extra profits on the other, the actual realisation of a solidarity of the propertied interests.

"The same interests (as expressed in antagonism to the demands of the proletariat) insure to the middle class the support also of the landed class, and so the old antagonism between bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie is disappearing, and the latter is becoming a political bodyguard for large capital."

But it is not only the mutual need of protection by the State-force, nor the more or less clear-consciousness of the impossibility of getting real power over the Government by means of the Parliamentary struggle and bargaining, that causes the bourgeois parties to give up the struggle for power in Parliament. Not only is Parliament becoming weaker as the Government becomes stronger, but the upper bourgeoisie to-day no longer needs Parliament in order to control the Government. For it is just the enormous extension of the field for the economic power of the State that has again made the latter dependent upon the powers which exercise almost sovereign control over the economic operations—that is, upon the largest combinations of employers and upon the large banks. Their power is much greater in all modern States to-day than that of the Parliaments. In so far as class antagonisms are still manifest in the latter, they do not express themselves so much in struggling for the control of the Government force as for its favour.

For this reason the conquest of political power in Parliament would not by a long way mean the actual control of the Government force. But even the complete control over the legislative machinery would not by any means suffice, say, to satisfy the needs of the proletariat. For the dependence under which the proletariat labours is not so much political as economic. The laws of property do not permit themselves to be decreed away, nor can the wage system be abolished by a Ukase or convention, if the economic conditions are not yet ripe for such a revolution, if the proletariat has not yet attained the economic and social influence

* "Finance-Capital," pages 437, 442.

and independence to be able itself to take over the carrying-on of production, and that at an advanced stage of development. The Communist rising in Paris was doomed to failure even if it had not been choked in blood by the Versaillese.

Thus political life itself has shown how deceptive are the bourgeois-democratic illusions. But it is precisely in the "democratic" Republics that large sections of our Party incline towards these illusions, thereby calling forth a violent opposition, which wishes to reject political action altogether, and which sees in trade union action alone the means of conquering the capitalist-State, and converting it into a Socialist Commonwealth. This is Syndicalism.

III.

Syndicalism originally arose from the circumstances in France, for there the two fundamental conditions to which it owes its growth are most strongly marked and most united. The existence of democratic illusions among the workers, and the weakness of the trade union movement. The more evident the decrepitude of this bourgeois-democratic self-deception becomes, and the stronger the power of the employing class over the trade unions, the more certain is Syndicalism to follow on opportunism as closely as its shadow. The English Labour Party and the English trade unions will now have to show whether they are equal to the situation, whether they are in a position to extend their framework sufficiently for it to contain the tremendous movement that is now agitating the economic and political life of England. If they adhere to their policy of conciliation, of coming peaceably to an understanding with the employing class, they will be paving the way for the propaganda of a Tom Mann, and then Syndicalism in England will extend rapidly in every direction, as it is already doing in America, where it has already for the most part drawn the Industrial Workers of the World into its magic circle, and seems also to be gaining ground in the Socialist Party.

Syndicalism is directed sharply against the democratic illusion; but its criticism does not penetrate beneath the surface. To the Syndicalist the political struggle appears only in the form of the Parliamentary machinery, and he regards that as the incorporation of political action, takes the electoral struggle for the whole political struggle. And because "intellectuals" are often the political leaders of the Socialist Parties, he puts down these Parties themselves as bourgeois, or takes the forms in which opportunism shows itself in the Party to be intrinsically bound up with all political action. It was because the French Parliamentarians for a long time held the view that they were only responsible for their votes in the Chamber to their electors and not to the Party, and because the Party organisations were not strong enough to be able to bring their Parliamentary representatives to reason, that the Syndicalists declared the Parliamentarians to be nothing but representatives of the medley of voters and not of the proletariat, and

they could not but be strengthened in this opinion by the eternal compromising, and the great eagerness with which the deputies raised and pushed to the front demands which had very little to do with the class struggle.

To the teaching that the law is the expression of the will of the people the Syndicalists oppose the principle of the class-struggle. But this, according to their conception, cannot be fought out on the political field nor with political weapons, but only on the economic field and with economic weapons. But the trade union struggle is always carried on directly against individual employers or against free combinations of employers, not against the employing class as such, nor against the bourgeois order of society. If the latter is to be overthrown, the struggle must not be limited to certain undertakings, nor even to certain industries, it must become general. The idea of the general strike, not as a means of exercising pressure against a Government, but as a means of breaking up bourgeois society, is the natural result of the Syndicalist train of thought.

But now the trade union movement in its struggles is continually coming into conflict with the State-force, which takes the part of the employers, and assists them with its enormous resources. Syndicalism, therefore, turns with special bitterness against the State, but not as the expression and tool of class-rule, but against the State as such, against the "government of man by man," which they repudiate in the name of the general independence and freedom. The State as such is, therefore, the principal enemy to be fought against. But Syndicalism expects nothing from the political struggle; that is at best a very subordinate auxiliary to trade union action. Not by means of Parliamentary or other representatives can the great struggle be fought out, they would only adulterate it; but directly, through the workers themselves, by "direct action." The latter has to oppose itself to everything that is bourgeois, and, above all, to everything connected with the State. But how can the worker make a direct attack on the State? By setting himself in opposition to its laws, by breaking and disrespecting them. In this way Syndicalism comes, quite logically, to a glorification of illegality, as mistaken as the glorification of legality on the part of the opportunists.

IV.

To the Social-Democracy, as the Party of the revolutionary class-struggle, the Syndicalist conception would appear to lie nearer at any rate than that of opportunism, and it is thus comprehensible that so many of our American comrades have come out on the side of Haywood's very syndicalistically coloured expressions of opinion. With them, however, and surely especially for comrade Haywood himself, the very natural feeling played a great part, to which Joseph Dietzgen gave expression in a similar

situation, when he, at the time when the waves of the struggle in Chicago were highest, in April, 1886, actively took the part of the persecuted Anarchists, and wrote to his friend Sorge: "If the one lot (the Anarchists) have mad barbarians among them, the others (the Socialists) are, on the other hand, well provided with timid persons. For that reason I like one lot as well as the other."

But feelings must not obscure our judgment. It is certain that the Social-Democracy as the party of the class-struggle, which is out to conquer the State-Power in order to use it for the liberation of the proletariat, has no holy reverence for the laws which regulate and protect bourgeois property, nor does it believe that this order of property can be abolished from the world by merely exercising the vote. But in the contention which turns around Haywood's speech and pamphlet, it is a very different matter; the decisive question here is not as to whether we aspire to a violent change in the present laws, but whether in order to reach this goal we consider illegal actions, infractions of the bouregois rights of property by individuals, to be useful and to the point. That mass-actions cannot, and should not, always adhere strictly to everything that masquerades under the name of law goes without saying; but that is not the point here. That round which the contention turns in America to-day is not a question of concerted mass-action, but of the act of individuals. Now, according to our conception, the existing laws always correspond, on the whole, to the amount of power in the hands of the struggling classes. The proletariat, which is growing in strength, forces from the bourgeoisie a number of reforms. The longer this struggle lasts the hotter it becomes, the more obstinately the combatants fight for each inch of ground, to protect what they have already acquired, and to advance step by step. And then we are asked to believe that the action of the individual leads more quickly to the goal than the obstinate fight of the organised mass. How can such a conception ever have arisen?

Where the political and economic associations of the proletariat are on a solid basis and well organised, where they are filled with class-consciousness, there is no room for Syndicalism. There neither its doctrine of the fruitlessness of the political struggle, nor its recommendation of violent action by individuals, will find an echo. Those ideas only flourish on the soil of a weak organisation. Where Socialist policy arises without self-consciousness, where it permits itself to be controlled by passing incidents and circumstances, and especially where the trade unions are too weak to oppose a consolidated body to the employing class, despair of the power of organisation is bound to creep in. The active, energetic individual comes to believe that he is only hindered by the great mass, and could attain more by acting independently.

But whatever one may call these militant tactics of despair—propaganda by deed, violent sabotage, expropriation, or what not—it is always poison for the organisation. For the latter seems

then to be valueless, as it is the active small minorities on whom the result of the struggle depends. But besides this, such tactics bring elements into the movement which are bound to wreck any organisation. On the one hand there are the agents-provocateurs, and their entrance soon causes paralysing fear and mutual distrust. On the other hand these tactics attract the unsocial elements who break the bourgeois laws, not in order to serve the proletarian cause, but merely to cover their own crimes in a revolutionary mantle. If the revolutionist becomes a robber, the robber proclaims himself to be a revolutionist.

While the Terrorist in this way weakens the ranks of his own comrades, he strengthens those of his enemy. His deeds not only unite them in defensive action, but actually *drive* them by their brutal force to take refuge behind police and military absolutism. And the rule of brute force must always be injurious to the proletariat as long as it is the weaker party. And as soon as it becomes the stronger, it no longer needs these violent deeds on the part of individuals, for it then organises and advances for the great decisive struggle, and if it is obliged to make use of force in carrying out that struggle, then possibly deeds of violence by individuals and against individuals may be unavoidable. These will then be the inevitable accompanying phenomena of the great struggle, not its substitutes.

It is true that terrorist actions on the part of individuals are not only comprehensible and justifiable from a human point of view; they may be the result of the noblest motives, they may have the effect of a moral liberation. But these are the deeds of a few which humanely, morally, perhaps even æsthetically, may be of great value. But politically they are for the most part futile and mischievous.

The Social-Democracy is the Party of the masses; and it is only in the mass that the proletariat has influence, weight, and importance, only as a mass can it succeed. The individual who rushes violently on ahead of the rest, or turns off after "short cuts," may all too easily lose his course. He who set out as a hero ends too often as a marauder.

THE LYONS NATIONAL CONGRESS.

The French Socialist Congress was held this year at Lyons, under the presidency of Marcel Sembat. Representatives of Socialist organisations were present from Great Britain, Germany, Bohemia, Italy, Austria, Russia, and Norway. There were 200 French delegates present, representing 2,585 groups. When the Secretary's report was read Rappoport drew special attention to the need of a vigorous propaganda in order to increase the number of members; if this were not done there was a great danger of the Party becoming too weak to take effective action.

Some attention was called to the fact that the majority of the Socialist deputies had refused to vote for a measure decreasing the number of licensed houses where intoxicating liquors were sold. It was pointed out that there was a good deal of hypocrisy in this question; the best remedy against alcoholism is Socialist propaganda, and the sale of alcoholic liquors must not be made a privilege of the rich.

It will be remembered that attacks were made on comrades Ghesquière and Compère Morel because in the Chamber of Deputies they had maintained that it would be unwise for the workers to unduly depreciate Parliamentary methods, and also that violence does not afford a remedy to the evils of society. By 2,258 votes against 144 the Congress approved their action.

Resolutions were also proposed asking the Congress to declare that Socialists should not belong to Freemason lodges, but the Congress, by 1,505 votes, adopted a resolution stating that as long as the objects of any society were not antagonistic to Socialism it was not a matter in which the Congress should interfere.

The Congress also adopted a resolution in favour of Secular Education, while stating at the same time that it had no wish to interfere with the religious opinions of any of its members.

A resolution was also adopted condemning the anti-Semitic agitation.

The editing of "l'Humanité" was again left in the hands of Jaurès.

Our comrade Rappoport, in an article on the Conference, says:—

As to the civil war against anarchy, it began with the first

International. It is our original sin. Socialism is based on the ruin of anarchy, just as is Syndicalism itself, for anarchy is the glorification of individual autonomy, and Syndicalism that of binding men together.

People have talked about the scandal caused by the speeches of Compère Morel and of Ghesquière in the Chamber of Deputies. What is a scandal is not their speeches, which are those of all who are actively engaged in Socalism, but that it should be necessary to defend and discuss them in the twentieth century after so many sad experiences. What is really scandalous is to be obliged to defend them in the midst of noise and a hurricane of outrages at the very moment when the mere threat of a strike of the English miners places Great Britain on the brink of a precipice.

What is a crime is to consider as high treason against trade unionism counsels of prudence in the struggle against employers, who are better armed, when the union of railwaymen, owing to a struggle imprudently entered into, has seen its numbers go down from 90,000 subscribing members to 12,000. What is especially scandalous is to pretend to admit extenuating circumstances to those who were courageous enough to speak the truth and to glorify as a test of supreme skill tactics of silence and abdication—the policy of the ostrich hiding its head so as not to see anarchy glorified as a Socialist and trade union system.

We have heard of revolutionary *idealism*, of *accidental* violence of the workers against *chronic* and *systematic* violence of the capitalist rule, of our duty to revolt against the *executioners* and not against the *victims*. These arguments are excellent. They are ours; we have used them over and over again in fighting against pacific reforms and evolutionary dogmatism, which have continually belittled revolutionary tactics and which are hostile to them. We have used these good, solid arguments when we have been asked to take part in middle-class Governments and to shoot down the workers. We have made use of them, as of a shield, in the struggle against the anti-revolutionary theory of the pacific penetration of Socialism into the capitalist stronghold, which is the unconquerable illusion of our dilettantes of direct action—by other people.

We protest against the anarchical opportunist use of these inestimable arguments, which are really weapons for the defence of true revolutionary tactics.

Yes, we have said, and repeated a thousand times, that the unarmed violence of the workers is child's play as compared to the every-day violence of a system which is armed to the teeth. Yes, we have said and repeated a thousand times that it is not for the victims of this system to glorify the concessions extorted from the executioners, who pretend to be in love with reforms. Yes, we have said and repeated a thousand times that it is criminal to smother the revolutionary idealism of the proletariat by the theory

of the slow and pacific evolution, which is, after all, only marking time. To-day, all these arms of the Socialist arsenal are being handed over to anarchy.

But the violence of the workers, which is inevitable on the day of the Revolution, does not justify the so-called revolutionary gymnastics which, instead of strengthening us, only make us weaker. The revolt against "the masters" does not justify the revolt against common sense, and revolutionary idealism first of all excludes demagogy. To say what is and to make the proletariat conscious and invincible—that is revolutionary. And that is why Compère Morel and Ghesquière deserve the thanks of the French proletariat.

THE REVIEWS.

SOCIALISTIC IDEAS AND PRACTICAL POLITICS.

In the "Nineteenth Century" review for April, Mr. W. H. Mallock has an article under the above title in which he seeks to disprove the assertions of Socialists as to the ratio of the division of wealth amongst the different classes of society, and also the statements as to the rich getting richer and the poor poorer. He takes at the beginning two authorities as responsible for the statements—Karl Marx and Henry George (!) We do not for a moment admit the latter as a Socialist, but we must also say that Mr. Mallock only takes him as to the rental of land. The writer says:—

"The diagnosis of the social movement, as made by Karl Marx about 45 years ago, has been epitomised and reiterated by Socialists throughout our own country, Europe, and America in the following well-known words: 'Under the system of modern capitalism, whilst the rich have been growing and are continuing to grow richer, the poor have been growing, and must continue to grow, poorer; and the middle classes, or persons of moderate means, are concurrently being crushed out."

Of Henry George he says, "His doctrine was that, in any progressive country, no matter how fast the products of labour, of ability, and of capital were increasing, the rent of land must necessarily increase still faster, so that, not only all, but actually more than all, of the increment due to the efficiency of the population at large flows into the landlord's pockets, and 'poverty accompanies progress.'"

We include the above, but as George was not a Socialist, and as Socialists do not subscribe to his views on land and rent, whether rendered correctly by Mr. Mallock or not, we have no further concern with that part of Mr. Mallock's article. He proceeds to discuss "the alleged 'crushing out' of persons of moderate means," and takes these as meaning those with incomes from £150 or £160 up to £400 a year, referring to the Income-Tax Returns for his statistics.

"Let us begin, then," he says, "with the year 1800, and consider how affairs stood then. At that time, as we know from a variety of evidence connected with imposition and levying of the

first and the second income-tax, the aggregate of incomes in Great Britain exceeding £60 a year hardly amounted to a total of more than £100,000,000, of which £30,000,000 was the rental of agricultural land. Let us now turn to the year 1909, and consider the aggregate of incomes, ranging not from £60 but from £160 to £400, which go to one section of the middle class alone—namely, the official and business employees assessed under Schedules D and E. This, exclusive of all income from property, amounted in round figures to not less than £90,000,000—or to nearly as much as the total of all the incomes in Great Britain from £60 a year upwards in the year 1800, and exceeded by 23 per cent. the total of all such incomes as were then derived from anything but the ownership of agricultural land.

"Let us next take the year 1850—about 15 years previous to the publication of the celebrated work in which Marx elaborated the proposition that moderate incomes were disappearing—and the year 1880, a date 15 years later. Between these two dates the population of this country had risen from 26,000,000 to 35,000,000—an increase of 34 per cent. If moderate incomes were really being crushed out, they must at all events have increased more slowly than the number of the population as a whole. But if we consult the income-tax returns, what do we actually find? We find that, whereas the population as a whole has increased by about one-third, the number of incomes between £150-£160 and £400 had trebled itself, having risen from 177,000 to 330,000. . . .

"Here we have one example of what I meant when I said that Socialistic diagnoses of society are not merely distortions of the truth, but are fundamental and absolute inversions of it."

After dealing with the land-rent question (referred to above), he proceeds to discuss "the Socialistic assertion that the poorer classes are becoming poorer." . . . . "Let us, then, consider with as much precision as we can what is the aggregate to-day of individual earnings and incomes below the assessment limit of £160. Our sources of information with regard to this question have during recent years increased to a remarkable degree, partly owing to fresh investigations on the part of the Board of Trade into the wages of manual labour, and partly owing to an inquiry, conducted with semi-official assistance, by a committee of eminent statisticians, into the earnings and incomes (not exceeding £160) of persons other than wage-earning manual workers. The results of this inquiry were submitted to the British Association at Sheffield, in a report which has since been published. It is impossible to discuss its details, which would involve a survey of some 40 different groups of incomes; but the general conclusion there set forth is this: that the total income earned by the class in question—by the 'lower middle class,' as it is often loosely called—amounts to over £300,000,000. With regard to the wages of manual labour and services, the aggregate earned by twelve broadly distinguishable groups (of which all but two are under the

cognisance of the Board of Trade) cannot amount, according to the latest evidence, to less than £860,000,000; though precise knowledge as to this point will be impossible till a complete analysis of the last Census returns shall have been issued. These two sums, which make a total of £1,160,000,000, represent earned income only. To this must be added a further sum, amounting to something between £50,000,000 and £60,000,000, which arises from property and investments, the distribution of which, as Mr. Bowley observes, is uncertain, but which the classes here in question divide between them. The grand total of incomes not exceeding £160 is thus not less, at all events, than £1,210,000,000. The number of the population, exclusive of payers of income-tax and their families, may be taken at the present time as 37,000,000 or 38,000,000. Thus the average income per head of the population exempt from income-tax—or, in other words, of 'the poorer classes,' as that phrase is generally understood—is appreciably in excess, to say the least of it, of £30 a year.

"Let us now turn to the beginning of the nineteenth century. . . . . the total of incomes exceeding £60 a year in Great Britain . . . . did not amount to much more than £100,000,000; and the total income of Great Britain, according to the highest serious estimates, did but slightly exceed, if it amounted to, as much as £200,000,000." He mentions the difficulty of striking what proportion of this went to those with more than £160, and continues: "Let us take the nation as a whole, and consider what would then have been the average income per head if everything, from the earnings of the humblest casual labourer up to the profits of the greatest merchants, the rent-rolls of the greatest landowners, and the entire revenue of George III. with his Civil List, had been pooled about 16 years before the Battle of Waterloo, and doled out in equal shares to everybody. The population of that time was 10,000,000. Thus the average income per head—the maximum rendered possible by the whole existing wealth of the country—would have been £20, or, according to the computations of one sanguine statistician of the period, it might perhaps have amounted to £21.

"What, then, when we compare them, do the figures for these two periods mean? They mean that the average income per head of the poorer classes to-day is greater by some 50 per cent. than the largest corresponding income which could possibly have been received by anybody if, at the time which Socialists describe as the dawn of modern capitalism, all the wealth of Great Britain had been nationalised by a Socialistic State, and the dreams of the wildest of modern Socialists realised by a reduction of all the citizens to the same financial level."

The concluding portion of the article is devoted to "the Socialistic myth as to the present income of the rich." Naturally, after what has gone before, we are not surprised to read that there is very little left for the rich—the poor rich, we were going to

write. Mr. Mallock first states that the entire income, from all sources, of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom is now, according to the latest computations, about £1,970,000,000. The sum of £200,000,000 comes from abroad, and so the writer simply wipes that out as not having been produced here, leaving £1,770,000,000. Incomes below £160, as we have already seen, according to our author, account for £1,210,000,000; from £160 to £800 he puts down at £320,000,000. "If these assessed incomes not exceeding £800 be taken together with those not exceeding £160, the aggregate of the two will be about £1,530,000,000 produced by the efforts of workers in the United Kingdom, about one-tenth of this arising from property and nine-tenths being direct earnings." This is 87 per cent. of the total, so that "those persons who can be called rich in the widest acceptation of the term receive no more than a fraction which is approximately 13 per cent."

Comforting, is it not? Mr. Mallock promises further statistics on another occasion.

INDIVIDUALISM AND SOCIALISM.

In the April issue of the "Contemporary Review," Mr. Havelock Ellis writes under this heading an interesting article, showing how necessary are both to a complete society. We have only space for a couple of short extracts:—

"It is said by some who disclaim any tendency to Socialism that what they desire is not the State ownership of the means of production but State regulation. The distinction thus assumed is not, however, valid. The very people who make this distinction are often enthusiastic advocates of an enlarged Navy and a more powerful Army. Yet these can only be provided by taxation, and every tax in a democratic State is a Socialistic measure, and involves collective ownership of the proceeds, whether they are applied to making guns or swimming baths. Every step in the regulation of industry assumes the rights of society over individualistic production, and is, therefore, Socialistic. It is a question of less or more, but except along these lines there is no Socialism at all to be reckoned with in the practical affairs of the world. That revolutionary Socialism of the dogmatically systematic school of Karl Marx, which desired to transform society at a single stroke by taking over and centralising all the means of production, may now be regarded as a dream. It never at any time took root in the English-speaking lands, though it was advocated with unwearying patience by men of such force of intellect and of character as Mr. Hyndman and William Morris. Even in Germany, the land of its origin, nearly all its old irreconcilable

leaders are dead, and it is now slowly, but steadily, losing influence to give place to a more modern and practical Socialism."

"In every age the question of Individualism and Socialism takes on a different form. In our own age it has become acute under the form of a conflict between the advocates of good heredity and the advocates of good environment. On the one hand, there is the desire to breed the individual to a high degree of efficiency by eugenic selection, favouring good stocks, and making the procreation of bad stock more difficult. On the other hand, there is the effort so to organise the environment by collectivist methods that life for all may become easy and wholesome. As usual, those who insist on the importance of good environment are inclined to consider that the question of heredity may be left to itself, and those who insist on the importance of good heredity are indifferent to environment. As usual, also, there is a real underlying harmony of those two demands. There is, however, here more than this. In this most modern of their embodiments, Socialism and Individualism are not merely harmonious, each is the key to the other, which remains unattainable without it. However carefully we improve our breed, however anxiously we guard the entrance to life, our labour will be in vain if we neglect to adapt the environment to the fine race we are breeding. The best individuals are not the toughest any more than the highest species are the toughest, but rather indeed the reverse, and no creature needs so much and so prolonged an environing care as man, to ensure his survival. On the other hand, an elaborate attention to the environment, combined with a reckless inattention to the quality of the individuals born to live in that environment, can only lead to an overburdened social organisation which will speedily fall by its own weight."

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SYNDICALISM: WHAT IT IS.

By GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

"If the workers can organise to win Socialism by a general strike then they certainly can organise to win it at the ballot-box, and, as the latter is so much the easier method, we can see no reason for exhorting them to the more difficult."

The above practically sums up the attitude of the Parliamentary Socialist to Syndicalism, and when he says it he thinks he has said quite the last word.

However, the Syndicalist would reply, first, that, as a matter of fact it is not more difficult to organise for a general strike than for victory at the ballot-box, and, secondly, that, whereas industrial organisation can give us Socialism, political organisation cannot.

To take up the first point. It is admitted that the facts are with the Syndicalist as to the working man being willing to stake his very life upon a strike that will give him little or nothing even if won, whereas he will not take the trouble to walk ten feet to a ballot-box where a victory might give him most substantial benefits.

But, says the Socialist, it is merely a question of time when the worker will see the futility of striking

against the capitalist on one day and voting for him on the next. That looks logical enough at first glance, in fact it has looked logical to me for many years past, but now I have my doubts. Why? A Labour organisation is a perfectly natural organisation for a worker to function within; in fact, it is the most normal organisation possible. Labour is the basis of life. Hence his activities within a labour organisation can very easily be infinitely more pronounced than in a political organisation, which is more or less foreign to him even when completely in his own control. Therefore it may be that we will never see the worker exhibiting the comparatively slight effort to achieve a political victory that he will to obtain an industrial one, merely because he must in order to achieve the political victory learn to work within an organisation not quite natural to him.

For him to learn this may seem easy enough, just as it may seem easy enough to teach a fish to live out of water, but practice has proved the contrary.

However, may it not be that it is not merely a question of the worker's slowness to adopt politics that is against the hope of obtaining victory through storming the ballot-box? May it not be that the worker's instinct against politics is sounder than the intelligence of the "intellectual"?

The Socialist says, let us only get a majority in Parliament and we will then introduce the co-operative commonwealth. But this involves two assumptions: First, that the capitalist class will allow the majority of Parliament to vote away their property rights; secondly, that it is possible to hand down Socialism from above to the workers.

Inasmuch as the question of a Socialist political majority in any country is really very remote at present, the discussion as to whether the capitalist class now in the saddle would allow such a majority to introduce Socialism is rather academic.

However, I would point out that in Germany, the only country where such a majority seems a near political possibility, the question of the workers having their

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suffrage very much restricted is regarded by German Socialists as a most likely event. If this were done, then of course there would be no chance of their ever getting a majority. The worst of it is, too, that they admit that their only reply is a General Strike. In other words, they will be forced to go back to Syndicalism—to direct action—to obtain the right to vote. It is obvious that if they will then have the power to effectively demand the vote, they will also have the power to demand the transfer of the industrial machinery direct to themselves without the intervention of the State. A political party is really not an organisation, it is merely an aggregaton of people who unite to vote for someone to represent them. Therefore, a political party cannot be an effective weapon against men who are organised, whether they be capitalists or workers.

A Socialist Party, even when in a majority, has no physical power through its mere unorganised numbers to make a successful contest with the dominant organised capitalist class who are in control of the organised State. If when it gains a majority it asks for the fruits of victory and receives a refusal, then it must cool its heels in the corridors until it gets the physical power to take the fruits. There is only one way to develop this power and that is through organisation, either armed or industrial. Armed force may be dismissed as chimerical, although I note that Congressman Victor Berger has recently said that unless the workers are armed it will be impossible to achieve Socialism peacefully. And that is perfectly logical from the standpoint of the Parliamentary Socialist who has got along far enough to see that force is necessary to back up votes, but who has not thrown off the traditions of '48, and faith in the barricades. The workers will gain power through their industrial solidarity, never through their ability to outshoot the military.

However, it is not so much the inability by reason of the lack of physical force which would account for the inability of a Socialist political majority to give

Socialism. It is that the social organisation would not be ready for the metamorphosis.

All Socialists admit that the change from capitalism to Socialism involves an enormous change not only in the social organisation but in the individuals as well.

We have often had to wave off with contempt those who say that Socialism is all right if you could only change human nature first. Our reply was that Socialism would change human nature after we had Socialism, whereas Syndicalists insist that the close attachment the workers will develop for their industrial unions will certainly change their natures prior to any advent of Socialism through Syndicalism.

The Syndicalist proposes that the workers shall form industrial unions, based upon class instead of upon craft, although he will admit that the industrial union may well be built up of the amalgamation of craft unions.

By the close affiliation of all these industrial unions the Syndicalist not only sees that the workers will have the power to control the form of the future society, but he also foresees that the industrial unions themselves will form the framework of that society.

He insists that the present State cannot possibly be continued into the future society even though the Socialists should gain political control and should try to introduce Socialism by means of it. He regards the present State as a decaying obsolete organisation which must be superseded by the co-ordinated industrial unions, and therefore he cannot view the political control of the present State as an event of the same importance that it has in the eyes of the Socialist.

In other words, the Syndicalist says, first, that it will be most difficult for the Socialists to ever get a majority in Parliament; secondly, that when there is a chance of such an event the capitalists will find a way to nullify it; and, thirdly, even though the Socialists would get control of the State that they would find that the form of society could not be successfully

modified from above downwards because the natural method of such an organic change must take place from the workers up through their industrial unions.

Parliament to-day is made up of representatives from geographical districts, and is in no sense a body adapted to intelligently regulate the industrial life of the workers. A body to be competent for such a purpose must be made up of delegates from the organisations of industry, and it would seem practically impossible to transform Parliament into such a body. The Syndicalist says there must be a substitution of one body for the other, whereas the Socialist looks to an impossible metamorphosis of Parliament.

The Socialist will say that he, too, believes in industrial unions instead of craft unions, and that he regards the economic action of the workers as of equal importance with their political action, that they are the two necessary balancing wings, etc.

However, when you analyse his position you find that he really regards the economic action as merely a good way of developing the political sense of the workers for getting their votes, and in no sense will he admit that the industrial union itself can of any possibility be the power that will reorganise society.

The Syndicalist recognises the use to which the Socialists would put the unions, and therefore he fears to countenance political action at all because of the Socialists diverting them from their most important function—to revolutionise society.

Syndicalism is distinctly for mass action and mass consciousness, and recognises that nothing can be done without concerted organised action. It believes in direct action by the mass and not by the individual.

It is said that the Syndicalist is merely returning to the old Robert Owen idea of a federation of unions. It is true that the organisation suggested is similar, but the method of obtaining possession of the machinery of production is essentially different.

Syndicalism is frankly revolutionary in its attitude towards property. It says that when the workers

organise industrially they can and will take possession of the machinery of production. Owen never suggested any such revolutionary act. His proposals had the endorsement of the most conventional and conservative of people. He even had sympathetic audiences with royalty, to whom he elaborated his plan to regenerate mankind.

Finally, I would say that Syndicalism is at once an interpretation and a prophecy of the Labour movement. It is not so much a creed as it is a statement of what is and will be.

It declares that the workers are bound to unite industrially and that the power which industrial union will give them will be inevitably used for their own advantage. It declares that this power can be more easily used to take possession direct of the machinery of production through the industrial unions than it can be used to take it through the existing State by voting and gaining a political majority.

It, moreover, declares that the idea of this direct possession of industry by themselves will be far more inspiring to successful action than any proposal to take industry over indirectly through the State. It declares that a conscious minority of the workers when organised can control the unconscious majority unorganised, and urges this control.

Syndicalism, therefore, declares that the important work of the Revolutionist is through the industrial unions and not through the ballot-box.

We invited and welcome this statement of the "Syndicalist" position by our friend Wilshire, not because we regard Syndicalism as in any sense a serious movement, but because it can do no harm to any cause or interest—and certainly none to capitalism—save the Socialist movement. It is well, therefore, to know the best that can be said for this latest phase of Anarchist anti-Socialism. Next month we shall publish a reply to the above.—THE EDITOR.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE PARTY SYSTEM.

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO "THE PARTY SYSTEM," BY HILAIRE BELLOC AND CECIL CHESTERTON.

By George C. Swanson.

During the year of grace which has just fled—i.e., 1911—that part of the British public which is interested in politics was somewhat startled by the issue of "The Party System." The two authors had discovered that the fight between the two great political parties in the State, the Conservatives and the Liberals, was unreal—mere stage play, in fact—that the two governing groups played into each other's hands as the exigencies of the political situation required, each of them being intent upon enjoying the "opportunities and emoluments of office" when fortune served them, and both intent upon deluding the great British public into believing that they were fighting each other in dead earnest, carefully arranging the pantomime behind the scenes beforehand. Moreover, it was stated that the representative assembly was controlled by the Executive—that is, the Ministry—and that the Ministry was able to do this through being in possession of huge secret Party Funds, by which, with the judicious sale of peerages, baronetcies, &c., they were able to purchase the votes and allegiance of those who are already in Parliament, and those who aspire to reach to that eminence.

This, of course, was not exactly news; but although these were no discoveries, the repetition of these often

detailed revelations excited public interest and disgust. In the opinion of Messrs. Belloc and Chesterton these evils are caused by the Party System of government. "The thing which makes representative institutions fail here must be expressed in a phrase; the two words which best sum it up are the Party System, and the Party System as an organ of government must be supplanted by some more healthy and vigorous institution."

Although trenchant and decisive in their condemnation of the Party System, they are not upon very firm ground when they come to suggest alternatives. There is a half-hearted support of Mr. Jowett's proposal to abolish the Ministry with its collective responsibility altogether, and substitute a number of Departmental Committees of the House similar to those which transact business on local councils. There is also a suggestion that "candidates should be pledged to vote against the Government, whatever its composition, unless there were carried through the House of Commons within a set time those measures to which they stood pledged already in their election addresses and on the platform. A schedule could easily be drawn up within whose limits certain measures were required by the electorate to pass the House of Commons." Our authors, however, do not regard either of these methods with any certainty of success; they fear that our representative institutions have become so corrupt that they are past redemption, and that our "degraded Parliament may ultimately be replaced by some other organ." What this other organ is we are not informed. There is a passing and unhappy reference to the substitution of the Roman Commonwealth by the Empire, but of definite belief in the advent of any superseding political institution they have none. On one point they are certain; they say "the political education of the democracy is, therefore, the first step towards a reform," and with that partial truth we can agree—in part. Indeed, this is one of those half-truths which men utter when groping in the darkest recesses

of a problem the meaning of which they do not fully comprehend.

This, then, is the indictment of our authors, both men who have won for themselves a name in English politics, men whose opinions upon political affairs command our attention. To-day, they say, England is governed by a Committee which may be roughly called "The Front Benches." There is only one party in English politics, and the party is divided arbitrarily into two teams, each of which is by mutual understanding entitled to its turn of office and emolument. The Front Benches are recruited by co-option, often from the family connections of one or two of our so-called "Great Houses," at the caprice of the political oligarchy, and divorced from national control. The issues brought before Parliament are false issues, often issues about which the nation is not very much concerned, while those matters of real moment are, by mutual understanding between the official Ministry and the official Opposition, carefully relegated to the background. Consequently the Houses of Parliament are mere debating societies, and "the people are impotent and without a voice."

The cause of this great evil is, according to our authors, the "Party System" of government. To quote them again: "The thing which makes representative institutions fail here must be expressed in a phrase; the two words which best sum it up are the 'Party System.'" When they ask the question: Can it be mended? they reach the least satisfactory part of their task. There is in their suggestions a lack of directness and force which one is compelled to believe arises from a feeling of uncertainty of their bearings. Like some travellers lost in the inner recesses of the Great Pyramid, the boundaries of whose chambers they dimly see, and the possibility of a death in whose dark interminable passages they fearfully apprehend, they cannot be sure by which way they are certain to reach the sunlight. The Party System they condemn; its dishonesty, its fraudulent deception of

the electorate, its terrible corruption, they wholeheartedly denounce; and to clear this Augean stable they suggest the adoption of the Committee system in Parliament, tying members down to pledge themselves to vote against the Government in given circumstances; and the political education of the people.

This is part of the case, but not the whole case. In their hypothesis, their deductions, and their conclusions, our authors are wrong. To quote Macaulay in his lament over Addison's ignorance of Greek, "The truth is that he was writing about what he did not understand." To state that the Party System is the cause of the corruption of our politics is to confuse cause and effect, to have an inadequate knowledge of the social and political development of which our present political methods are the natural consequence.

It has been said that the mode of production and exchange is the foundation upon which the social structure is built up, and can alone explain the particular social and political development in every historical epoch. Parliamentary institutions, as we now see them, may be, and indeed are, bad, but to be able to adequately discuss them, it is necessary for us to know the processes and political development of which they are the present expression.

Governments may be roughly classified into the personal and popular forms of government, and political institutions, like the economic forms of society, progress from one plane, through a process of change, finally to an expression of the same form, but on a higher level. Governments in primitive communities were of the popular character. That is true of our own country, and is true of such communities as exist to-day. Co-incident with material development a change in the forms of administration is inevitable. From popular control in primitive savagery we have passed through the stage of personal government, and once more we have attained to government by democratic control, but quite a different phase of it from that to which our forefathers gave their allegiance.

The origin of popular government in primitive communities is easy to perceive. Such communities are always small and self-contained. Men see each other constantly, and are in daily intercourse one with another. Nothing is more natural than that they who live in sight of each other and can be readily summoned should meet together to discuss matters of common interest. The idea of representation does not occur to them, because it is not necessary, and because they do not desire to entrust to others duties which they can easily fulfil themselves. Even where property has been made a qualification, and the very poor are excluded, such as the clients in ancient Rome and the slaves in ancient Greece, yet those who were qualified to exercise their voice in the affairs of the community did so personally and not by deputy. Do we not know that in our own time the towns are republican in tendency when compared with the conservatism of the rural districts?

Ancient Greece was a collection of towns whose Governments were mainly democracies, with occasional tergiversations into tyrannies. Their intense passion for local autonomy was favoured by the geographical configuration of the country. Greece is broken up into plains and valleys, isolated from one another, and frequently only accessible from the sea. The Republican cities of Greece, Athens, Sparta and Thebes furnished mankind with remarkable examples of political and intellectual brilliance; they produced men whose names are immortal in the regions of Art and Literature; but their keen love of liberty, their reluctance to sacrifice their town Republics to a consolidated Greece, was eventually the cause of their ruin. Athens was never more resplendent than when she was governed by her 30,000 citizens, but the tenacity with which she and her sister cities clung to their independence made them an easy prey to later Roman aggression. Greece lacked the one strong State which could impose her dominance on the others. Had Athens, or Sparta, or Thebes, each of whom became, in

turn, the paramount power, been able to crush the other and weld the Grecian States into one whole, the history of the world would have been of a different character.

What are the circumstances which contributed to build up the power of ancient Rome in such contrast to that of Greece? Italy and Greece are as different in geographical configuration as are the histories of their peoples. In Italy communication between cities was easy. There were no severe geographical obstacles in the way of the Roman armies which set out across the Tiber and the Campagna to bring to submission the smaller States with which she from time to time quarrelled. Further, Rome was by far the strongest of these States, and in course of time, by force of the natural development of events, she became the strongest of all the powers in the peninsula. Gradually she formed offensive and defensive alliances with her weaker sisters; later, she commanded their armies and taxed their peoples to suit her political convenience. With the march of time Rome was able to include all the peoples in Italy in the number of her allies, protecting them from the Gauls and from Carthage, and last, but not by any means insignificant, the pirates of the Mediterranean, obtaining in return an admission of her suzerainty. The Italian nations became anxious to obtain the privileges of Roman citizenship to find a road to the command of her armies, the administration of provinces, the dignities of the magistracies—in fact, to all the advantages, moral and material, of being a citizen of Rome. These privileges Rome was naturally reluctant to grant, and the struggle ended in the Italian war. The allies were eventually beaten, but in return for their submission they received the gift of Roman citizenship, and the career of Rome as a conquering and absorbing military world-Power had begun; for the future, the honour of being able to say with pride "Civis Romanus sum" was not to be the privilege solely of the freeman born within the city on the seven hills.

Strikingly dissimilar as these two nations were in their history, yet they presented to the world the same ideas in government. Both accepted the right of all free citizens to a voice in national affairs, marred as their histories were by the tyrannies in Greece and in Rome by the dictatorships and the eventual submersion of the commonwealth by the Empire. Representative institutions as we have them to-day, and as are now in vogue in nearly every country in the world, are based upon the democratic idea. We, in England, owe them to our Germanic forefathers, and the success of these institutions in this country has impelled other nations to follow our example by framing their constitutions upon our model.

Pure democracies are natural to self-contained communities; representative institutions grew up in Germany, when several such communities allied themselves for mutual protection into one homogeneous political whole, but this was a stage in development to which Rome never attained. All-powerful as the Roman arms were in every other part of the then known world, they never imposed their permanent dominion over Germany. They built fifty fortresses upon the Rhine, many of which became the centres of towns of importance. They pressed upon the Teutons upon the Elbe, and upon the Slavonic tribes in the neighbourhood of the Oder and Vistula; but when Arminius destroyed Quintilius Varus and his three legions on the banks of the Lippe he achieved a victory conferring lasting benefits upon the human race ranking second only to that of Charles Martel when he overcame the invading host of the Mohammedans at Tours. Had Arminius been defeated, the manners and language of Rome would probably have had as great an influence in Germany as they did in Spain and France, and England might never have felt the regenerating influence of Germanic institutions. Varus lost, and he was beaten so badly that in despair he threw himself upon his own sword and died leaving Augustus Cæsar in Rome lamenting the loss of his

legions, and in the agony of his sorrow striking his head from time to time against the doors of his apartments, crying out, "Quintilius Varus, give me back my legions." Rome never succeeded in restoring her supremacy over Germany, her frontier receded to the Rhine, and never after that advanced beyond it. Profiting by their immunity, the Germans grew in numbers and in military power, and one day they crossed the great river in their turn to conquer Rome, who, by the rigidity of her institutions, had sealed her own doom. The practice of personal representation in the popular assembly, while natural and satisfactory, in the congested area of Rome, was inadequate for the Roman Empire, and the inability of her people to find a solution of the political problem induced that corruption which finally brought about her ruin. The Romans were sparing in conferring political rights. Even the colonies in the Italian peninsula received only partial rights—the "jus Italicum"—and their votes were collected by the magistrates, sealed and sent to Rome, to be opened upon the day of election in the Campus Martius. Further than this referendum Rome never advanced; but according to Tacitus, the Germans had the benefit of the representative form of government, a natural development of popular government from the earliest times; and the victory of Germany over Rome about the beginning of the first century, followed by her complete conquest in the fifth century, and the Saxon invasions of Britain a little later, brought the gift of representative institutions to Britain, the beneficient influence of which it is impossible for us to value too highly.

From this point it will be our interesting and instructive task to trace the development of our English political forms and their final expression in the "Party System."

(To be continued.)

THE TRAGEDY OF THE WORKING-CLASS STRUGGLE.

By JNO. RHIND.

"Discontent is the first step in progress of the individual or the nation."

Owing to the righteous unrest that exists at the present time, not only in England, but throughout the whole civilised world, the student of sociology is painfully reminded of the awful tragedy, the endless suffering and poverty which have ever been the lot of the working classes from generation to generation through historic time. Owing to the injustice inflicted on the workers—bond or free—by the governing classes, that will inevitably be the case so long as society is divided into classes: a dominant class and a subject class—that is to say, a class which lives by labour and a class which lives on labour.

The workers can only be kept in subjection by their employers giving them, as a class, a mere subsistence in return for their labour, whether it be paid in money, as to freemen, or in kind as to bondsmen.

Mere sentiment cannot possibly alter this so long as those conditions obtain—the slave-owner with his chattel-slave, or the capitalist with his wage-worker—the workers as a whole must always suffer economic injustice and precariousness of life.

No matter how the employers may desire to do so, they dare not in pure self-defence grant the working class collectively such wages as would enable them to save any considerable sum of money, knowing that they would become independent of their employers, who would no longer during a strike be able to starve them into submission. The result

of that would be that they would lose their economic power, and, we may be sure, their political power also. Thus they would bring about the destruction of that social system which gives them their privileges and power, and enables them to live on the labour of others. For capitalism presupposes a subject class, and when the latter becomes non-existent the former must inevitably collapse. That, we may be sure, they are not likely to do if they can prevent it.

Nor does the matter end here, as capitalism not only presupposes a subject class, but also that great numbers of that class shall be constantly unemployed. There is a twofold purpose in that. First, it is necessary that there should be surplus labourers whom they can call upon when trade is good; and, secondly, to keep wages as near subsistence level as possible. That is not a mere statement by a Socialist, but a hard fact which in unguarded moments the capitalists themselves admit. The following is a case in point:—

"We may conclude this section by observing that Manchester and the neighbouring towns seem to be the established locality for cotton manufactures. To establish mills at a distance from this locality is almost impossible. In rural districts wages may, it is true, be lower; but, then, in such places the master is the servant of his hands (even supposing he can always obtain skilled labour), and they may compel him to accede to any exorbitant demand they please under a threat that if he refuse his works shall be stopped. In Manchester this is not the case. Being the rendezvous of workpeople there are always many wanting situations, and this circumstance prevents employers from being perplexed with vexatious annoyance from workpeople. And there is never likely to be any scarcity of hands, for as those employed in many manufactures are unacquainted with any other trade, leaving town would to them be almost certain poverty." ("Manchester As it Is," 1839: Love and Barton.)

Poverty! Starvation! those are always their trump cards. They relied on them in the latest strike—that of the miners. And 'twill ever be thus until the working class use their political power to capture the political and administrative machinery of the country to abolish the injustices of class rule!

Here let us admit that the evils and wrongs which exist

to-day must not be attributed to the present capitalists, but to the social sysem which obtains. They, like the workers, are the creatures of their environment. If it were possible to transform the present capitalists into workers, and an equal number of workers into capitalists in their stead, we should find that these latter would act in precisely the same manner as the present capitalists do. Hence the evil is inherent in the system. That is all the greater reason why we should strive to overthrow it, and so abolish for ever the possibility of man exploiting his fellow-men, with all the misery and suffering it entails.

No matter how far we go back into the historic period we find that class domination has always entailed injustices and inhumanities, that untold millions have lived lives of poverty, misery and pain for the sole benefit of their owners or exploiters. Strikes? there is nothing modern about them. Listen to the voice from the land of the Pharaohs:—

"About 1450 B.C. Pharaoh (the King of Egypt) was building a new Temple of Thebes. The masons received very little cash; but a quantity of provisions, which the contractor thought sufficient, was handed to them on the first of each month. Sufficient or not, they mostly ate it before the time had elapsed. On one occasion many of them had nothing left quite early in the month, so they marched to the contractor's house, before which they squatted and refused to budge until justice was done. The contractor persuaded them to lay their distress before Pharaoh, who was about to visit the works, and he gave them a handsome supply of corn, and so all went well for that month. But the same state of things recurred by the middle of the next, and for some days the men struck work. Various conferences took place, but the men declined to do a stroke until they were given another supply of corn. They declared the clerks cheated them, used false weights, and so forth—familiar enough complaints in this country under the truck system. The contractor not complying with their demands they marched to the governor of the city to lay their grievances before him, and he tried to get them to return to work by smooth words, but that was no use, and they insisted on having food. At last, to get rid

of them, he drew up an order for corn on the public granary, and the strike was at an end."

That strike took place 3,360 years ago, yet it reads as if it had taken place in the twentieth century. In fact, it reminds one of the Manchester unemployed, who a few years ago marched to London to petition the King to remedy their grievances.

We know that such comparatively highly-civilised people as the ancient Greeks were at times absolutely inhuman to their helots or slaves (their working class), and whenever they increased to such numbers as their masters considered dangerous to their own safety (evidently being conscious of the injustice of man having property in man) they always found, with State sanction, some foul means of reducing their numbers.

That especially applies to Sparta, which the Anti-Socialists try to represent as a Socialist community. They made their slaves wear a distinctive dress. "They wore dog-skin bonnets and sheep-skin vests; they were forbidden to learn any liberal art, or to perform any act worthy of their masters. Once a day they receive a certain number of stripes for fear they should forget they were slaves." Even in those days the ruling class knew the value of ignorance and illiteracy. Education has ever been the nightmare of those in high places. Well it may, for through it capitalism will finally be overthrown.

Nor do we find that the Romans were any better in these respects.

Cato is always represented as being a man of virtue and justice: a credit to Rome and an example of true manhood. However, like many other examples in history, his virtues appear to be class virtues, for, according to Plutarch, "Cato advised that slaves should be incited to quarrel amongst themselves lest they should conspire against their masters, and considered it to be cheaper to work them to death than let them grow old and useless."

Could anything be more inhuman? It is always the same at any time or period; the wealth producers, whether they be called the slave class or the working class, always live precarious, miserable, poverty-stricken lives from the

cradle to the grave. But the day of reckoning will come, as truth and justice must ultimately prevail!

Passing on to feudal times, we find the improvement in the economic and social condition of the worker to be more nominal than real. He had to work three days in each week for his over-lord without any wages in return; he belonged to the estate, and whenever it was sold or confiscated he became the serf of a new master. If man murdered his fellow-man he could get off with a nominal fine; but if perchance he stole or killed a hare on the baron's estate the penalty was death. If he wanted to marry he had to get permission of his lord, who enjoyed certain privileges regarding the bride; which, if she happened to be of prepossessing appearance, were sometimes exercised—of so humiliating a nature as to be unfit for public discussion. Thus the serfs were not only robbed of the results of their labour, but also were personally humiliated and degraded; another crime resulting from man having power over man.

The Feudal system appears to have begun to break up in the twelfth century, and money payment instead of kind to have been introduced; as also various forms of wage-labour. The hiring of the labourer was not, however, carried on as it is to-day. For example, if a farmer wanted, say, a cart he did not go to a cart dealer or a wheelwright simply to purchase one. What he did was to buy all the material necessary and then engage a wheelwright to build it. And so with buildings. In that case he would procure all the building material and engage a builder to erect it for him. That appears to be the general method of hiring labour in all countries where capitalism is not thoroughly established. Even in New Zealand, to-day, dressmakers visit their customers and live with them whilst their dresses are being made. In these circumstances the worker is for all practical purposes his own employer, and his remuneration and social condition far better than under a capitalist employer; although he is generally, politically, a mere cipher.

One of the principal factors which hastened the system of wage-labour in the twelfth century was the Crusades. To embark on these expeditions required large sums of

money, and to raise them many nobles and knights granted freedom to those of their vassals and serfs who could pay certain stated sums according to the value of their social status. The principal factor, however, was undoubtedly the "Great Plague," or "Black Death," which it is supposed destroyed from one-fourth to one-third of the people. Many became free in consequence of their owners' death. Labourers became scarce, and as a result commanded a high price for their labour-power. Now the struggle between the employing class and employed began. The latter, as we shall see, continued to improve their condition, both in regard to shortening of the hours of labour and increasing their wages, up to the fifteenth century. From the sixteenth century the employing class (now capitalist class) succeeded in reducing the wages and increasing the hours of labour up to the early nineteenth century, when the hours of labour were greater and the wages lower than they have ever been in the history of this country; so low, in fact, that it was physically impossible for the workers to live on the wages they received. What the workers suffered in the early years of the nineteenth century was so terrible that members of the ruling class, including even some of the capitalists themselves, made public protest against the awful crimes which were committed in the interest of profit. The workers, as poor, ignorant, unlettered people, were absolutely in the power of their exploiters. Nor did they realise the immorality of the social system that caused them so much suffering and made them wish they had never been born.

Briefly, the discovery of America at the close of the fifteenth century; the East India Chartered Company in 1600 opening up trade with the East; and, later in the century, the discovery of gold in America, together with the suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII. and confiscation of their lands, and also the Enclosure Acts, which drove the people off the land, created the first real unemployed class known in England.

In the time of Henry VIII., if by any means a person became destitute he could always go to the monasteries for assistance. The suppression of those institutions put an end to that, besides creating more destitute people by depriv-

ing those whose labour ministered to the wants of the monks of their employment. That in turn brought into existence a homeless, "vagrant" class, compelled to tramp about the country as outlaws and forced to commit crimes and robberies for their very existence. In a few years they became so numerous that the ruling classes considered them to be a menace to the State. Hence a Proclamation was issued that all persons found on the King's highway who had no visible means of existence were to be forthwith summarily executed. It is stated that during the reign of Henry VIII. no fewer than 70,000 of these unfortunate unemployed were hanged. Could anything be more inhuman than to deprive a man of his means of existence and then hang him for having none? The land which was confiscated Henry distributed amongst his favourites and supporters in his quarrel with the Pope.

"Out of the confiscated Church lands new families were built up by Royal favour: the Russells, Cavendishes, Seymours, Greys, Dudleys, Sidneys, Herberts and Fitzwilliams." It is the descendants of this new nobility (who, by the way, were hated by the old nobility, who still look on them as their inferiors) who are always crying out against confiscation, and declaring that Socialism is robbery!

Not content with these Church lands, they added to their ill-gotten estates land stolen from the people through the Enclosure Acts already mentioned. The people who were driven off the land by enclosure were not hanged, as the capitalist class, who by this time were becoming numerous, had need of them. They, however, found the ancient trade guilds a hindrance to their power to exploit the increasing unemployed class, so they removed from the ancient cities, out of their jurisdiction, to such, then, obscure places as Manchester, Birmingham, Bradford, Leeds and other isolated places, which have since grown into great industrial centres. To these new centres the increasing number of landless people naturally gravitated. The capitalists now were able to exploit them without restriction or hindrance, which they could not do in the ancient cities.

"The guild kept before it the ideal of combining good quality, and a price that was fair to the consumer, with a

fitting remuneration to the workman." Can anyone conceive of capitalism having such an ideal?

We shall see the awful results of this unrestricted exploitation of man under the soulless economics of the Manchester School.

(To be continued.)

PRO PERSIS.

By W. Albery.

Weep! weep for Iran! Lo! the scroll of fate
Looms like the writing on Belshazzar's wall.
Iranians, weep! for where your patriots fall
Their tombs are chiselled with the steel of hate,
And tyranny has spread on them its pall.

The majliss meets no more; the sudden morn
That seemed to rise like spring amid the snow
Was false; the night has yet some time to show
Its sullen face; the young and pliant corn
Is trampled ere the winds about it blow.

The majliss meets no more; if they, who tried
By deed and counsel to uplift the State
And give it life, were left to legislate
The bidding of White Cæsar, patriots' pride
And patriots' love were things to execrate.

The schools are closed; what should your children learn
Save what should make their young hearts tear and rend?
That Iran is oppressed; that Britons turn
And twist their troths to nothing; that the urn
That holds their ashes is their only friend.

Though none should teach, yet rumour like the breeze
That blows about the tall wind-turret speeds
Its murmur to the heart; all Iran heeds
Its silent sons and cities; for Tabriz
And its lost liberty all Iran bleeds.

White Cæsar's nod lets loose destruction's lust:
O ye that went to Masshad, go not twice!
Iran hath other need of sacrifice:
If Imam Riza's shrine be hacked to dust,
What then shall all your pilgrimage suffice?

And ye who sit within the mosque's cool shade
In old Shiraz, and, opening the book,
Inquire the Oracle of Hafiz, look
Lest danger find ye none the less afraid
For all ye learn within your quiet nook!

And ye that suffer pain with futile zest
Your large forbearance cease! for lo! the hour
Speeds, and not all your beatings of the breast
Shall bring fulfilment of one pledge, or wrest
From leprous Cæsar all his lust of power.

Iran, arise! ere the destroyer's hand
Makes darker than your vintage its red must
And sweeps your cities as the wind the sand,
Till Jamshyd's faded turrets face a land
Of ruins and of battlements of dust.

Lo! ye have need of Xerxes and his hosts;
Or there must spring from out your country's womb
Some new Darius to forfend your doom
And grasp the shears of fate, or else the ghosts
Of Khosrau or Shah Abbas from the tomb.

The cruel Muscovite makes desolate
Your cities and your hopes; within Tabriz
The faithful hang upon the gallows-trees;
Your arch-priest's blood o'erwhelms the solemn date,
And brutal Cossacks mock your mysteries.

Grodno, Kiev, Kishinev, Tabriz recall
Moslem and Jew, Finn, Turkman, Slav, and Pole:
Terror too terrible even to appal
So petrifies despair that one and all
Render in dumb dismay the bloody toll.

White Cæsar's pride is Albion's shame: to see
Her country wed with tyranny as bride.
Rather give up the lordship of the sea,
The girdle and the symbol of the free!
Rather our hopes than honour falsified!

O Gladstone, where is now thy righteous ire?
Thy hatred of injustice? Those who claim
Thy mantle and the glory of thy name
Are such mean heritors of their dead sire
That proudest laurels deck the deed of shame.

Ye Liberal Democrats—God save the mark!—
If this is liberal action, oh! not here
Is Liberty a creed. Light up the bier
Of freedom dead; and burn the bastion-barque
That lords your seas, for we are sold to Fear.

Weep! weep for Albion! for her gartered knight
Has stained her honour and made black her fame;
And stupor has dissolved the wrath of blame,
And Fear has bought the citadel of Right,
Till Liberty is but an empty name.

Iran, the fellowship of like distress
For this thy sorrow and for this our sin
Serves us in this alone to make akin
Men set apart, till faith and fortune bless
A strife where steadfastness is sure to win.

April 24, 1912.

THE MONTH.

The most tragic event of the past month has been the foundering of the Titanic, after striking an iceberg in the Atlantic on her maiden voyage from Southampton to New York.

With a crew numbering 898, and 1,308 passengers, the Titanic was making a record voyage, when, on the night of Sunday, April 14, steaming 21 knots an hour, in fine weather, and a smooth sea, she struck an iceberg and sank in about a couple of hours, carrying with her more than two-thirds of her passengers and crew, only 703 in all, who took to the boats, being saved.

The first news of the disaster that came to hand was accompanied by the statement that the vessel was making for Halifax under her own steam; that she was "unsinkable," and everybody aboard was safe. Later news was to the effect that most, if not all, of her passengers and crew had been rescued and taken aboard other vessels. It was only slowly that the awful extent of the disaster was made known—that this magnificent vessel, this latest word in naval architecture, and supposed to be "unsinkable," had been sent to the bottom of the Atlantic, and most of her crew and passengers drowned, when only four days out from home on her maiden voyage.

We have no intention to add to the columns of lamentations evoked by this terrible and startling event. Still less have we any desire to prejudge the case, or to anticipate the findings of the Court of Inquiry now sitting. There are one or two facts, however, which stand out amid all the mass of more or less relevant evidence through which the Court has to pick its way to a conclusion. Those facts are of the first importance, and convey lessons which should be indelible.

In the first place, it seems to be established beyond all question that the Titanic was sacrificed, with the passengers and crew who

went down with her, to speed, and the mad desire to make or break a record. She was steaming twenty-one knots, approximating to her highest average speed, and there was no slowing down, although she was known to be in the vicinity of dangerous ice, and other vessels, in the same circumstances, which had warned her, were going "dead slow," or had stopped altogether.

That would appear to be the fact of supreme importance—that if the same disregard of "cutting the record," the same care and the same precautions had been shown on the Titanic as on these other ships—the vessel might have been afloat now. Next to that the fact appears to be established that the safety of the passengers and crew was sacrificed to luxury. The water-tight bulkheads, which were supposed to render the vessel unsinkable, proved but a vain trust, and when it became necessary to take to the boats it was found that there were not sufficient of these for more than a third of the persons on board, and not even a third had she been carrying her full complement of passengers.

The need for ships like the Titanic to carry more boats is now being insisted upon, and the scandalous neglect of the Board of Trade in not bringing its regulations up to modern requirements in this respect is evoking the strongest condemnation on that plutocrat-serving department. There seems little doubt that had there been adequate boat accommodation every creature on board the Titanic might have been saved. But the circumstances were exceptional. The night was fine, the sea calm, and there was ample time for everybody to have been got off the ship. It is true that some of the boats were not filled; but that fact appears to have been due, in the first instance, to the reluctance of many to leave the ship—unable, as they appear to have been, to realise that she was actually sinking—and, in the second place, to the instinct of self-preservation which prevented those in the boats, after the disaster, from risking all by pulling back into the crowd of drowning victims. In the ordinary circumstances attending such a disaster, however—a wild night and a rough, stormy sea—something more than the mere provision of sufficient boat accommodation would be necessary in order to save more than a minority of those on board from being drowned. Unless the boats were more readily available than is usually the case, and the boat drill of the crew were much more than the usual sham, there would be little chance for most of the people on a ship like the Titanic being

saved in her boats, if she went down in a storm, even if the boat accommodation were, in itself, ample.

In the circumstances the action of the men of the Olympic in refusing to go to sea in her until sufficient boat accommodation was provided was perfectly justifiable, and, indeed, commendable. And so, also, was the demand of the men on the P. and O. vessels for the inclusion in each crew of British seamen capable of managing a boat in an emergency. The circumstances attending the loss of the Titanic show how important this demand is, and, in making it, the men should have the cordial support of the public.

Another point to which considerable attention has been called in connection with the loss of the Titanic is the proportion of the different classes saved. Thus :—

Out of 1,662 men passengers, 315, or 19 per cent., were saved.

Out of 439 women passengers, 336, or 77 per cent., were saved.

Out of 105 children, 52, or 49 per cent., were saved.

63 per cent. of the first class passengers were saved : 34 per cent. of the men ; 97 per cent. women, and 100 per cent. of the children.

42 per cent. of the second class passengers were saved : 8 per cent. of the men ; 84 per cent. of the women ; and 100 per cent. of the children.

Only 25 per cent. of the third class passengers were saved : 12 per cent. of the men ; 55 per cent. of the women ; and 30 per cent. of the children.

Out of the crew, 22 per cent. of the men were saved, and 91 per cent. of the women.

That, of course, was quite in keeping with the eternal fitness of things. It is quite right and proper that in saving life at sea, or elsewhere, preference should be shown to the first class. They have most to lose! Besides, what would be the use of being "first class" passengers if they didn't have the first chance of being saved, as well as the first and best of everything else?

We by no means join in the chorus of condemnation of the "first class" in this connection. So far as we can judge, the men of all classes on board appear, in the main, to have behaved very well. That was only to be expected. Class distinctions have nothing whatever to do with natural differences, and a wealthy man

is not necessarily a scoundrel nor a workman a saint. A millionaire may be a brave man, and a pauper may be a mere craven. In such matters the economic differences which divide society into classes do not operate. The simple fact, however, is, not that rich people are bigger cowards or less humane than others, but that in such cases as that in question, as all through life, they have, and have had, bigger and better opportunities than the others.

There are rumours that, arising out of the strike of the Olympic's crew, and the demands of the P. and O. men, there is likely to be another big strike in the shipping and transport industry. We do not attach any importance to these rumours, and think they may safely be discounted. Any differences which may arise between owners and men just now are likely to be adjusted without any strike.

Meanwhile, there is a strong movement in the building trade for improved conditions—better wages and less hours—which has every promise of success, if only the men keep a stiff upper lip and do not show any sign of weakness, or allow the negotiations to drag on too long.

The London tailors and tailoresses, too, are contributing their share to the "Labour unrest." They are out on strike for better wages and the abolition of out-work. Here, again, firmness, courage, and determination should ensure them a victory.

The barrenness of the victory gained by the colliers in the passing of the Minimum Wage Act has been strikingly demonstrated by the award of Lord St. Aldwyn, in the South Wales District. There he has fixed the minimum for labourers in the pits at 4s. 6½d. a day, in spite of the practical assurance that 5s. would be regarded as the minimum. That is the meaning of agreeing to the "principle," instead of insisting upon the fixing of a concrete sum. In this instance, it is to be presumed, that the odd halfpenny stands for the principle. It is about all such a "principle" is worth. And Lord St. Aldwyn is a very good specimen of the "independent chairman" who by his vote decides what the minimum is to be. Such wonderful impartiality! it is really astonishing!

The past month has seen launched the first genuine "Labour" daily newspaper—the "Daily Herald." We cannot profess to any love for "Labourism" in any form, and hoped that whenever a

working-class daily paper was started in this country it would have been definitely and frankly Socialist. It must be admitted, however, that for a Labour paper the "Daily Herald" is a far better production than might have been anticipated; it has met with a cordial and not undeserved reception from all sorts and conditions of men in the working-class movement; and if it can only secure the necessary material support should have a long career of usefulness before it.

We are glad to see that the hostility to the Insurance Act is growing. We can only regret that it was not more in evidence before the Act was passed. It is doubtful now if it is possible to kill the Act; the Bill could easily have been killed. The Tories should move for its repeal instead of timidly hinting at modifications and amendments. But they are too poor-spirited and cowardly to do that, and the Labour Party are quite hopeless in the matter.

The May-Day celebration in this country showed no great advance on previous years, as, in view of the "Labour unrest" of the past year, it might reasonably have been expected to do. There was the usual procession to Hyde Park of the usual band of devoted Socialists, supplemented by several bodies of workers on strike; but the general body of the working-class hold aloof from the May-Day celebration, and regard it with contemptuous indifference.

In other European countries there were the usual great demonstrations and the usual abstentions from work on May-Day. But then, in these other countries, the working class are class-conscious; that makes all the difference.

EVENTS OF APRIL.

AT HOME.

1—All Fools Day. House of Commons: Railway Bill introduced; Temperance (Scotland) Bill, second reading.
2—House of Commons: The Budget.
Mrs. Pankhurst's sentence for window-breaking remitted.
3—Free Speech demonstration at the Opera House.
4—Result of miners' ballot: For resumption of work, 201,013; against, 244,011; majority against, 42,998. Executive recommended immediate resumption.
6—Miners' Federation delegates advised men to resume work.
9—Mr. Bonar Law spoke at Belfast Orange demonstration.
Names issued of Insurance Act Advisory Committee.
Postal Servants' Conference at Bristol denied themselves the right to strike.
10—Colliery "riots" in Lancashire: troops despatched.
Commons discussed Army Annual Bill and national power control.
White Star liner Titanic, 46,382 tons, the largest vessel afloat, started on her maiden voyage to New York.
11—Home Rule Bill introduced.
15—Great Socialist demonstration at London Opera House.
16—First reading of Home Rule Bill carried by 360 to 266.
Builders' strike at Earl's Court.
17—Eclipse of the sun seen in Great Britain.
Court of Appeal gave custody of child (claimed by natural parents) to its foster parents.
18—Conference in London on amalgamation of building trade unions.
19—East Nottingham bye-election: Sir J. D. Rees (Unionist), 6,482; Dobson (Liberal), 5,158. No change.
University Socialist Federation formed.
22—House of Commons discussed Titanic disaster: an inquiry promised.
Liberal revolt threatened against Labour in South Wales.
23—Irish National Convention accepted the Home Rule Bill.
House of Commons: Welsh Disestablishment Bill introduced.
24—Olympic firemen, dissatisfied with boats provided, refused to sail.

Death of Mr. Justin McCarthy, historian, and one time leader of the Irish Party.

25—Welsh Disestablishment Bill, first reading carried by 331 to 253.

25 to 27—Scottish Trades Union Congress.

26—Olympic deck hands refused to sail with blackleg firemen: voyage abandoned.

House of Commons: Education (School Attendance) Bill, second reading.

28—Arrival of Titanic crew survivors at Plymouth.

ABROAD.

1—Resignation of Sun Yat Sen and the Chinese Provisional Government.

Carpenters in Chicago and other American cities struck for higher wages.

2—Russian Senate sentenced ~~72~~ members of Armenian secret society to penal servitude and imprisonment.

Twenty-one out of 35 Dacca conspiracy prisoners acquitted on appeal.

3—Hungarian crisis continued.

Socialists defeated in municipal election at Milwaukee, but received increased vote.

11—Lord Balfour and Mr. Austen Chamberlain chief guests at Russian bankers' banquet at St. Petersburg.

12—Troops mutinied at Nanking, but were suppressed.

14—Death of M. Henri Brisson, President of French Chamber of Deputies.

White Star liner Titanic struck an iceberg off Cape Race and sank four hours later: 1,500 lives lost; 700 saved.

15—New Defence Bills presented to German Reichstag: increased armaments.

15—Strike riots reported from Peru.

18—Italians bombarded Dardanelles forts: the Straits closed.

19—United States Senate Committee began inquiry into Titanic wreck.

23—Turkey, in reply to the Powers, insisted on her sovereign rights in Tripoli: Russia protested against closing of Dardanelles.

24—Assistant Chief of Paris detective force shot dead by Anarchist "bandits."

25—German Defence Bills sent to Committee (Government defeated).

Socialist victories in Vienna municipal contests.

26—Trial by jury reported abolished in Rhodesia in certain cases.

27—Constitutional leaders arrested in Persia.

28—Bonnot, the ringleader of the Paris motor-bandits, killed after four hours' siege.

29—Yuan-Shih-kai opened Advisory Council in Peking.

BURIED HOPES.*

"England is certain of a peaceful solution to her social difficulties and antagonisms. No Englishman has any doubt of that, on whichever side he stands, Right or Left, whether he be an employer or workman. Nowhere in England is there to be found that state of mind of social pessimism so well known to us, nor that belief among the lower classes of society that salvation is alone to be sought in revolution and in the destruction of the existing order; nor, among the upper classes, the idea that the thing is to have done everything first so as to be able to draw the sword with an easy conscience." Thus wrote Schulze-Gaevernitz in the year 1890. He described elaborately how Labour protection laws, trade unions, friendly and co-operative societies had raised the status of the British workman, how tariff agreements, arbitration courts and sliding scales of wages had insured social peace in British industry. Peace between employers and workers according to England's example—that was the hope of German Social-Liberalism in the nineties. This was not without its effect even deep down in our own ranks. Edward Bernstein acknowledged that his judgment of the Labour movement's future had been influenced by Schulze-Gaevernitz and other similar thinkers.

The hopes of Social-Liberalism and its Revisionist imitators are buried. There where they thought social peace was certain, the Social Revolution is to-day in progress. For a year the British working class has been in revolt. Upon the gigantic struggles of the railwaymen and transport workers last summer has now followed the gigantic strike of the colliers. These are no longer mere wage-struggles between a group of employers and a group of workers. The quantity is lost sight of in the quality. The strike becomes the revolution. It is true that riot and high treason, in the sense of the Penal Code, are not to be found in the history of the great coal strike. But the strike becomes a revolution when it no longer merely threatens the profits of a single category of employers, but holds up the industrial life of the whole social body. The shareholders of the mining companies may be able to bear for

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* From the German of Otto Bauer in the April number of the "Kampf" (the "Struggle"), the monthly organ of the Austrian Social-Democracy.

months the stoppage of work in the mines ; but society suffocates if the coal shortage puts out of action the railways, the steamboats and the factories. The effect of the strike is no longer through the pressure on one particular category of employers, it acts as a blow at the life of the whole community. Labour demonstrates the impossibility of the permanence of the capitalist system of production, by simply making production impossible far beyond the limits of a particular branch. The mining shareholders fall into the background ; the finishing of the strike becomes the business of the administrators of society itself, the function of the Government and of Parliament.

But the end they make of it merely serves to give impetus to fresh struggles. What the miners attain to-day, the workers in gas and electricity, the railwaymen and dockers will conquer to-morrow by the same means. What has succeeded in England to-day will be tried to-morrow by the workers of other countries. The bourgeoisie can only defend themselves from the attack by attempting to diminish the right of combination for those categories of workers whose daily labour is indispensable to society as a whole. But in this way they will bring about the very struggles they desire to avoid.

There is no possibility of social peace in industry. By the iron logic of its own development the trade union struggle is drifting towards more and more violent and dangerous phases.

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" Industrial State or agrarian State?—that is the question. The parties which have their roots in the industrial growth of Germany stand together. The industrial working class is the natural ally of the industrial employing class. Out of Social-Democrats, Radicals, National Liberals must arise the ' Party of the New German People's Development.' Once a ' Parliamentary Left, capable of governing,' is created, there will begin in Germany a period of united industrial and liberal legislation, a working out of all the elements contained in the basis of the German Empire. The East may mutter and growl, then only will the West and South really quite have found their Emperor. As he stood at Dortmund, so he ever stands, surrounded by the mass of those in whose eyes the light of the new century burns. The centre of gravity of Germany will be transposed from the right to the left of the Elbe. Just as hitherto the East sought to fasten its ' Gesindeordnung '* on the West, so it will now be the great and glorious task of the West and South to carry out an agrarian programme for the East—one peasant-holding after another, right up to the Russian frontier." Thus wrote Friedrich Naumann in the year 1900. And in this case, too, the hope of a Social-Liberal alliance was not with-

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* A special and very reactionary law controlling country labourers and servants in some German States.

out its effect also on us. The alliance of Social-Democracy with Liberalism, the block from Bebel to Bassermann, is the political ideal of German Revisionism.

No epoch has yet seemed to the employers so favourable as the past year. The National Liberals, separated from their old allies, the Centre and Conservatives, carried on, hand in hand with the Radicals and the Social-Democrats, the struggle against the Blue-black Block. The hour seemed to have come for the realisation of the United Left.

The Social-Democracy adapted its attitude to the new grouping of parties. It came to a second-ballot agreement with the Radicals. It supported the National Liberals in second ballots. It was complacent towards the Liberals in constituting the new Reichstag. It drew up a programme of Parliamentary action calling upon the Liberals for support. It did right. For two centuries the Liberals have spread the fable that nothing but the obstinacy of the Social-Democrats barred the way to a Union of the Left, which would exclude the squires and parsons from power. Now, the German people had to learn by experience whether a union of workers with employers was possible.

Thus the formation of the Presidency of the Reichstag became a symbol. Scheidemann was elected Vice-President. But the experiment ended, as it was bound to end: after four weeks the National Liberals had turned tail. The Social-Democrat left the presidential chair. And the Kaiser refused to receive the Liberal President because he had kept company for a moment with "those in whose eyes the light of the new century burns"! Not even in a matter so trifling as a presidential election can a league of the Left be found. How, then, would it be if it came to the carrying out of Naumann's programme, "one peasant-farm after another up to the Russian frontier"?

There is no possibility of any "Block" of the Left! In what domain could it be possible? In social reform? The National Liberal factory-owners will, in company with the squires (Junker), who dread a dearth of labour in the country, vote down the demands for Labour legislation. Taxes? The National Liberals will vote for the agrarian taxes, in order that the squires should vote for their tax-protecting cartels. Armament Bills? The National Liberals will not tamper, any more than will the Conservatives, with the defensive constitution of the capitalist State. Foreign policy? The factory-owners of the West compete with the Heydebrands of the East in the policy of armaments and conquests!

A few Radicals may indeed follow in the retinue of the Social-Democrats. But the National Liberals, and soon, probably, the Right Wing of the Radicals, too, can combine much more easily with the squires and parsons than with the Social-Democrats. Not the Union of the Left, but to have *one* great reactionary mass is Germany's fate in the near future.

The working class must be victorious over *all* the property-owning parties; it must obtain a majority in the Reichstag *alone*, so that the "majority of the Left capable of governing" may be rendered possible! Will property, which it threatens, wait inactive till general suffrage gradually gives it this majority? Will not the dice be thrown beforehand, even outside the Reichstag, on the question of the suffrage? Not towards a union of the Left, but towards the decisive struggle between the working class and the whole bourgeois world, is the development of Germany drifting.

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"The fact may be accepted as certain that the path of revolution is abandoned," wrote Naumann in 1900. And this opinion, too, was shared by the Right Wing of our Party. It has even been attempted to prove to us by means of geology and biology that the idea of revolution is a contradiction to that of evolution.

Since those days we have experienced the Russian revolution of 1905, the Persian revolution of 1906, the Turkish revolution of 1908, the Portuguese revolution of 1910, and the Chinese revolution last year. The revolution in China, the gigantic Empire which has nearly as many inhabitants as all the European States together, is the event of our times most pregnant with consequences. Like all Oriental revolutions, that of China arose from the connection of the Liberal movement of the educated upper class of the nation with the Conservative national-religious movement against foreigners and the new developments of the masses.

The Liberal movement of the educated upper class begins after China's defeat in the war of 1894 against Japan. It rapidly wins over an influential portion of officialdom. Under its influence the young Emperor, Kuang-Hsu, announced in 1898 his policy "to imitate European methods, because, though China and Europe are equally of opinion that the primary object of the State is the welfare of the people, Europe is more advanced in this conception than we are, so that we, by adopting European methods, merely remedy our deficiencies." In the first place the Emperor tries to transform army and schools according to European example. But after 100 days of reform a coup-d'état on the part of the reactionaries puts an end to the attempts at reform. The Emperor is taken prisoner, the dowager-Empress, Tzu-Hsi, assumes the Regency, the leaders of the reform movement are executed.

And now, among the masses of the people, the National-Conservative movement arises. The Boxers—half militia, half a religious sect, rise (1900) to drive the foreigners out of China, and put an end to the propagation of Christianity on Chinese territory, to liberate primæval Chinese tradition from all foreign influence, and to regain China's independence towards the world-Powers. Europe replies by the campaign of the Huns. The seizure of Pekin by the European troops is the deepest humiliation for the Middle Empire.

The Russian-Japanese War (1904) is an encouragement for the humiliated nation. For it is now proved that the Mongolians can be victorious over a great European Power if they make use of European methods. The reform movement arises again. Schools and army are reorganised on a European pattern, railways are built, students sent to Japanese, American, and European colleges, provincial Diets convened, a Constitution promised.

But these reforms do not satisfy the national movement. Its representatives are: patriotic officials, who long for the reorganisation of the downtrodden country; the merchant class, who announce the boycott of foreign goods and oppose the concessions made to foreign capitalists; the officers of the reorganised army; the teachers and scholars of the reorganised high schools; the students and workmen who have been in Japan, America, and Europe, and have there become acquainted with higher forms of social and national existence. But, unlike the movement of 1898, the national reform movement now meets with a ready response among the masses of the people. This it gains by appealing to the Chinaman's double national antipathy: his hatred as a Chinaman of the Tartar Manchus' alien rule, and his hatred as an Asiatic to the presumption of the European strangers. "Soldiers from Europe force their way in. Hark! In the palace of the Emperor are heard the footsteps of the man who receives the strangers with open arms"; so runs the warning of the revolutionary song. The Manchu dynasty must fall that China may regain its might and independence. Thus the Intellectuals, educated in America, win over the masses for the programme of a Republican federated State on the American pattern. The use of European and American methods as a means of liberation from European and American pressure—that is the explanation of the revolution. The Liberal-reform movement of 1898 and the popular-national reaction of 1900 have become welded into a higher unity.

Supported by a considerable portion of the army and of the official class, the revolution succeeds. But, just as the French Constituent Assembly of 1789 was not the end but the beginning of a revolutionary epoch which lasted ten years, so the proclamation of the Chinese Republic is not the end but the beginning of the Chinese revolution. All the internal antagonisms are opened out anew: the antagonism between the necessity for a rapid transformation, and the conservative instinct of the masses, which clings to primæval tradition, between the Empire and the provinces which are craving for independence, between the South and the North, between the landowners and the farmers, between town and country. In the largest Empire on earth there begins a period of gigantic internal struggles, of enormous changes.

All the Powers have possessions on Chinese territory, and all are eager to extend their possessions. Each new phase of the Chinese revolution will be a welcome opportunity for them to pursue their booty. But every State grudges the others their share

in this booty. For that little bit of Morocco we have been twice on the verge of war. What will it be like when China is in question? Increased armaments, growing burdens of taxation, intensified menace of war—these will be the first effects in Europe of the Chinese revolution.

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"The responsibility for a war between great European Powers has now become so enormous that, in view of the dangers with which such a war would threaten the whole civilised world, in view of the remoteness of the chances of gaining anything by it, and the ever greater probability of destruction, any such insanity would already seem to be impossible." Thus wrote Alfred J. Fried, the theoretician of the Peace movement, seven years ago. This opinion, too, crept into our ranks. Some wanted to fetter the war-god by arbitration treaties and declarations of neutrality; others to prevent war by the threat of the mass-strike if it broke out. The idea that the time of revolutions was over coupled itself with the belief in the maintenance of peace; for in history war was often the source of revolution, and revolution the source of war.

Will anybody to-day dare to say that a war between great European Powers seems impossible? Even to-day, after the war scares of the Morocco crisis in 1905, the annexation crisis of 1909, and the terrors of last summer? Does anybody still think to-day that the world-Powers' struggle for supremacy could be peaceably settled by the judicial court at The Hague? Does anybody yet to-day, after the experiences of last summer, feel certain that the veto of the working class could, at the last moment, in the hour of the greatest national excitement, arrest those tendencies of capitalism which are forcing on a world-war?

Just at the present moment two European Powers are at war. A wretched war, which does not extend beyond the fringe of the Tripoli coast. But how will it end? Will, if the war continues, the Italian fleet appear before the Dardanelles and revive the old bone of contention, the right of free passage to the Black Sea, the question which touches the vital interests of all the Powers around the Mediterranean? Or, if Turkey submits, and leaves the Arabs of Tripoli alone to fight for their liberty against the foreign conqueror, will not the old hatred between Arab and Turk, which was suppressed heavily enough in 1911, flare up afresh? Will the end of the war shake the prestige of the Young Turkish Government, and give the counter-revolution a welcome excuse, re-arouse the unrest in Albania and Macedonia, giving the small Balkan States the longed-for occasion for a brigand expedition? Who to-day would dare to prophecy what will be the result of a war that may open up all the unsolved problems between the Adriatic and the Persian Gulf?

And what is to-day's anxiety about Turkey beside the incomparably greater questions which may arise to-morrow in China, in

Persia, in India? Who would still have the courage to-day, in this hour of doubled armaments in all the States, to say that a war between great European Powers was impossible?

* * * * *

Social-Liberalism and Revisionism came into being during an interval of repose in history. They thought the world's history was closed, that no more great events were in store for us. No more class struggle—only peaceful negotiating between the trade union representatives and the employers' representatives at the green table of the Arbitration Court. No more forcible upsetting of political powers—a Parliamentary league of the Labour Party with bourgeois parties would gradually transform the States. No more wars of the peoples—the Hague Arbitration Court would smooth out all disputes. No more revolutions—peaceable "undermining of capitalism," gradual "growing-in" to the Socialist Commonwealth!

But history marches quite otherwise. Eighty years of the most violent upheavals—1789 to 1871—were necessary in order to create the bourgeois world. It was a time of sanguinary race-wars, of frightful revolutions, a time in which old States disappeared and new Empires arose, a time of the rapid overthrow of many a Constitution. By such roads humanity had to travel in order to replace the feudal by the capitalist world. And will the path be different by which we shall reach the building up of Socialism on the ruins of capitalism?

THE REVIEWS.

PORTUGUESE SLAVERY.

The Rev. J. H. Harris writes the following, under the above heading, in this month's "Contemporary Review":—

Slowly the truth has emerged from the conflict of assertion and counter-assertion. For years Fox-Bourne, Nevinson, Cadbury, and Burtt, with infinite patience, struggled to expose the real conditions of labour in Portuguese West Africa, until at last every thinking man and woman accepts as an established fact the existence of plantation slavery on the cocoa farms of S. Thome and Principe. This conviction received its emphatic confirmation in the Cadbury-"Standard" trial, when it was definitely shown, inter alia, that the slaves on the cocoa islands were, like the cattle and the buildings, transferable as part of the "stock and implements" of the cocoa plantations, or "rocas" as they are called. In that trial Sir Edward Carson called attention to a circular forwarded to Messrs. Cadbury referring to the sale of an estate in S. Thome. The stock enumerated included the item, "Two hundred black labourers . . . . £3,555," approximately £18 each.

Nations and individuals sometimes chide and denounce certain aspects of British colonial expansion, but the world, civilised and uncivilised, regards British courts of justice with a feeling akin to reverential awe. Messrs. Cadbury brought the libel action against the "Standard" to protect a well-deserved reputation, the "Standard" fought the action to safeguard the liberty of the Press. Both motives were entirely honourable, and pursued at heavy costs to each party, but neither the plaintiffs nor the defendants could be quite satisfied with the verdict. In that trial, however, greater issues were at stake than reputations and damages. The real battle was for light and truth, as between the cocoa planter and the unhappy slaves of S. Thome and Principe and the slaves won the battle. When Mr. Justice Pickford awarded Messrs. Cadbury one farthing damages, the civilised world knew that the Portuguese planters stood convicted on the charge of maintaining slavery in West Africa. Discuss the question with German, French, or British officials, white or coloured merchants in West Africa, and the one feature upon which they rest their convictions is the trial in the Birmingham law courts.

Messrs. Cadbury on the one side, the proprietors of the "Standard" on the other, little though they knew it at the time, did more by their action to stop the slave trade between Angola and the Islands than years of agitation could have accomplished.

The Cocoa Islands.

S. Thome and Principe are two mountainous islands, distant from each other some ninety miles, and situated in the Gulf of Guinea, and their combined areas are but little over 350 square miles. The soil is excellent, and both are well watered by numerous mountain streams, which render irrigation comparatively easy. The intense heat of an equatorial sun harnessed to this scientific distribution of water provides the islands with the essential atmosphere for the production of cocoa. Their economic prosperity may be gathered from the fact that cocoa, valued at £250,000, was last November carried to Europe in the holds of s.s. Angola in a single journey. The total output for the year 1911 is stated to be nearly ten thousand million reis, or approximately £2,000,000 sterling. The administration is under a Governor directly responsible to the Lisbon Government, and local affairs are in the hands of a Municipal Council, to whom considerable credit is due for the laying out of attractive public gardens, reservoirs, water supply, and several miles of roads comparable to any in West Africa. The town of S. Thome is unique, also, in that it possesses public baths and wash-houses, refreshingly cool, and kept spotlessly clean, although unhappily by slaves from the Angola hinterland. Every institution, however, is in the grip of the planting community, whose power "to set up and pull down" may be estimated from the fact that within the last ten years the planters have tolerated no less than twenty-five Governors. The cocoa plantations, well organised, and second to none in West Africa, possess building, harness-making, and wheelwrights' establishments; while some of the better ones provide schools for the children and hospitals for the sick. Some, like the plantation whose title is "The City of Sorrows," bordering on the road known by the name of "The Mother of God," are fenced in with barbed wire: others, akin to the "River of Gold" plantation, have their headquarters and labourers' compounds surrounded by unscaleable walls, and are approached through forbidding doorways guarded day and night by the *gentle* sentry. Though S. Thome and Principe possess ideal natural conditions for the production of cocoa, though Providence has given soil and climate, copious rainfalls and crystal fountains, and science has added organisation and modern machinery, both islands are without the most essential of all factors, a virile and indigenous labour supply.

Labour.

With the abolition of slavery in the British Crown Colonies, planters on the Islands of the East and West Indies found themselves practically without labour, and recourse was had to con-

tracted immigrant coolie labour from India. The abuses, however, which gathered round the system of contracting the coolies and their treatment on the Islands led the Marquis of Salisbury to undertake far-reaching reforms. These had one main constructive object in view—the supply, not merely of labour, but of population. Lord Salisbury, then Secretary of State for India, made the employment of immigrant coolies conditional upon a small-holdings system, whereby those who had terminated their contracts should have the alternative of returning to India or of occupation of free grants of land, when they were to be treated "as no whit inferior to those of any other class of Her Majesty's subjects." This policy, noble in conception, to-day markedly successful in most of its practical results, has never been attempted by the Portuguese; they have been content to satisfy immediate requirements, regardless of the future welfare of the islands, which, in consequence, are to-day, after an occupation of centuries, minus a population other than imported labour, and that largely under conditions of slavery.

Free Labour.

As the truth gradually forced its way before public notice, an inevitable protest resulted, and steps were taken to obtain labourers from other parts of the African Continent. Cabenda boys were tried, but they proved unsuited to agricultural labour, and they are now employed as boat boys and transport workers. Cape Verdeans form a large proportion of the labourers on Principe, but they have uncertain tempers, and are armed with knives, which they do not hesitate to use if they think any attempts are being made to defraud them of their rights. Mozambique labour was tried in 1908, and this experiment is proving, for the time, so successful that many planters look to East rather than West Africa for their future supply. All available evidence appears to prove that Cabenda, Cape Verde, and Mozambique labour is, so far as contract labour goes, fairly recruited and honestly treated as "free labour." With the exception of 90 Quelenge boys, recently imported, the official shipment of labourers from Angola has, for a time, ceased.

Slave Labour.

The S. Thome-Angola question has for years presented a two-fold aspect—the sale and shipment of slaves from the mainland and the plantation slavery on the island. The shipment of slaves having nominally ceased, the main problem to-day is that of the slaves on the islands, as distinct from actual servicaes (contract labourers). The number of slaves on the plantations can, however, only be roughly estimated, owing to the lack of reliable statistics, and also to "smuggling" on the one hand and a veritable death rate on the other. Again, we do not know how many were on the islands prior to 1887, the date of the earliest published records. No doubt almost all of these, with the exception of the very young, have died ere this, for only an exceptionally strong man or woman could

survive twenty-five years of plantation labour. At the same time, all the surviving children born to these earlier servicaes are to-day in slavery. We may fix these at a conservative estimate of 15,000 for the year 1887, and to bring the figures to date the following must be added :—

From 1887-1897, numbers imported	24,059
From 1898-1908, numbers imported	39,884

Slave Values.

Mr. Joseph Burtt, in his report, gives £25 to £40 as the normal price per head delivered on the islands. Mr. Consul Nightingale gave £50 as the value. A fair average would seem to be that of £40. We arrive thus at a known total shipment to the islands of over 63,000 slaves within the last twenty-five years. A human cargo worth something over two and a-half millions sterling. It may be objected that at the Cadbury-" Standard " trial the price quoted worked out at about £18 each, but it must not be forgotten that the batch of two hundred then offered for sale would include several young and inexperienced labourers besides older persons, who would probably have but a short working life of a few years or months remaining as an asset to the planter.

Vital Statistics.

It is extremely difficult to obtain vital statistics either from the Government officials or the planters on the Islands. Either they have none, or they are ashamed to publish them ; all one could get from the Curador was the general statement that " birth and death rates work out at a proportion of about 600 to 1,000." Taking this statement in conjunction with estimates from Portuguese and English sources, 100 per 1,000 may be regarded as the average death rate.

Estimated number of slaves on the Islands in 1887 ...	15,000
Ditto, including smuggling between the years 1887-1908	65,000
	80,000
Estimated excess of deaths over births during 22 years	25,000
	55,000

If it is claimed, as some in fact do claim, that fewer than these are on the islands because the death rate is higher and the birth rate lower, so much the worse for the planters, so much the greater evil. From this total, however, the servicaes from Mozambique and Cape Verde must be deducted. Their number is not large, probably less than 5,000, but, allowing for latitude by deducting 10,000, there would still be remaining 45,000. The Curador in S. Thome was unable last month to do more than express the opinion that " about 40,000 is a fair estimate."

Cocoa Production.

Both S. Thome and Principe passed from the early stage of agricultural development over twenty years ago; consequently the ordinary labour of the slaves cannot be regarded as arduous. It is the monotonous continuity of it which renders it repugnant to the roaming disposition of the liberty-loving African. The food supplies, too, appear to be ample, and in the main the housing of the labourers is good. On two or three rocas model dwellings are shown to the traveller, and on one at least the bricks used in construction were brought at considerable cost from Europe.

REVOLUTION OR THE UNIONIST PARTY?

Mr. W. G. Howard Gritten writes the following in an article in this month's "Fortnightly Review":—

The alert observer and profound thinker cannot but recognise that we are face to face with the most formidable upheaval of industrial forces since the early part of the nineteenth century, and of political and religious forces since the time of Charles I. He, I say, whose powers of judgment have not been enervated by the prevailing apathy, accurately perceives that there are indubitable signs in our midst of an approaching catastrophe graver than temporary unrest and fitful outbreaks. Nor are these evidences confined to the portents of labour uprisings; but they are also visible in the policy pursued by the Radical extremists, who are unfortunately at this juncture in command of the ship of State—in their attempts to demolish the Constitution, which have already been partially successful; in their projected spoliation of the Church; in their onslaught on the integrity of the United Kingdom, to be followed, no doubt, in due course, by cognate efforts to relieve themselves of the embarrassment of the Empire.

And, first of all, as to the manifestation of the revolutionary spirit in the late strikes. The increasing recurrence of these disorders, their longer continuance on each occasion, the greater obstinacy with which they are persisted in, the wider areas they successively overspread, all point to a common motive cause, and to the presence of system, inherent and developing. The hierophants of anarchy are bellowing that Labour has discovered its power, and, giant-like, has arisen to enforce its claims to a full share in the profits of industry. We are ordered to admit humbly that not only are manual labourers the most important part of the community and their claims paramount to those of all other parts combined, but that the rest of us have usurped whatever poor privileges we possess, and are henceforth to count for nothing. In passing, we may perhaps be permitted to remind these zealots, who would reorganise the State on the principle of disorganisation, that,

insignificant as are undoubtedly the other inhabitants of this country who have not the qualifications to enable them to aspire to be trade unionists, they have yet some claim to protection from terrorism and starvation; and, furthermore, that unrestricted and overbearing absolutism is equally intolerable whether it come from above or below. For we have seen how the mails could only be carried by permission of the terrorists; how, through the confusion they arbitrarily created, the country was on the point of being jeopardised last summer by a surprise attack (an event, by the way, about which our Ministers have been inexcusably reticent); how tens of thousands have been callously thrown out of work and pauperised; how trade has been twice disorganised, and twice received ugly wounds from which it will take long to recover. We have also the right to question the assumption of these self-styled and venal leaders of the movement, that they represent Labour as such. What part of it? The whole body? On the contrary, it would be a gross error to confuse the voice of the miners, and trade unionists generally, with the cry of the submerged and despairing toilers. The miners earn high wages, and belong to powerful organisations. They are the peers of Labour. The unions, from which are drawn, in part at least, the turbulent elements which menace the economic structure, constitute an aristocracy as privileged as any feudal baronage of the past. Recent experiences have shown that the indigent and helpless labourers belonging to the unskilled and casual class who are precisely those who require aid, and who appeal for emancipation from pitiable conditions, so far from gaining from the strikes of the more fortunate workers, are the worst losers from beginning to end. Therefore, the consequent presumption is that those who instigated the disturbances, either openly, or, where in higher and more public places, secretly, have been actuated by a deeper motive than the mere desire to obtain better conditions for the whole proletariat. As a matter of fact, the advanced Socialists have thrown off the mask, and now unblushingly proclaim that it is they, with their new-found ally the Syndicalist, who are engineering the hideous scheme of revolution. The strikes are but skirmishes in a larger campaign; the agitators and walking-delegates are their lieutenants; and the working men who, from an intimate experience of them, I believe to be for the most part quite innocent of the ulterior designs of their generals, are used as the inconsiderable privates in the war of anarchy.

THE ROAD-MAN.

By H. MARTIN in "L'Humanité."
(Adapted by Mrs. Theresa Vallois.)

Pat was breaking stones on the road, with no appearance of hurry, and after arranging them in little heaps he carefully levelled them with his spade.

For thirty years he had been a municipal road-man, and had eked out a scanty living as best he could. As the village church clock struck twelve, he sat down upon a heap of stones and opened his basket. He took out a hunk of bread and a thick slice of cold bacon and began to eat. He cut off his bread in strips, and seemed to put one strip into his mouth each time he opened it, chewing it with a sort of respect, as if he knew the great part that bread plays in a man's life. He watered the whole from time to time with a bottle of cold tea, mechanically regarding the country as he did so, which seemed breathless under the burning sun.

Suddenly a cloud of dust like a cyclone filled the road, and, amidst a deafening noise, a motor-car flashed past. Pat was thunderstruck by the rate at which it was going. He just managed to catch sight of a man standing up, who waved his arms; evidently the machine was beyond control of the driver, for the car was travelling at a terrific speed!

As soon as Pat had recovered from his surprise, and the dust had settled, he noticed a black leather case lying in the road. He rose slowly and picked up the object without haste. He tapped it with his right hand to free it from grit, then carefully wiped it with the under side of his sleeve to further remove the dust, and brought it to his heap of stones.

With methodical and solemn movements he undid the fastening of the case to examine the inside.

There were papers covered with lines (which he recognised as architect's plans) filling the pockets.

One of the pockets apart from the others was closed with a purse-like fastening. Upon pulling out the tab the flap flew back showing a wad of banknotes. Pat counted them—there were sixteen of them; that made £80. The road-man examined them one after the other very carefully, as if to make sure that they were all good ones, then he piled them neatly together, and was about to

fold them in two, before replacing them, when his hands stopped, and his gaze became fixed. Diverse emotions showed themselves upon his weather-beaten face, hardened by many seasons' play on them. He caressed the precious papers, which seemed to talk under the gentle pressure of his trembling fingers.

The road-man thought of his pension in the near future, which would not be enough to prevent his feeling the pinch of poverty.

He was honest, scrupulously so; his stern principles had gained him the respect of all. He had the reputation of sticking to them like a miser to his gold; yet at this moment he doubted human virtue. With such a sum in his hands he felt temptation never before experienced, the irresistible longing to feel comfort and well-being—the many dreams which were conjured up before his vision this minute, and had not he always carried them with him? Were not his dreams, like prisoners in a little hut, ignored by his conscience? And was not this *the occasion* to realise them? A hard fight was taking place inside Pat, traces of which could be seen in his eyes.

With a cautious movement he slipped one of the notes into his trousers pocket, and quickly replaced the others in the pocket-book.

He was astonished to feel himself smile. Never would he have believed himself capable of such a thing. Timidly he withdrew the note from his pocket and looked at the figures upon it with interest. Quite satisfied, he carefully folded the paper and thrust it into the deepest corner of his pocket, replacing his handkerchief after it.

And so the road-man recommenced breaking stones, but with his thoughts far from his work. To feel that he possessed the means to offer himself some luxury occasionally thrilled him. Now and then he would throw a glance at the coat under which he had hidden the case, as if hypnotised by it.

He knew that he would presently take it to the police-station, from whence it would be given to its owner, but some force made him put off this moment. His head moved up and down, and from right to left, and his eyes returned always more frequently to the coat on the ground. Pat pondered.

Suddenly, with a decided movement, he quickly stooped, drew forth the case, and took out a second £5 note, carefully closing the leather tab, and thrust the note into his other trousers pocket. Then he collected his tools, threw his coat over his shoulder, put the case under his arm, and with big steps, and without looking behind him, made his way to the village police-station. A strange gentleman was talking to the superintendent.

Pat made known the object of his visit, and handed over the precious article. After the usual explanations the stranger received his property, and opened the case before rewarding the road-man. He counted the notes and re-counted them, a look of surprise overspreading his face. Timidly he remarked:—

"It's very strange, I find only 14 notes, and am sure I brought 16!"

The superintendent rose, and in a solemn tone, pointing to Pat (whose legs were shaking under him) vouchsafed his honesty.

"I cannot allow you to make any insinuations against Patrick, Sir! For 30 years he has worked as road-man in my district, and I would answer for his conscience as for my own. . . . ."

As the stranger confusedly murmured something, the superintendent concluded with an emphatic gesture, and in a decisive manner, waving his hand towards Pat:—

"You see before you, sir, the most honest man in the whole country!"

The stranger, acknowledging himself beaten, wished to reward the road-man for his honesty, but the latter refused emphatically. This called forth warm praise from the superintendent.

The road-man turned homeward with a quiet step, and, as he followed the badly-paved narrow path which led to his hut, he muttered:—

"To-day, when I have stolen for the first time in my life, they called me the most honest man in the whole country! If I had known that the superintendent had such a high opinion of me I would have kept the lot! What a fool I am!"

But when he had entered his home he threw the two notes on the table with rage, and, in bitter language, gave vent to his dissatisfaction with himself.

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THE
BRITISH SOCIALIST.

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SOCIALISM *VERSUS* SYNDICALISM.

A REPLY TO GAYLORD WILSHIRE.

By FRED. KNEE.

We owe a great deal to our present Liberal Government. The latest item of our debt is the adding to the language of a new word—Syndicalism. Of all Britain's forty odd millions, it is safe to say that six months ago outside of perhaps 400 of the cognoscenti of the industrial unionist persuasion the rest of the British people knew not whether Syndicalism was some new species of carrot or the name of a new Christian sect—and they cared less. Now every season ticket holder on our suburban railways chews it over; every ignorant fool in Parliament wants to display his erudition on it; and every palate tickler in the trustified daily press spins miles and miles of wearisome drivel about it. This change we owe to the Liberal Government. They prosecuted the "Syndicalist" editor, publisher and printers—and forthwith everybody talked of Syndicalism; and our old friend Gaylord Wilshire, who a while back might have been accused of being a mere State collectivist—so insistent was he on the

Nation owning the Trusts—and who the day before had been a warm admirer of the Labour Party and Mr. Lloyd George's insurance scheme; was, like Saul of Tarsus, suddenly blinded by a flood of new light, and began to preach the new faith in many tongues.

Boiled down to its essentials, Wilshire's position, as set forth in the last number of "The British Socialist," is that of the three weapons which the worker may use for the purpose of achieving his emancipation he must choose only one—the strike; and that instead of capturing the State and moulding it to his desire, the worker shall ignore the State altogether and seek to supersede it by a collection of workers, each group to possess its own industry. That is Syndicalism.

As a Socialist and trade unionist I am ready to employ any and all means to bring about the overthrow of capitalism. If the bullet be useful and necessary for the purpose of defending the workers against the capitalist State's soldiers, then I see no reason why it should be ruled out of our armoury. If a strike big or little appears likely to be of service in forcing concessions from the capitalists or from the State, or in resisting the economic or political encroachments of either, then as a trade unionist I should vote for a strike, and as a Socialist I should actively assist the strikers. Again, if by using the vote I can make any sort of progress towards the driving out of the present possessors of the means of life, or even towards securing healthier conditions in the district where I may happen to reside, then I will use the vote.

In regard to method, then, the issue between us ought to be pretty clear. We Socialists are for using all the weapons: the Syndicalists will use only one—the strike.

But even Wilshire, like the ancient Anarchists, wobbles; for I find that while in the article with which I am dealing he says nothing about it, yet in his article in the "Syndicalist" he makes a reservation in favour of using the vote in local administration. Working men, it seems, can usefully vote for a town

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councillor, or for a member of a board of guardians, and may do themselves good thereby, but they cannot function by way of the Parliamentary vote. Well, the distinction and difference may be very clear to an "intellectual," but they are rather too fine for the perception of the working man, who, when he becomes Socialist or even only "Labour" in any sort of independent sense, exercises his vote both for Parliament and local bodies. It will be found that where Socialists are strong municipally they are also strong in the Parliamentary sense, e.g., West Ham, Bradford, Merthyr, and Bow and Bromley. Sometimes the use of the municipal vote has preceded the use of the other; in some cases it has been the other way about. I mention this point to show that even friend Wilshire is not quite sound; in fact, he does not seem to mind if the worker continues to be illogical and to vote for his master against whom he may have struck. It would appear that our Syndicalist friends are so opposed to Socialism that they do not trouble if till the crack of doom the worker votes Liberal or Tory provided he does not vote Socialist. These contradictions are inevitable in so impossible a position as that of trying to get ahead without taking any heed of the State at all. Our friends remind me of some of the ignorant Saxons who laughed when William the Norman began dotting his Norman castles about the country: they thought, poor foolish souls, that if they only ignored the castles they could regain possession of their own land. Like those castles the State is here, and will not be ignored.

I am not a "Parliamentary Socialist," in the sense implied by Wilshire, nor is there, to my knowledge, in the British Socialist Party a single member who relies solely on the exercise of the vote for the worker's own emancipation. During the score and more of years that I have been connected with the Socialist movement I and the others have urged the workers to organise and federate and amalgamate in their several industries, and also to use the vote or the

strike as occasion afforded and required. We thought the two together would work the necessary miracle, and if force of a physical or gunpowdery description were required, we added the suggestion that we should have a Citizen Army. I do not propose to discuss the latter in this article; but will confine myself to the question of political *and* industrial action, for I refuse to place them in antagonism. It is not an accident that in Germany and the Scandinavian countries, where the workers are stronger politically than they are anywhere else, they are also the most strongly organised industrially.

Organisation in the one field, if carried on in the revolutionary spirit, helps forward organisation in the other field. Given the ballot-box and reasonable access to it, I would, however, submit that it is far easier to bring about changes of an important character by means of the vote than it is to obtain similar or equal changes by means of a strike, on however large a scale. I mention the revolutionary spirit, because we have had both political action and industrial action minus that spirit, and neither has led us anywhere.

I do not for a moment admit that the facts are with the Syndicalists when they say that "the working man" is "willing to stake his very life upon a strike that will give him little or nothing, even if won; whereas, he will not take the trouble to walk ten feet to a ballot-box, where a victory might give him most substantial benefits." For one thing, the working man will not stake his very life on a strike; and the quicker he is to strike the more eagerly does he return to work. In fact, the average working man will not even organise in a union; and even some of those working men who now bleat about industrial union and industrial action belong to no industrial organisation at all. But the average working man will and does walk hundreds of yards, sometimes miles, to a ballot-box. Mostly he votes for his masters, generally because he has no one else for whom to vote; but even then he uses such discrimination as is in him, and hopes that he has either at the very worst voted

for the lesser of two evils, or at the best for a party or cause that will help him to be rid of some of his shackles. In this country he still thinks for the most part that the landlord and not the capitalist is the enemy, and so votes Liberal. If, however, he imagines his bad lot to be due to foreign competition, he will back Tariff Reform and vote Tory. In either case he hopes he is doing himself a "bit of good." I speak of the non-Socialist working man of average intelligence. When he sees the "red light," he will even then perhaps vote Liberal, because Lloyd George's talk and Chiozza Money's figures make the Liberal chameleon look a bit Socialist. I have also had the pleasure of seeing the awakened worker go and vote in organised and determined fashion for very substantial benefits for himself—and sometimes get them, too. At any rate, it is all nonsense to say the worker does not vote: he does. The trouble is that, as for the most part the workers do not organise industrially in their own behoof, so generally they have not yet learnt to vote for a party of their own. It is all nonsense to suppose that the worker is worldly-wise in the workshop, but must always be an absolute idiot in the outside world, or be like a fish out of water. There is no "instinct against politics," such as Wilshire alleges, on the part of the worker, and which he hails as "sounder" than the "intelligence of the intellectual." In this country there are next to no organised workers—leaders or rank and file—who have this instinct against "politics." It is curious that, of our Socialist weeklies, "Justice"—run by men who are trade unionists as well as Socialists—and the "Labour Leader"—run by Socialists and trade unionists, advocate Socialism to be obtained by political plus industrial action, while the advocacy of Syndicalism is left to the "New Age," par excellence the organ of the "intellectuals" and of the weirdest of art.

If the worker in politics were like a "fish out of water," can Wilshire or anyone else explain how it is that when this queer fish by some stroke of luck or

supergrab ceases to be a worker and becomes a capitalist of a smaller or bigger order, that he takes to the political air like a lark? He must certainly in that case change that "human nature" of his very quickly. He uses his political power as well as though he never had been a worker with an anti-political instinct. Is it an accident that the capitalist section closest to the working class has in our day produced the most cunning statesman of the whole crowd—Lloyd George? Can Wilshire explain how it is that the peasant population of Ireland—true, not an industrial but a landless proletariat—have so used their political weapon, even in an alien Parliament, as to establish themselves as a propertied class? And are there not abundant cases where, since the uprising of the Socialist movement and under its inspiration, the workers in Great Britain have forced their way into Council chambers, have sat in the seats of the mighty by virtue of their fellow-workers' votes, and have administered within and sometimes beyond the limits of existing laws?

And the more revolutionary their spirit, the more class-conscious their attitude, the more they have achieved. They might have done the same in the House of Commons. The capitalist class experienced two spasms of fear in the last seven years: one in 1906 at the portent of a nominally independent Labour Party in the House of Commons; the other at the transport workers' and railway workers' strikes of 1911. The perturbation passed away in the one case because the capitalist class discovered that there was nothing revolutionary about the Labour Party. The other is passing away because the capitalist class discovered that there is little that is revolutionary about the transport workers' unions or the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, and the capitalist classes can very well go for their usual holidays knowing full well that their State—"moribund" I hear it called—has got the thing well in hand, or at the worst is playing it like a salmon at the end of a strong line.

Wilshire and others who hold an exaggerated notion of the strike forget what the strike has mostly been—a weapon of defence rather than of offence: an act of desperation lest worse befall. Nearly all are agreed that the big strikes of the last two years have been as a spark of discontent fanned into flame by the rapidly worsening conditions of the workers due to the increase in food prices. Like the Peasants' revolt of the Middle Ages, the strike is not a march into the enemy's territory, but a frenzied determination to defend our own frontier or to retake something we have lost. Whether the strike can ever be converted into a weapon of offence is a matter for consideration; but the notion that we can ever possess ourselves of our inheritance by means of the strike alone is to me the most hopeless madness that ever was conceived. The people who know what strikes are, from the inside, are chary of advocating them; it is the middle-class "intellectual" who usually imagines these vain things, though I have known even some trade union officials, who could not get their own trade to strike at all, to talk very eloquently in the same glowing, poetic way about mass action and all the rest of the jargon that saves people from thinking.

I have three objections to Syndicalism: (1) it is impossible of achievement; (2) it would not be worth having, and (3) it is not revolutionary but reactionary.

You cannot get very far by mere "industrial action." So long as the capitalist State remains, with its army, navy and police, and its hand on the machine of administration, so long will it be possible for that capitalist State, when thoroughly awake to any danger, to throttle any strike, however big, and to render it abortive. That the Government did not take order with strike leaders and the rank and file last year was not because of any fear of economic or industrial consequences, but purely for political reasons. One was the fear of Germany, the other was the fear that they might suffer electorally. The railway strike could easily have been made a laughable fizzle. As it was, the khaki gentlemen with their bayonets at the

London termini were only a faint suggestion of the power of the capitalist State—"moribund"—ha! ha! And even then the Government did not proceed as they might have done, to use the Royal Engineers to work the trains. They even assisted the railwaymen's joint executives to arrange the strike, placed the resources of the State at their disposal for that purpose. They need not have done so.

They had a very complete general strike in Sweden last year. It failed. Why? Simply because the governing classes of Sweden, while willing, for the moment, to forego the use of non-necessaries, actually did the vitally necessary work themselves. With our complex society, while the working class is necessary for the production of profit, only a very small part of that working class is necessary for the production of the absolute necessaries of life. So that the governing classes, having first of all reserves upon which to fall back, can, at a pinch, with the assistance of the ever-present blackleg residuum, do the absolutely necessary work for themselves, and the worker can be starved out. After all, the mass vote is the only weapon with which our numbers can at present be made to tell. Moreover, what may be gained by the strike may be as easily lost—filched away; and agreements ignored. This year's transport workers' strike is in order to get a proper interpretation of last year's agreement! A further danger now looms on the horizon—the holding of the workers' funds as hostage for *their* performance of contracts.

If I had no hope in the political sphere, I should be inclined to follow William Morris's advice at one of Lansbury's Walworth election meetings: "If you will not use your votes, then you had better make peace with your masters."

I know it may be said that the strike is not the only method of "direct action." There is "ca' canny." Well, that is not a patent of Syndicalism. I have advised it myself on some exceptional occasions to meet employers' exceptional exactions, but even in a

trade union shop it was found to be most difficult to carry out. It is one of those things that the mass may make up their minds to do, but which have to be carried out by the individual, who for his pains may find his services dispensed with for quite other reasons; or the whole of the factory may be put on short time, an excellent way of speeding men up. Our friends are too prone to think the capitalists are fools; so they are in many respects, but they are quite equal in cunning to any body of workmen, and they find it less difficult to act with one mind. The starving out of an unproductive industry would be the answer to any proposal by the worker to sweat out the employer.

I don't want to become possessed of my industry. I take the old-fashioned view that "work"—certainly as we know it—is the primal curse. I don't want to be possessed in any shape or form of the printing industry; I would rather be out of it. Suppose we try to become possessed of it. What happens? How soon do we sweat or rush the capitalist master printer out of it? And what meanwhile happens to the industry? If other industries were following suit there would be a great diminution in the demand for our labour. That would take place very early in the proceedings, and the only way in which that and other difficulties could be met would be to form a sort of co-partnery with the employer. The chimney-sweep, the road sweeper, the sewer man, a thousand and one other lines of industry suggest at once the futility and absurdity of seeking for salvation via purely "industrial action."

In fact, of prospect of getting rid of capitalists and landlords by means of this method there is none. Syndicalism is a cul de sac, a stereotyping of existing conditions, producing a state of "arrested development," and it also offers a fearful temptation to make corrupt arrangements with the employers as against the community: a reversion to the ancient guilds, but with "elder brethren" who will fatten and "younger brethren" who will work. Those outside

the guilds will remain as a proletarian class, even more hopeless than now.

All the twaddle about Syndicalism having no respect for property must mean, if it means anything at all, mere sabotage and destruction. I think it is foolish to destroy what may easily be our own.

At any rate, Syndicalism proposes to perpetuate for many generations private property in land and capital, and for that reason I reject it.

Just a word in conclusion as to the difficulties of political action. Here in this country they are very much over-rated, and I do not credit any one of the capitalist parties with being fools enough to restrict the suffrage. If they did, then the strike, as a weapon of desperation, would remain. The capitalist class when faced by a majority of Socialists in the House of Commons would also be faced by a Socialist majority in the country; and either a Socialist Administration would be placed in charge of the Army, Navy, Post Office, and other national services, or that Socialist majority would render government by any other section impossible. Wilshire seems not to be aware that in the struggle between landlords and capitalists the former have allowed the latter to vote away some of their privileges; under stress of the State's necessities some of the property rights of both have been diminished. For one-seventh of a dead man's estate to go to the State instead of to his heirs is a limitation of property rights. They would fight as best they might, but they would have to go down before the majority armed with powers of law as well as with bayonets and bullets. The notion that a Socialist majority would cool its heels in the corridor is funny even for an "intellectual." It is certain that it would not occur to a worker. Even Socialist minorities don't do that. A Socialist majority would materially alter Parliament and the State, would alter them fundamentally, but the process would be according to the community's requirements. After all, even Wilshire suggests some sort of Parliament, to represent interests

instead of districts. No wonder he has a hankering for the Labour Party, which is largely made up in that way, and which, partly on that account, is so non-revolutionary.

We Socialists are out to secure the supremacy of the working class, to place that class as a whole in possession of the means of life, and so to obliterate all class distinctions. As we find that one by one the other classes have forced their way out of servitude to economic power by using the political weapon, we submit that this political weapon may be useful for the only subject class now left. We are the more convinced of this because it is by reason of the possession of their political power that landlords and capitalists are able to retain possession and control of the means of life, and of the working class. We mean that the working class, by vote and strike and even by brute force if necessary, shall thrust them out. It is of no use discussing the bullets we have not, but we do say, "Use the vote as you can, and strike as you must." We decline to drop either weapon. Those who profess to drop politics have themselves to resort to them. It was by appeal to the political power that Mann's sentence was reduced and Bowman was released. The old trade unions who openly flouted political action had to go to Parliament to safeguard their very existence and property; and they have found it useful for securing in factory and in mine ameliorations of their industrial conditions which it is doubtful if they could ever have achieved by "direct action"—certainly not without an infinity of suffering. The old anti-political trade unions have begun to learn the lesson of political action; their representatives in the House have blundered and fumbled, and yet they have managed to get things. The miners are the only big section of workers to secure a big reduction of hours in the last 20 years—they won it by political action. The engineers tried the other way and failed. They also now look to political action. This change of mind is still very young; and before the method has even had a

fair trial some of our volatile friends say, "No, not that way, let us try direct action," which the trade unionists had been trying all the while before. They had had sixty years of direct action, and found themselves—some a very little better off, most of them worse off. Let us have sixty years of political action conducted even in the same spirit, and the results, as shown even by the last six years, would be greater. But given a revolutionary policy and method, not sixty, but ten, years would be sufficient for all practical purposes. Fancy a body of avowed revolutionaries being unable to function in a National Assembly where revolutions, economic and political, have been recorded in the past!

So, then, let the workers unite, not divide and "syndicalise."

Let us oust the landlord and capitalist class, and not leave them in possession indefinitely. Let us use their own chief weapon against them, make the State our State, and so transform it into our Commune—each for all, all for each—without any dangerous sectionalising attached, even by name, to factory hell or colliery dust-heap of the hideous past.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE PARTY SYSTEM.

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO "THE PARTY SYSTEM," BY HILAIRE BELLOC AND CECIL CHESTERTON.

By George C. Swanson.

II.

It is not necessary nor is it desirable to trace in detail the development of English political institutions from early Saxon times. The task we have before us is that of noting in what manner the Party System of government grew up, and of judging whether that system, which must have arisen out of the social needs of the people, can be truly said to be the main cause of the corruption and ineffectiveness of our modern House of Commons.

As in all other countries, our Parliament began in the primitive village community, and the periodical meetings of its members to settle their affairs and to divide up the land when the growth or decrease of the population, or other circumstance, made it necessary. The early English folkmoot, the Russian mir (which exists even to-day), the concilium plebis of ancient Rome, and the general popular assembly of ancient Greece are institutions exactly similar in their origin and functions. They each are natural forms of government adopted by communities of peasants, farmers and traders, who, living in close contact with one another, find no more advanced system necessary. For the Anglo-Saxons to meet under the moot tree, and to discuss and decide the various simple problems of their primitive existence, was to them the obvious solution

of their problems of government. Writers upon Russian life even so modern as Tolstoy refer to the gatherings of the Russian peasants, whose method of reaching finality seems to have been that of talking and shouting until opinion finally veered in one definite direction. Who has not heard of the deliberations in the Roman Forum, where the immortal Cicero, "a man of no family," by his sheer ability and eloquence won for himself a place beside Cæsar and Pompey as one of the three great men of his day? Nor is the fame of Cicero greater than that of that wonderful Greek Pericles, who swayed Athens and for thirty years in a Republican era practically ruled her by moderation and capacity for government. I must beg forbearance here to quote from the "Funeral Speech" of Pericles, recorded by Thucydides, one of the finest pieces of prose ever spoken or written. "Our constitution," says Pericles, "is a democracy, because it is in the hands not of the few but of the many. But our laws secure equal justice for all in their private disputes, and our public opinion welcomes and honours talent in every branch of achievement, not for any sectional reason, but on grounds of excellence alone. . . . . We are lovers of beauty without extravagance, and lovers of wisdom without unmanliness. Wealth to us is not mere material for vainglory, but an opportunity for achievement, and poverty we think it no disgrace to acknowledge, but a real degradation to make no effort to overcome." For grandeur of diction, loftiness of sentiment, sincerity of purpose, and dignity of soul Pericles has few equals, and hardly a superior, in the history of the world, and he was the son of a single democratic city State. But I must digress no further. The Norman Conquest of this country has been much misinterpreted. It was an invasion by a few roving Danes who, by living in France, had acquired a French varnish, men of the same blood and habits as those who were at that time dwelling in the Northern and Eastern parts of England. William the Conqueror

veiled his usurpation by advancing legal claims which involved him in a scrupulous adherence to the English laws and institutions. This was not an exceptional course for the Northmen to take. Their incursions into France, Sicily, and into other parts of Europe were followed by their speedy absorption in the conquered people. In our country the folk-moot remained, subject, of course, to the sovereignty of the King's Council.

The King's Council was the supreme consultative assembly existing, and had varying fortunes down to the reign of John, when by the Great Charter the barons and all the tenants of the Crown (the landlord class) finally won their recognition to membership of the Council, to be consulted upon all matters dealing with finance and the general government of the country. At that time the landlords or Crown tenants (as they were then called, and as they even at this day still remain) were the principal people in the country, and composed the only class which could make its influence felt. The burgher and trading class began, however, to appear immediately, and in Simon de Montfort's Parliament of 1265 two citizens from every borough appeared for the first time. De Montfort paid for his temerity with his blood—he fell on the field of Evesham, and, exclaiming "It is God's grace," gave his life for his country, and his constitutional provisions were allowed to pass unobserved until Edward's Model Parliament of 1295. From then onwards the knights of the shire, elected by the freeholders in the shire moot, or county court, and representative burgesses from the towns sat with the barons and bishops in the Parliament of the Realm.

There was considerable constitutional progress during the next century, but after that, with occasional moments of wakefulness, Parliament may be said to have gone to sleep until awakened by the Reformation two hundred years later. During the interval the resistance to the King's power was left to the barons. The attempt of Richard II. to govern by a Cabinet of

eighteen, twelve peers and six commoners, was frustrated by the Lancastrian revolution, and the Civil Wars of 1455-1485 left the baronage so weak that even they were trampled on by Henry Tudor, who superseded Parliament by the Royal Council. His son and successor, Henry VIII., being much in want of money, was compelled to summon Parliament, but, like Convocation, its enactments were more the reflection of the King's will than the deliberate judgments of a free assembly. Elizabeth bullied and admonished her legislators as if they were a lot of schoolboys, but it was left to the Stuarts, James I. and Charles I., to give new life to the English Parliament by their stupid obstinacy, and their absurd notions concerning the Divine Rights of Kings.

After this period the work of decentralising government in this country, hitherto carried on by the landed aristocracy, descended to the yeoman farmers and the trading classes, who now, in the twentieth century, are being compelled to reluctantly relinquish their monopoly in favour of popular democratic government by the whole people.

The death of Charles I. did not seal the victory of Parliament; there was a reaction under Cromwell, who, backed by the army, played the part of usurper, much, we know, against his will. Few episodes in our history are more tragic than this of Cromwell, the deliverer of his country from tyranny, compelled to play the part of the tyrant because England did not know how to use her freedom. The failure of the Protectorate and the restoration of the Stuart Dynasty seemed to show the impossibility of effective Parliamentary reform. The constitutional reformers of the time may well have felt that the Petition of Right may just as well never have been written, the Grand Remonstrance may just as well have never been made. Without any precedent to guide them, with Pym, Cromwell and all the giants of the previous decade gone, they may well have despaired and have fled the country, as many indeed did, and as Cromwell often threatened he

would do. But, with all the confusion and apparent defeat, the great "revolution of the seventeenth century" went slowly but steadily on, and the reign of Charles II. saw many steps taken towards transferring the administrative power from the King to Parliament.

When Charles II. returned to his country and his crown, he had two resolves: one was never to set out on his travels again, and the other was to restore Catholicism. In his successful endeavour to fulfil the first resolve he contributed to the advancement of English political liberty; he was compelled to rule through his Ministers, changing them when they became unpopular, thus beginning Ministerial responsibility; and in striving to introduce Catholicism and in his support of his Catholic brother James, he brought into being the Petitioners and Abhorrers, the germs of the two great political parties, the Whigs and the Tories, who have ever since had such prominent place in the history of this country and with whose "Party System" of government we are at present concerned.

We have reached the crucial point in England's history, when, out of the chaos of the struggle between King and people, the forms of popular government begin to take definite shape. We have traced the development of our Parliamentary assembly from the gathering of the village men under the moot tree to the time when the Petition of Right, the Grand Remonstrance, and the Civil War of the twentieth century had proclaimed the dominant power of Parliament.

The reign of the council of the nation having begun, it yet remained to find a means whereby that power could continuously make its influence felt, control the legislative and administrative functions of government. For our forefathers to rebel against tyranny was natural to them, but in their rebellion they unconsciously led themselves into difficulties, which the sword could not help them to overcome. The repre-

sentatives of the people were supreme, but hitherto England had been governed by the council of the King's friends, who, being used to governing almost from their birth, born in a governing class, learnt the art of administration as they grew into manhood. This oligarchy was to rule no longer, the future was to the representative assembly; but in what manner was that assembly to be connected with the administration, what particular machinery was to be set up in order to secure the responsibility of the servants of the crown to Parliament? That was the problem to which at that time no man had a solution, and it took forty years of chaos, riot, revolution and bloodshed, and a second Stuart tyranny, before the solution was found.

The Parliament of Charles II. was the supreme power in the country, but, notwithstanding that, it was played with and baulked by a King whom its members at first almost worshipped, and at last positively distrusted and feared. The assembly was in the position of a giant who, for lack of intelligence, could do nothing but beat the air with his strong arms and wear out his strength uselessly; meanwhile, his enemies laughed and mocked him to scorn. In these circumstances, the temper of the members rose; in turn they destroyed Clarendon and Danby; they wrecked the Cabal, and overthrew Clifford and Arlington; they compelled Charles to pass the Test Act and to recall the Declaration of Indulgence; yet with it all the King made war against Holland contrary to the will of the nation, and refused to make war against France when the people had demanded it, and when they had voted supplies for the purpose. He ruled pretty much in his own way; he contrived to prevent the passing of the Exclusion Bill which would have barred James from ascending the throne; and when he could no longer put up with his Parliament he prorogued or dissolved it as it pleased him.

Inevitably this condition of affairs bred a state of mind in the members of the assembly which sapped

their sense of responsibility, made them extravagant in word and action, and drove the representatives of the people into a frenzy which nullified their good deeds and exaggerated their bad ones. They were the only barrier between the people and autocratic tyranny, yet because of the lack of cohesion among them, because of the absence of that very understanding between their parties which is at present the basis of our Party System, they were almost impotent and they raged in measure. For many years this dangerous turmoil continued, until at last there grew out of the interminable squabbles and crises an understanding between the two great parties, the Whigs and the Tories, as the Petitioners and Abhorrers had now become to be called, that "the spoils and emoluments of office" should be shared by each in turn as the opinion of the country fluctuated from one side to the other and back again. The existence of this tacit understanding checked the absurd and perverse factionism in the Parliamentary machine which was but a sign of power unable to find a method of applying itself to its proper function in government. In turn each party had to shoulder the responsibilities of office, a circumstance which moderated the vigour of their denunciation when in opposition. From being a pandemonium of antagonistic forces, the Party System converted our Parliament into a comparatively sober and public-spirited body, whose methods and achievements have since become the envy and ensample of mankind. We are well aware that there are spots on the sun, but we are dealing at present with Parliamentary institutions in a social order where economic slavery still exists, and spotless purity were extravagant to expect. With all the corruption, and that of course is endemic with capitalism, with all the make-believe and humbug, our Party System stands between us and tyranny. A reversion to the chaotic conditions of the years from 1660 to 1705 would bring the downfall of what democratic machinery we have. The abolition of that party understanding which Messrs. Belloc and

Chesterton think is so fraught with evil and the cause of the failure of Parliament would bring with it the destruction of Parliament altogether. That is why Parliament and the Party System endures. We perceive, albeit unconsciously many of us, that it is the less of two evils by a very great deal.

(To be continued.)

THE TRAGEDY OF THE WORKING-CLASS STRUGGLE.

(Conclusion.)

By JNO. RHIND.

"Discontent is the first step in progress of the individual or the nation."

During the discussion in Parliament on the Minimum (Miners) Wage Bill the Government declared that on principle they were opposed to fixing what the minimum amount must be. But when they had the power, or thought they had, they did not hesitate to fix a maximum wage beyond which no employer must pay. And also to fix by law the number of hours to be worked in their own (capitalist) interest. Moral: It is only wrong for the State to fix by law a minimum wage which shall be paid to, and a maximum number of hours to be worked by, the labouring classes when the latter are demanding fair and just conditions. "A Statute of Ed. III. 1349 fixed the working day for all artificers and field labour from March to September as 5 a.m. to 7 p.m., with 3½ hours for meals—in all, 10½ hours. From October to February, 5 a.m. until dark, with 3½ hours for meals."

What strikes anyone who studies the economic and social condition of the workers under the wage system, or capitalism, is the extremely varying conditions of labour, being relatively high or low according to the power of the workers. Thus, the average hours of labour were:—

1200-1400	...	...	...	8½d. per day.
1400-1500	...	...	...	8d. per day.
1600	...	...	...	9½d. to 10d. per day.
1700	...	...	...	12d. per day.
1800	...	...	...	16d. per day.

Reckoning prices at their real value, and putting 10s. per week as the cost of living for a family of five persons, the following were the wages of agricultural labourers:—

1250	...	15s. per week.
1320	...	12s. „
1430	...	25s. „
1480	...	28s. „
1600	...	11s. „
1800	...	7s. „

From this we see that at the begining of the 19th century the wages of agricultural labourers—and at that date agriculture was still our greatest national industry—were so low as 7s. per week. And "when farm labourers built their own cottages the farmers pulled them down, and if they rebuilt them refused to employ them, with the result that such labourers became thieves and poachers."—Committee of Labour, 1824 (Toynbee).

The Poor Law authorities of to-day were not in existence at that date. The Guardians of the Poor consisted mostly of the farming class, who purposely paid such miserably low wages, and knowing the labourers could not possibly live on them often granted an equal amount in charity from public funds, and by those means kept their wage bill at the lowest possible figure.

"In Adam Smith's time a carpenter's earnings were 2s. 6d. per day, a cotton weaver's 5s. per week." In 1801 a cotton spinner worked 74 hours per week for 32s. 6d., which at the then ruling prices of necessaries of life was a miserable pittance, the quartern (4lbs.) loaf costing 1s. 10d.; butter, 2s. per lb.; calico, 2s. per yard. Many, we are informed, were driven to substitute shellfish for meat. Some ate nettles and weeds—often without salt, for salt was taxed 15s. per bushel.

In 1813 calico was 2s. per yard; a poor woman who stole 13 yards of calico valued at 26s. was hanged as the penalty for her "crime."

Surely that is a terrible indictment of capitalism; nor must we forget that capitalists were at the height of their power from the middle of the 18th century to the first quarter of

the 19th, when the condition of the working class was at its worst, and the wage-workers were used as mere beasts of burden and absolutely, in very many cases, worked to death in the interest of profit.

But "there are limits to human endurance" (I thank thee for that phrase, O Balfour!). Hence the workers determined to combine into trade unions to try and improve their miserable existence, which at the beginning of the 19th century was deplorable.

As we might expect, the employers on their part were as fully determined to nip such a poisonous weed in the bud. All they could do, however, was to retard it, although they enlisted the power of the *law* in their behalf. It is a long and bitter struggle; nor is it over, as we know to our cost by the labour unrest which prevails at the present time. And though millions have been born, lived, and died during that time Labour is only slowly, although surely, coming to its own.

But at what a cost! Let us here relate a few instances of the cruelty and suffering our forefathers had to endure to obtain the right to combine into trade unions to improve their economic condition.

In A.D 1720 Taylors' (Tailors) Combination prohibited by law.

In A.D. 1744 Privy Council try to suppress it.

Act 7 Geo. I. c. 13 forbids the giving or receiving of wages in excess of a maximum.

The Statute of 1305 (33 Ed. I. st. 2) was in 1818 held to apply to a combination of cotton spinners, whose leaders were sentenced to two years' imprisonment for trying to raise wages. At one time a workman was liable to three months' imprisonment for leaving his work.

During the whole epoch of repression, whilst thousands of workmen suffered for the crime of combination, *there is no case on record in which an employer was punished for the same offence.*

In 1834 five agricultural labourers were sentenced to seven years' transportation to Botany Bay.

In 1834, during the farm-labourers' lock-out near Chipping Norton, two justices, both clergymen, sent sixteen

labourers' wives, some with infants at their breasts, to prison with hard labour for intimidating non-union men.

On September 2, 1872, Dr. Ellicott, Bishop of Gloucester, speaking at the Gloucester Agricultural Society, suggested the horse-pond as a fit destination for the agitators or delegates sent by the union to open new branches.—(Webb's "History of Trade Unions.")

The Scottish Peterloo, Bonnymuir, April, 1820, seems to have been a diabolical plot of the party in power (Conservative) to entrap the disaffected into overt action. On the first of April all Glasgow was thrown into a panic over a treasonable placard, calling upon the oppressed to assert their right at the hazard of their lives. A Government spy induced about a hundred desperate weavers to march towards Carron, and after a weary trudge the famished band were set upon by cavalry from Stirling and taken prisoners. Three of the deluded visionaries were tried and executed as leaders—Hardie, Blair, and Wilson.

The Government employed spies to encourage violent proposals, and then to give evidence against those who embraced them.—(J. Colvill, "Social England," Vol. VI.)

These few instances, taken from hundreds which might be given, clearly illustrate the awful suffering the working classes have had to endure in order to raise their standard of life.

In spite, however, of the persecution—which proves that the modern capitalist, like his ancient compeer, the slave-owner, if it is to his interest, and given the power, is prepared to sacrifice the lives of the people without the least compunction—the working class are winning their way to economic, political and social freedom.

The Golden Age of labour was during the 15th century, when, as Thorold Rogers informs us, the skilled citizen (the term in those days had a real meaning) could procure a year's food as a result of ten weeks' labour, and in the case of a common labourer with the work of fourteen weeks. Real wages were at their highest point; hours of labour at the lowest. But, we must remember, "between 1400-1500 the mass of the people were free peasant proprietors, owning at

least four acres of land and a cottage; whilst they had a share in the common land for the feeding of their cattle on them; taking wood, turf, etc., from them."

All wage-labouring was done in their leisure time. Further, national and local holidays were by far more numerous than they are to-day. Nearly all the saints' days were observed as holidays, as also the First of May, which we Socialists are trying to revive as a workers' national holiday. Let us now inquire and see what improvement the workers have made in their condition as a result of Trade Unionism. We found that at the beginning of the 19th century the working class were in a more poverty-stricken state than ever before in the whole history of the country. From that date to the present time the struggle between the capitalist and the workers has been one long battle, in which thousands and thousands of the more spirited leaders have gone under in fighting for the cause of the people. Still they are encroaching on the citadel of capitalism. Thus:—

Wage of	1810.		1825.		1835.
Carpenters...	18/-	...	30/-	...	29/3
Bricklayers	18/-	...	31/-	...	26/5
Masons ...	17/-	...	31/6	...	29/1½
Weavers ...	19/6	...	—	...	—

Another account gives weavers' wages as:—

1800...25/- 1815...24/- 1817...9/- 1829...5/6

Between 1830 and 1840 the 4lbs. loaf cost 8½d.; tea (low quality), 6s. per lb.; sugar, 7d. per lb.; soap, 6d. per lb., and so on.

The remarkable facts about the first quarter of the 19th century are the relatively low wages, long working hours, and high prices of the necessaries of life. The average working day consisted of fourteen hours, with no Saturday half-holiday.

We wonder what the workers would think if the above conditions prevailed now? Life to-day, with all its shortcomings, is a paradise in comparison! But, again, let it be understood it has had to be fought for. Capitalists never give anything voluntarily.

The next figures we give are those of Professor Levi:—

WAGES.

Year.	Men.		Women.	
	Under 20 per week.	20 and upwards per week.	Under 20 per week.	20 and upwards per week.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
1866 ...	7 6	19 6	8 0	11 0
1878 ...	8 0	21 9	9 0	13 8
Increase %	6⅔	6¾	12	14

It will be observed that although we have arrived, in the course of our investigation, at the third quarter of the last century, the price of bread is still 8d. per quartern loaf; tea, sugar and other foodstuffs proportionately high. Yet it must be admitted that combination has accomplished a relatively great amount of success, although it appears to have merely scratched the surface.

Some years ago, Mr. Bowley read a paper before the British Association, in which he compared the wages in 1840 with those prevailing in 1891 as follows:—

For £100 earned in 1891 a—

Cotton spinner received in	1840	...	...	...	£50
Wool worker	,,	,,	...	...	74
Building hand	,,	,,	...	...	66
Miner	,,	,,	...	...	61
Iron worker	,,	,,	...	...	77
Compositor	,,	,,	...	...	79
Agricultural labourer		,,	...	...	75

Accordingly, during the fifty years from 1840 to 1890 not only were wages increased in these trades from 26 to 100 per cent., their purchasing-power had also greatly increased. As in 1890 bread could be bought at nearly half the price it cost in 1840; the price of tea was only one-third; sugar, one-half; and so on with nearly all the necessaries of life required by the working class—and this in spite of the fact that we have to-day such an appalling volume of abject poverty. To-day we speak of the "submerged tenth"; in the early

19th century practically the whole of the working class were in that deplorable condition—nor does that end the improvement in their economic and social condition. The average working day is now about ten hours, instead of, as formerly, fourteen hours; also a Saturday half-holiday, which was not only unknown but undreamt of by the early 19th century workman. From 1890 to 1900 the price of almost all commodities continued to fall, and wages, on the whole, to slightly increase. Here we touch the high-water mark in the improvement in the workers' condition as a result of a century of trade unionism, plus thirty years of Socialist propaganda. To the superficial observer the advance the people have made may seem to be very little, but when fairly compared with the conditions prevailing a century ago it is enormous! Apart from Trade Unionism, it would say little for our thirty years of Socialist propaganda were it not so.

It is only too true that since 1900 to the present time the cost of living has gradually increased, and although that fact has been, as it were, the last straw to break the social camel's back and cause the present unrest, yet I feel convinced that the REAL cause is the enlightenment carried to the people by the Socialist writers and propagandists, thereby causing them to shed the scales that blind them to their economic, social, and political servitude.

We must not forget, however, the great historical fact that after great social progress there follows for a time reaction. But it is always, eventually, overcome. One need not be a prophet to state that the forward movement has begun. It is for us as Socialists to take advantage of the present righteous discontent to educate the people in the doctrine of Socialism, which will eventually overthrow capitalism with all its vileness and injustices. The flowing tide is with us, for even now the younger element of the trade union leaders are more or less convinced Socialists. And the fossils will soon pass away and give place to men who will not work to improve the wage system, but destroy it.

As Lord Hugh Cecil said in the House of Commons during the debate on the Minimum Wage (Miners) Bill: The cause of the present unrest is inherent in the wage system;

that it is barbarous for man to hire his fellow-man, to which we say—Amen!

If we could convince the workers of the evils of capitalism as COMRADE LORD HUGH is convinced it could not possibly last a decade. How, then, are we to accomplish that task? By education! It is only by education that the profit system, which causes so much social misery, will be finally overcome, and the people achieve their emancipation. Then the words liberty, equality, and fraternity will be live words and have real meaning. For it is inconceivable that an educated Democracy would ever become an enslaved Democracy! Hence, when people talk of democracy and the "Servile State" they are in the region of romance.

As Carlyle pithily puts its: Printing is the natural outcome of writing; and with the invention of printing democracy becomes inevitable.

Then we must fight on till we destroy this profit-mongering system which brings life-long misery to the vast majority of the nation—the workers—and comparatively little real happiness to the possessing class with all their illgotten wealth, until we establish the Co-operative Commonwealth—the Social-Democracy—when production will be carried on not for profit, but for the benefit of the whole of the community, when all will do their fair share, and in return have their natural wants supplied to the full. Then we shall have a nation of strong, brave and vigorous men; handsome, faithful, and virtuous women; and healthy, happy, and rollicking children; and, finally, in the words of Solon, the Greek Sage and Law Giver, when "An injustice done to the meanest citizen is an injustice done to the whole community."

THE MONTH.

Contrary to our expectations, the trouble which had been brewing in the transport industry developed after all into a strike of gigantic dimensions. It is pretty evident that such a contest was not desired by the men's leaders, but was forced on them by the determination on the part of the employers to pick a quarrel, and on the other hand by the grim resistance of the men. The immediate cause of the outbreak was infinitesimal—just the refusal of one man to join the union.

Starting with London, the strike has now spread to all the ports of the kingdom. Far from being precipitate in declaring this national strike, the Transport Workers' Federation postponed their action for a few days as a warning to the employers ; but the latter treated the threat as bluff, and by their obstinacy and contempt for the unions, and the Government as well, have produced what may well prove the fiercest strike of our time.

One significant feature of the dispute is the stubborn attitude taken up for the employers by the Port of London Authority—a body constituted by law, which represents all Port interests—even Labour in a fragmentary sense, but on which Labour is in a permanent minority. For a quasi-public body to practically lead one side in the dispute shows once again how identical is the capitalist State with the capitalists as such.

The strike committee early took the Government to task over the action of the too-zealous police, and obtained pledges that the military should not be introduced. Knowing the temper of the men, the Home Secretary refused to allow the Shipping Federation a police convoy for a shipload of strike-breakers, for which he has been roundly attacked by the Shipping Federation and their allies in the House. Mr. McKenna's refusal, however, was due, not to any love for the men, but to the fear of an outbreak of riot and bloodshed.

As the strike has developed, the hand of the Government has been made pretty clear—to entice the men into the quagmires of compulsory arbitration; and, apparently, the men have welcomed the bait. For unions to offer a money guarantee that they will keep faith with the employers and will enforce them at all times on their members is to start on the perilous path into which the Engineering and Shipbuilding Employers' Federation tried to force the Boilermakers' trade union. Neverthelsss, whatever may be done in this direction, discontent will force the workers to revolt regardless of consequences.

Another strike, which had been two weeks in progress when last we wrote, was that of the West End Tailors and Tailoresses. Almost entirely owing to the hostile action of a rival trade union—which not only informed the employers of the "split," but also discouraged other unions from helping the strikers—the strike failed in its immediate object; but the large influx of members into the local union will probably have the effect of inducing the employers to make some early concessions.

The first annual conference of the British Socialist Party, held at Manchester, at Whitsuntide, was a great success, from the numerical point of view; and despite the attempts of a somewhat noisy minority the delegates refused to be led away from the main purpose of the party—the building up of a political organisation to help bring about Socialism.

The I.L.P. Conference at Merthyr was also interesting; and though the militant section failed to secure the presidency for their champion, George Lansbury, and the attack on the inert official Labour Party failed, yet it was abundantly clear that the rank and file of the I.L.P. are anxious for a move out of the rut.

The bye-elections continue to show the waning influence of the Government. At South Hackney a drop was expected on account of the personal popularity of the retiring member, Mr. Bottomley; but the Liberal majority has decreased from thousands to a few hundreds. At North-West Norfolk the same tendency manifested itself, though not in so complete a fashion.

The tardy action of Sir Edward Grey in adding his pleadings and supplications to the petition for pardon by Miss Kate Malecka

has resulted in her being pardoned by the Czar for an offence which she never committed, and which outside of Russia would not be regarded as an offence at all. We owe no thanks to the Foreign Secretary at all for Miss Malecka's release. His siding at first with the Russian claim on Miss Malecka as a Russian citizen, when by all British law she was indubitably a British citizen, constitutes one of the most shameful and cowardly incidents in the history of this country.

Abroad there have been political crises in Belgium and Hungary. In Belgium the general election has resulted in a Clerical victory, a Liberal defeat, and a strengthening of the Socialist vote. We are of the opinion that the Liberal-Socialist bloc was more detrimental than useful, and that separately they would have done better. As it was, the middle-classes were frightened by the Anarchist outrages in France, which they still persist in coupling with Socialism; and the Clericals made good use of the religious bogey and the plural vote. A general strike may have to be resorted to in Belgium, in order to force an equal suffrage.

In Hungary there has been fierce street fighting, and even shots fired in the Chamber itself, in consequence of the Government's expulsion of the Opposition from the Chamber time after time, and of the steam-rollering through of obnoxious legislation. Scarcely ever has there been so barefaced an attempt to override the popular desire, or such corrupt methods used to buy support.

In Germany the Kaiser has committed another indiscretion in threatening to destroy or cripple the new Alsace-Lorraine Constitution; and our comrades in the Prussian Diet have had a lively time in defending the right of free speech and even of presence in the Chamber in face of the huge majority opposed to them. By only a small majority, however, was the equal and universal suffrage rejected by the Diet.

In the United States, Mr. Roosevelt has played the rôle of "Radical" to such effect that he has been walloping his whilom friend Taft in State after State, even in Ohio, whose "son" Taft happens to be. If Roosevelt does not, after all, get his third Presidency, and give our friends a mixture of "social reform" and "big stick," it will be because of the weight of the old party machine being thrown against him.

FICHTE AS LIBERATOR.

Johann Gottlieb Fichte was born in 1762, at Rammenau, in Lusatia. He studied theology and then philosophy at Jena. In 1791 he met Kant, and became a Kantian. In 1792 he wrote his "Critique of all Revelation." In 1794, after considerable suffering and want, he was made Professor of Philosophy at Jena. He left Kantianism, and developed a spiritual idealism. In 1799 he was deprived of his chair on a charge of Atheism. He lectured in Berlin, and in 1805 was made Professor of Philosophy at Erlangen. There he published "The Nature of the Scholar," and became deeply interested in social and political questions, and a firm patriot. He was elected rector of the University of Berlin. On the outbreak of the War of Independence of 1810, his wife became a hospital nurse, but caught a fever, and recovered only to bequeath it to her husband, who died January 3, 1814. His chief social writings are "Materials for the Justification of the French Revolution," "Principles of Natural Right" (1796), and "The State in Accordance with Right." He was much influenced by Rousseau, and accepted the doctrine of Individual Sovereignty and the Social Contract. Property is the result of the work of the Ego; but if a man can find no work he need not respect private property, since in his case the State has not fulfilled its contract. Labour and distribution should be collectively organised. All the positions of modern Socialism are outlined in his writings, modified by an individualistic philosophy and a deep pietistic Christianity.

May 19 being the 150th anniversary of the birth of the great philosopher, J. G. Fichte, an article under the above heading appeared in the Vienna "Arbeiterzeitung" from the pen of our comrade Dr. Adler, from which we take the following extracts:—

The classical German philosophy constitutes a phenomenon, the full and peculiar significance of which is only beginning to be apparent in our own day. I do not mean the riches it contains, as that would perhaps be a platitude, but that which appears to me to be a magnificent verification by time of this philosophy. The astonishing fact is this, that a philosophy which appeared to rise into the clouds of abstraction or to sink into the void of abstraction, which was described by a world wisdom which had become too practical and too easily satisfied, as quite foreign to

the world and useless, and the sources of which were overlaid with rubbish for half a century, should now, in its re-awakened ideas, be found to possess an actuality for the most urgent practical needs of our time and for our political and social aspirations for the future. And a verification of the classical German philosophy is to be found in this fact, which could not appear until a long time had elapsed, that it is able to show historic examples of its fundamental idea, which is its life-principle: the doctrine of the oneness of thought and existence, in the sense that all being is nothing more than a systematised order of thought. For German philosophy the peculiar significance of science is anchored in this fundamental attitude towards the problem of the universe, which henceforth stamps science as the highest strength of man; for in the same degree as all will and being—thus everything that happens at all—is subject to science, the intrinsic order of the world begins to happen more and more consciously. The consequence of the oneness of thought and being is the more and more conscious being of man himself, that existence which by means of his science and his thought is coming to be formed more and more by himself. Thus the oneness of theory and practice becomes the clue to classical philosophy, and there is for it no keener intellectual pain than the frivolous and superficial saying that something may be right in theory but not in practice. And it is just this view, contended so passionately by philosophy, and so much ridiculed by those who scoff at philosophy, or, one should say, by ignorant persons, that the lapse of time has allowed to triumph. For not only in its own domain of the theory of realisation and ethics do the fundamental thoughts of this philosophy begin to-day to show an unsuspected capacity for development, but far beyond that their consequences now show distinctly that their theory was right for that practice which tends more and more to become of paramount importance for our distressed age—the social practice which is to revolutionise the social conditions of the present day.

Perhaps none of the heroes of this philosophy was more permeated with the consciousness of this revolutionising practice than J. G. Fichte. This great historic figure has shared the fate of so many others who were brought into the light of a bourgeois-patriotic festal illumination. The bourgeoisie cannot help detracting from its thinkers and poets, who are in thought far ahead of the epoch which it is just preparing to begin in its politics; it cannot do justice to their soaring greatness, for it cramps them into its own ideals and thoughts, which have become rigid forms and have no longer anything but the name in common with the high flights of those spirits which will live eternally. Thus the legend of Fichte, which appears in popularisations of philosophy and in patriotic lectures, as the philosopher of national uplifting, as the German patriot, and as the fiery preacher of a moral character-formation, is in so far a fraud—for the most

part unconscious and traditional, I admit, as Fichte is read all too little—as the irrefutable fact is not equally made known with the German national legend, the fact that Fichte regarded the German re-birth and the moral character-formation as being of necessity determined by the remodelling of all our whole State and economic institutions into a new organisation, which was no other than a Socialist one.

Let those remember who give themselves up uncritically to national enthusiasm and who like to rage against foreign Powers what Fichte wrote at a time of national excitement, just after the King of Prussia's manifesto "To my People" in the spring of 1813: "If we do not keep in mind what Germany has *to become*, it does not matter much whether a French marshal like Bernadotte—who at least formerly saw some stirring pictures of freedom pass before him—or a puffed-up German nobleman without morals and with plenty of brutality and impudent bravado, rules over a portion of Germany." And what this Germany was to become, that Fichte expressly repeats at the end of the same work for the benefit of those who might still have failed to learn it from the rest of his works by extracting a passage from his teaching regarding the State and from the Socialistic thought-context contained therein, namely: ". . . . a true Kingdom of Right, such as has never yet existed in the world, with all the enthusiasm for the liberty of the citizen which we see in the old world, without the sacrificing of the majority of human beings as slaves, without which the old States could not be maintained; for freedom, based upon the equality of all who wear a human countenance."

But the true Fichte, the national and moral revivalist of his people, is only seen by us when we have realised him in his Promethean force and rebel nature, which can be turned back by no consequences from what he has once recognised as being right. It stands before us in the revolutionary determination of the man of simultaneous action and science, which appears in the following sentences: "All science is the foundation for action; there is no such thing as an empty science standing in no relation to practice. . . . Thus the saying: 'That may be theoretically true, but does not apply in practice' can only mean: Not now, but it *will* apply in time.'" And further: "Distress excuses every deviation from the right. Whoever would perpetuate this distress wishes for the wrong for its own sake. He is an enemy of the human race: this must be declared, and he must be treated accordingly. The Right simply must force itself a path; if he is determined not to clear out of its way, that pathway will have to pass over him."

Adler goes on to explain Fichte's definition of "the Right." It hangs together with his theoretic philosophy and breathes the same social spirit. "Right," according to Fichte, is but the reflection of the intellectual unity of mankind carried on to the

plane of practical activity. It is another name for the social nature of man, and expresses man not in his individual isolation, but as a link, not isolated even in thought, and still much less in practice, from the Whole. In defending his Right the individual, therefore, also defends Society, because a Right the maintainance of which brought him into conflict with Society would be a contradiction, the suspension of the liberty of all, and thus a social absurdity, a non-right.

Right and Society, with Fichte, become interchangeable terms. This, however, does not mean the abolition or limitation of individuality; on the contrary, through the assurance of its liberty it now grows into real and unlimited individuality. "A man," writes Fichte already in his "Grundlage des Naturrechtes," "only becomes man among men. . . . If there are to be human beings at all, there must be several. . . . The idea of a man is therefore not the idea of a unit, for that is unthinkable, but of a species." And in a fragment about the creation of the "Kingdom of Reason," he says: "The life of a man is Society, and his Right is the most perfect Society that he can imagine."

This latter thought shows us the consequences to which the social character of Fichte's conception of Right leads and must lead. They are to be found first of all in the new conception of the right of property, and then in the conception of the nature and function of the State. In both the fundamentally Socialistic opinion of Fichte unfolds itself with all the magnificent energy and fiery conviction of this passionate thinker in his search for truth.

Fichte gave a completely new value to the idea of property. It became changed from freedom in the control over things to personal freedom; from an institution which divides individuals and brings their interests into antagonism, to a principle binding together in brotherhood all individuals in equal spheres of Right; from a "Right" which enriches some and impoverishes others, to a standard which assures to each his property only by means of the equal free activity of all. Fichte was quite aware of the revolutionary weight of this teaching, though he could not at that time see that it was more a criticism of the bourgeois conception of property than a theory of property which could be carried out in bourgeois society. He wrote, however, concerning it that if it could be carried out it would create an entirely new doctrine of Right. What this doctrine would be like he shows in "Der geschlossene Handelsstaat" and in the "Rechtslehre" of 1812, which both demonstrate that the Socialist organisation of the State is the condition under which that conception of property—that is, the free activity of all—could be realised. Thus the "quite new doctrine of Right" is the organisation of Right under Socialism.

In the same "Rechtslehre" another novel and beautiful idea is worked out, in which Fichte was a forerunner of modern Socialism. Property being the right of free activity, it neces-

sarily includes that part of this activity which is necessary for obtaining the necessaries of life. Work, then, which preserves life, is the property of each. But the idea of the free activity of all excludes the possibility of anyone forcing others to work for him, therefore work becomes the equal and voluntary duty of all, in which no one can any longer feel himself injured. It is part of this freedom that work should not last longer than is necessary in order that the wants of society be supplied, and thus we come to the Right to leisure. As we read in the "Rechtslehre": ". . . that each should receive as his property a sphere in which after satisfying his needs and fulfilling his civic duties there still remains freedom—that is, strength and time, space and Right, for purposes which freely arise. He who has not obtained this has obtained no Right at all, and owes no Right to others; and the constitution under which such an one existed would be no constitution founded on Right, but a mere penal settlement." And again: "Property really means freedom, leisure obtained through work." How people used to abuse the French Marxist who wrote about the Right of Idleness!

It necessarily arises out of the foregoing that the State will seek to increase the productivity of labour in order to extend leisure. The consequences, which of course are only possible in a Socialist State—for to-day the increase of productivity merely goes to enrich the owner of the means of production—are set forth in the "Rechtslehre." If, says Fichte, work is but the enforced means to the real end which the citizens of a State would attain—namely, leisure or freedom—"freedom involves that this means be continually decreased . . therefore it is the object of the State to bring the relationship of the work of the whole of its members into more and more favourable relation to pure leisure—that is, to increase the national wealth." And so one may say—this is the wonderful close of that train of thought which might be directly called the programme of the Social State of the future: "The less leisure remaining over from the work demanded by the objects of the State, the poorer will be the whole; the more leisure that remains over, the richer will be the whole."

Of the objects of the State, Fichte writes "that they will be no other than those of the human race itself," and "the present constitutions of Right are makeshifts; the best that are now possible are only temporary steps forward. But it must not stop at that, and will not." The criticism passed by Fichte on the historic State is not in general applied to the bourgeois State, because the philosopher had, above all, absolutism in his mind when he wrote. But anyone who compares the bourgeois State with Fichte's "Kingdom of Reason" may judge for himself whether this criticism is really only applicable to the absolute State. Let us remember the words already quoted above, in which Fichte compares every State to a penal colony which does not guarantee to its citizens equal rights of leisure.

"ALL FOR THE FATHERLAND."

By August Strindberg (Died May 14, 1912).

In civic life one demands of the individual sincere and honourable conduct, otherwise the penal code comes into operation. But when nations and States come into conflict with each other, then anything is permissible in the way of false representations, broken oaths and untrue assertions, and this goes so far that State-craft has become nothing more nor less than a series of evasions, and to be a diplomat is tantamount to being deceitful and treacherous.

Some time ago we experienced the Russo-Japanese war, and when it broke out one wanted to know the cause before deciding where to place one's sympathy. After many an "if" and "but," the two belligerent parties agreed upon the humane motive: to push Korea's integrity into the foreground. That was a beautiful object, the defence of the weak. But the Czar forgot his rescript and his Hague Conference, and the Japanese took Port Arthur, which was founded by the Chinese in 1880, and ceded to the Russians by them in 1894.

But when the warriors started out, much was sung and declaimed about the defence of the Fatherland. We older people experienced the Franco-German war. Here the cause of the war was rather more complicated. Of course, Napoleon III. could not say straight out that he was jealous of Prussia after Sadowa, but had to find a subterfuge, and for that purpose the Hohenzollern candidature served, or Spain's offer of a throne to a Prussian Prince. But the prince demurred, and now in reality all cause for the war was removed. But as the whole thing was merely a subterfuge, a fresh subterfuge had now to be found, and the unworthy one was made to serve of the French Ambassador having been refused an audience by the King of Prussia. And then all scruples were thrown to the winds, all masks were dropped. Bismarck edited the Ems dispatches out of his own head, and published in the "Times" a secret document containing the astounding news that Napoleon (1867) was prepared after Sadowa to recognise the supremacy of Prussia if France were allowed undisturbed to seize Luxemburg and Belgium. All intrigues were laid bare, personal envy, injured vanity, unsatisfied ambition appeared on the stage, although the representation had been announced under the name of "All for the Fatherland."

But we older people also experienced the tragi-comedy of the Crimean war. After one had believed for 50 long years that the causes of the war were the "ill-treatment of the Christians" in Turkey, Russia's desire for expansion in Europe (mouth of the Danube), we now hear that the allies—England, France, Sardinia—arose with the humane object of maintaining the integrity of Turkey.

That is all very good; so good that no one will believe it. The "most civilised" European nation (France), and the most religious (England), defending the rights and liberties of the hereditary enemy: the Turk! Tolstoy, who was himself present at the turmoil of Sebastopol, has described it as an incredible medley. If one experiences such things, and more, such as the amputation of Denmark, the struggles of Greece and Russia against Turkey, one becomes very mistrustful of the patriots of the Fatherland, who think that the education of man can be carried out best in barracks and on warlike expeditions. Formerly they used to send the worst people to the wars—adventurers and such like; in case of need they emptied the prisons, but they protected the best of the youth of the nation from accustoming themselves in the barracks to coarseness and inhumanity.

When the society "Friends of the Conscripts" was formed, in the seventies, we were told that the officers would now educate the nation in the barracks, as the ordinary military training was considered insufficient. But this was not the case; for in the private elementary schools for the children of the rich, infantry drill was introduced in the sixties, and the volunteer shooting clubs furnished 40,000 men, while the reservist army only numbered 37,000. Now that drill has become general in all schools, and we have over 150,000 riflemen and innumerable scouts, we are already an armed nation.

Compulsory military service and barracks appear, therefore, to be a mere survival from past ages—a subterfuge.

We know the education of the barracks; it is the worst of all education. In this human stable there can be no cleanliness, for they live too close together.

Apathy towards one's own sufferings brings with it the objection that it makes one unfeeling towards others. That quality is first called unmercifulness, and, later, cruelty.

If one learns to bear injustice uncomplainingly, one becomes unjust oneself; and to obey blindly creates slaves or tyrants.

The principal business taught in the barracks is that of waiting on the officers and cleaning up. There is no need to learn patriotism; it rests upon the inborn, justifiable instinct of self-preservation, and when it is at stake every man marches on to the battlefield.

The unsensitive methods of school life are sufficient to prevent effeminacy. But the barracks are the high school where barbarism

is learned, where the young men forget how to carry on their calling, and where all social vices blossom and flourish.

At the beginning of the new century eighty million crowns were voted annually for the Army in Sweden. That in twelve years makes nearly a milliard, and now, as we write, in 1912, more is being asked for.

The "Indelta"—that is, the troops to be furnished by the land-owners—constituted, with the recruits, the chief part of the Army since the changes in the Order of the Forces in 1901.

EVENTS OF MAY.

AT HOME.

1—Labour Day Celebrations in Hyde Park and elsewhere.
West End Tailors and Tailoresses on strike.

2—First sitting of British Court of Inquiry into the loss of the Titanic.
Government appointed a committee of the Cabinet "to investigate the problem of the industrial unrest."

4—Portsmouth magistrate found 53 seamen of the Olympic guilty of wilful disobedience, but found it inexpedient to impose punishment.

8—Discussion in House of Commons on industrial unrest.
East End Tailors decided to strike.

9—House of Commons: Home Rule Bill, second reading carried —372 to 271.
Tom Mann sentenced at Manchester to six months' imprisonment in the second division for "inciting soldiers to mutiny."

16—House of Commons: Welsh Disestablishment Bill read a second time—348 votes to 267.
Mr. Horatio Bottomley, M.P., resigned his seat for South Hackney.

17—House of Commons: Feeble Minded Persons (Control) Bill read a second time.

19—Thames lightermen ordered to cease work.
Cruiser Achilles arrived at St. Kilda to relieve starving islanders.

20—Premier received trade union deputation on railway nationalisation.
Enrico Malatesta sentenced to three months' imprisonment for criminal libel, and recommended for deportation.
Tom Mann's sentence reduced and Guy Bowman's release ordered.

21—Thames strike spreading to dockers and carmen.
Sir Edward Clarke appointed to inquire into transport dispute.
Miners' National Conference appealed to Premier to amend Minimum Wage Act so as to secure a living wage.
Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. and Mr. Pethick Lawrence sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in the second division for conspiracy.

23—All Thames transport workers called out.
24—South Hackney bye-election: Morison (Liberal), 5,339; Gibson (Unionist), 4,836; greatly reduced majority.
25—British Socialist Party's first Annual Conference opened at Manchester.
27—Meat cargoes removed from Albert Docks under heavy police protection.
I.L.P. Conference opened at Merthyr.
British Socialist Party Conference concluded.
Co-operative Congress opened at Portsmouth.
Irish Trades Union Congress at Clonmel.
28—Sir Edward Clarke reported on Transport Dispute, mainly in favour of the men.
29—London shipowners refused to attend conference with men suggested by Government.
31—North-West Norfolk bye-election: (Result declared next day: Hemmerde, Liberal, 5,613; Jodrell, Unionist, 4,965; reduced majority.)

ABROAD.

1—May-Day Celebrations on the Continent: 80 meetings in Berlin.
4—Italians seized the Island of Rhodes.
5—French municipal elections: Socialist gains.
8—Mine riots in America: several killed.
9—Police removed two Socialist deputies from the Lower House of the Prussian Diet.
10—Miss Kate Malecka sentenced at Warsaw to four years' penal servitude.
German Reichstag: New Army Bills and Estimates carried by closure against Socialists and Poles.
15—Motor bandits' house stormed at Nogent-sur-Maine.
Japanese general election.
17—German Reichstag discussed Kaiser's threat to destroy Alsace-Lorraine Constitution.
American Socialist Convention rejected Syndicalism.
Eugene Debs again chosen as candidate for U.S. Presidency.
19—Railway accident at Gare du Nord, Paris: 13 killed, 42 injured.
Battle in Persia: rebels defeated.
20—Prussian Diet rejected universal, equal and direct suffrage by 188 votes to 158.
21—Taft badly beaten by Roosevelt in Ohio "primaries."
23—Universal Suffrage strike and rioting in Budapest.
26-28—Great Berber attacks on Fez.
28—U.S. Senate report on Titanic issued.
29—Roosevelt swept Republican New Jersey.
30—Death of Wilbur Wright, pioneer airman.

THE REVIEWS.

PERILS OF THE MINIMUM WAGE.

Says the Editor of the "Century Magazine," under the above heading, in this month's issue:—

The great English coal strike had features that were almost revolutionary. It issued in legislation that many believed to be wholly revolutionary. The strike was said by one English statesman to have "held up society." It certainly held up the Government. It coerced Parliament into doing what a year ago no Parliament would have dreamed of doing. Within a twelvemonth a question was put in the House of Commons asking the Ministry if they would consider a Bill for establishing a minimum wage. The answer was almost contemptuously in the negative. Yet the strike soon came, and the country was reduced to such extremities, and the Government so brought to the end of its resources, that a Bill accepting the principle of the minimum wage, and actually setting it up in the coal mining industry, was hurried through both Houses of Parliament, and was signed by the King.

In fairness, it must be admitted that the law thus made did not in form go so far as some of its alarmed critics asserted. The thing aimed at was carefully explained by the Prime Minister when introducing the Bill. Investigation had convinced Mr. Asquith, he said, that "there are cases in which underground employees in coal mines cannot, from causes over which they have no control, earn a reasonable minimum wage." All the emphasis was laid upon the exceptional instances and the places where there were peculiar difficulties. Indeed, the advocates of the measure always spoke of it as a thing apart. It was so because, in the first place, coal mining was different from any other industry. Owing to its special conditions, and the unique relations it bore to all other industries, it could be dealt with, so it was argued, on a basis which no one would think of applying elsewhere. And since it had been shown that the system of piece-work, in certain mines, often did not permit a workman, even by the exertion of all his energy, to earn enough for a bare subsistence, it was necessary for Parliament to step in and provide that all contracts between owners and employees in the coal-fields should be invalid unless they went upon the theory of a guaranteed minimum wage. No precise rate was

fixed in the Bill. That was to be left to be determined for different localities by the "district boards" which it created. And the owners were to be given safeguards against slackness on the part of the men. All through there was the earmark of "exceptional circumstances" upon the Minimum Wage Bill; and it was fervently hoped in England that in this case, too, Englishmen would be found to deserve the thanks to Heaven of an English publicist that they were not logical.

Yet it is impossible in England or any other country wholly and permanently to escape the logical consequences of such a measure. When you say A in the programme of the Socialists or the Syndicalists, sooner or later you are called upon to say B. And already we hear threats that the workers in other industries—in the cotton and woollen mills, for example, and on the railways—will soon seek to apply what is to them the plain lesson of the coal strike, and in their turn try to "hold up society" until they secure in like manner the concession of a minimum wage. There are, too, other logical consequences of the minimum-wage legislation which cannot be avoided. Some of them are forcing themselves most unpleasantly upon the public and upon working men in England. The fact is made clear, for example, that under the terms of the new law certain coal mines cannot be operated at all. Their margin of profit was so small that they are unable to face the new charges, with the result that their pits will remain closed. Instead of a guarantee of a minimum wage, the miners will get no wages at all. What will the Government do with such mines? The dilemma is one which must always present itself when a Government undertakes to fix prices. If the owners cannot do business on the terms prescribed, then the next demand is that the Government take the industry over, even if it has to be run at a loss, and the deficits made good out of taxes. To bring about exactly that state of things is the avowed aim of Syndicalism and the Industrial Workers of the World, so that, by so much, the English Government has played directly into their hands.

THE MASSACRE.

Writing in the June "Contemporary Review," on "Foreign Affairs," Dr. Dillon says:—

Like Italy in Tunis, France in Morocco has a hard nut to crack. Diplomatically, indeed, the problem has apparently been divested of most of its difficulties. Difficulties with Spain are still outstanding, but will soon be compromised. The convention with Germany is root-reaching, and gives the Republic a free hand. But the real work of conquest is only now beginning, and the French nation is certain to pass through many a painful ordeal

before it is ended. Of this perspective, many public men in France are gradually becoming aware. France, like Italy, has solved her problem very prettily on paper—the Protectorate of France is an accomplished event. It has been agreed to even by the Sultan of Morocco, Mulay Hafid, himself. And yet it is only a pium desiderium. Between the Sultan and the Republic the negotiations which preceded the signing of the Protectorate Treaty were kept secret. Neither the Ulema or Koran interpreters, nor the aristocracy, nor the descendants of the Prophet, were initiated. On this precaution M. Regnault insisted on the ground that if the masses were informed of the change projected, they would rise up in arms against the foreigners. But the prevention turned out to be a more effectual stimulus to revolt than publicity would have been. Rumours began to circulate that Mulay Hafid was a prisoner in the hands of the French. And when the truth at last leaked out that only the shadow of power was left to the Sultan, fanatical or patriotic Moors resolved to massacre the giaours and recover their independence. The mutiny was well planned. French troops enough were stationed in the country—26,570 all told—but they were scattered over too many towns and villages. In the capital, Fez, there were hardly a thousand men to protect the Sultan. Under these circumstances, the butchery began.

The massacre was revolting. In Morocco, malignant ferocity is quite permissible against an enemy: it is praiseworthy against a Christian foeman. Seventeen French military instructors were put to death by their native men, and their heads carried aloft on poles through the crowded streets. Three telegraph clerks and several members of the expedition were also slain in the subsequent fight. The Jews, who were suspected of leanings towards the infidels, received scant mercy. Their ghetto was plundered and burned three days on end. When the fiendish work was over, the main street was a heap of smouldering ruins, underneath which were hidden many corpses. On the surface about fifty dead bodies were lying, surrounded by rubbish heaps on all sides. An earthquake might have shattered the place, so completely was it destroyed. On the first day the gates of the Mellah, or Jewish quarter, were smashed, and a stream of infuriated fanatics poured in. Prostrate on the ground, the Jews besought them to spare their lives. "To-day you will only be plundered," cried the ringleader, "to-morrow you shall go to your doom." That was the programme of the murderers, and they kept to it. Fortunately, a gate leading to the Dar-Debibagh road had recently been made, and most of the Jews contrived to slip through it. The Sultan at once had the portals of his palace thrown open to the refugees. With the exception of about a hundred, who were killed or wounded, all the inhabitants of the Mellah took shelter in the palace. And their number was 12,900. To feed these people was impossible. Their hunger was assuaged by Mulay Hafid's generosity; but when he had set all the victuals he possessed before them, it was still unsatisfied. Next

day the French military authorities sent a thousand loaves to the unfortunate people, and the British Consul gave them 1,200. But their sufferings were intense, and their misery absolute.

Several European civilians also perished, two French ladies among them. The barbarity with which they had put the Christians to death has no name. It belongs to Dante's Inferno. Lieutenant Lory was dragged to an open square, stripped naked, and his hands tied to a stake. He was then delivered over to a frenzied female rabble to torture. These furies first pricked him with needles, then they tore off his finger and toe nails; they next subjected him to other horrible tortures, and at last gouged out his eyes. They then dragged the writhing body to a place where there were glowing coals, and held him over them until he was burned. Others were dealt with in equally savage fashion. And four-fifths of the population of Fez are said to have taken part in the revolt. One of the ringleaders was the brother of the Prime Minister, El Mokri, whom I was on the point of visiting at Fez at his own invitation. One cannot affect surprise at the measures of severity which these enormities provoked. Every part of the city where the rebels were hiding was bombarded, numbers of houses were demolished, and doubtless many lives were lost besides the eight hundred recorded officially.

More than once since the Morocco question became acute, I ventured on the opinion that Morocco will prove a source of weakness to France for many years to come. And the lamentable events of the past few weeks confirm me in that forecast. For a long period of time a considerable part of the Army will be immobilised there. And if war should break out during that period, France may regret her eagerness to embark on this vast colonial venture.

HOW TO POSTPONE AN ANGLO-GERMAN WAR.

Mr. Cecil Battine, in this month's "Fortnightly Review," criticises the generally-accepted idea that the German Menace can be best met by an increase in our naval expenditure. He describes that school of thought as the "strategy of the unsinkable ship."

He goes on to say: "Even if we beat Germany in the ship-building race, the feeling of hostility will certainly remain. At any moment we may find ourselves committed to a war with her, as so nearly happened last autumn. The friends of peace assert that such a war would settle nothing. This statement, however, is one more proof of how the friends of peace misunderstand the world they live in. Wars nowadays are apt to end decisively, and, at any rate, they all effect important settlements. If France and Russia defeated Germany in the next war, and England assists the victors, the new situation is not likely to be even approximately as

favourable to Britain as the present. The balance of power, in fact, would be wiped out, and there would be no guarantee of its renewal. Moreover, if France took the place of Germany as the acknowledged rival of Britain, her antagonism would threaten British security even more directly than the enmity of Central Europe, on account of her geographical position. It would become imperative to re-establish the balance of power destroyed by our own connivance; for a real balance of power now exists approximately, and would exist actually, if England resuscitated her military strength.

"Whichever way we consider the problem of British relations with Germany, the military weakness of our country must be considered a grave danger. It is at once a provocation and a temptation; it leads us into alliances and engagements which we are too feeble to support and make good, but the consideration which may appeal most powerfully to our House of Commons is the inordinate cost of the present policy, which guarantees nothing. The revival of the British Army on the scale indicated—that is, to mobilise from 250,000 to 300,000 troops for European service—demands, not increased expenditure, but improved organisation and more economical administration. No one need expect that Germany will be bought off by big concessions of territory and similar claims to her gratitude. The Goths were not grateful to the Romans for paying ransom, nor are the Germans grateful for the surrender of Heligoland. If they were presented with Gibraltar, Malta and Egypt by Viscount Haldane on his next trip to Berlin, they would still remain ungrateful, but they would certainly become hungrier than ever before. The lesson of all history is that a nation must rely on its own strength both for immediate safety and to secure advantageous alliances. There is also one other lesson of equal importance which the British people have still to learn, namely, that an island Power can no more dispense with an army than a Continental Power in these days can disregard naval development. Land and sea power must be proportional and symmetrical, like the muscular power of the human body. An Empire with naval superiority, and which also possesses land forces in proportion, can count on maintaining the record of England under the Plantagenets and of modern Japan. But a naval Power without land forces inevitably goes along the broad and easy path followed in turn by Tyre and Carthage, Holland and Venice, by all the purely naval States of the world's history."

THE TWO GRAVES.

It was one Sunday.

The story I am going to tell you is true.

It was one Sunday. O, how beautifully the sun was shining that day! . . . .

The forest of Meudon, that rare marvel of verdure which the axe of the woodman has still spared us, was extended before us in all its spring splendour.

The trains were arriving, just as in summer, carrying numbers of excursionists.

They were everywhere. Songs resounded through the air. Peals of laughter rang out, answering to each other.

Among the excursionists who descended from the mid-day train was a woman dressed in black. She was alone, among loving couples and joyous family groups. Having got out of the train, she seemed to be somewhat lost as she stood looking around her. Then, as though to solve her difficulty, she consulted a little map which she took from her pocket.

After which she walked with drooping head, deep in thought, towards the village of Clamart.

Doubtless that which she had to do there embarrassed her somewhat, for she passed and re-passed several times, scrutinising the interior of the peasants' houses which were scattered along the road.

One would have said that she did not dare enter.

Finally, however, she advanced, straight on towards a dilapidated cottage, at the threshold of which an old, white-haired man sat smoking his pipe.

The lady in black saluted him with a constrained air, murmuring, with a very pronounced foreign accent, "Good-day, Monsieur."

The accent made the old man shudder, and he frowned.

The lady, however, persevered. She related to the good man that she was a Prussian, that her son, an officer of the Uhlans, had been killed near Paris, in a skirmish, that she had had the greatest trouble to find out where he was buried; but that at last one of his soldiers, whom she had found, had given her exact directions.

From his account it appeared that her son had been buried in the outskirts of the Clamart forest, close to the spot where he had received his mortal wound; that a wooden cross had been erected

at the head of the mound. Armed with this information, she had set out to come and kneel by his tomb and weep, and had hoped she would find someone who could show her the way. "Would you, could you, be that someone?" she concluded.

The old man had listened motionless, his eyes fixed, his teeth clenched.

He remained some seconds without replying.

The stranger, fearing a refusal, redoubled her entreaties,

"I implore you, Monsieur. . . . . You are at home in this place. . . . . You must know the tomb of which I speak. The bushes and grass have not yet had time to hide it completely."

The old man did not move.

"Monsieur, I entreat you. . . . You must have children yourself; you must understand, then, a mother's grief."

The old man got up brusquely, and, with a gesture, without speaking, bade the woman follow him.

And they both took a path across the fields.

They kept meeting holiday-makers in high spirits. And always, from the distance, snatches of songs fell on their ears.

The old man quickened his pace. The woman had difficulty in keeping up with him. It was so hot and so radiant, the May sunshine!

After about twenty minutes, they arrived at the forest. The old man, as one who knew every corner and every tree, turned to the left, looked into a thicket, then suddenly stopped.

Where two paths crossed in the verdure, where the cuckoo flowers, the daisies, the periwinkles, seemed to dance in a ring, one could distinguish two mounds, which the spring had strewn with flowers.

The old man seemed to shiver. The woman burst into tears. They looked at each other.

"It is there," said the old man, pointing with his finger to one of the mounds. "Only, make no mistake. The other is the tomb of my boy, whom yours killed before he died himself."

And, he added, weeping too:—

"Is it not a beautiful thing—war?"

And then he hurried away.

(May 11, 1872.)

—From the French of Pierre Véron in "L'Humanité."

BRITISH MUSEUM 18 JUN 12

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Munton, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street
Brett, Pilgrim Street, Ludgate Hill
London and Suburban Publishing Company, Bride Avenue, Fleet Street
Heywood, Shoe Lane
Kingsbury, Racquet Court Fleet Street
Brandon, Fleet Street
Allen, Ave Maria Lane
[illegible]rs, Angel Court, Strand
W. H. Smith and Sons, 186, Strand, and Railway Bookstalls
Henderson's, 15a, Paternoster Row, E.C.

Local Agents—

East.

Mollor, Commercial Road
Sickler, Commercial Road
Bode, Cannon Street Road
R. Burke, 35, Ford Street, Bow
Foster, Commercial Road
Henry, Jubilee Street
Ashton, Oxford Road, Poplar
Lehmann, Salmon Lane
Ashton, East India Dock Road
Fox, Burdett Road
Mead, Mile End Road
Hynd, Mile End Road
Lazarus, Mile End Road
Merry, Martin Street, Stratford
Rossitter, Angel Lane, Stratford
Phillips, Leyton Road
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Meaton, West Ham Lane
Ricketts, Plashet Road, West Ham
Jones, Red Post Lane
Wilson, Romford Road
Smith, Green Street, Romford Road
Harrington, Green Street, Romford Road

West Central.

[illegible]anners, Fetter Lane
Kelly, Southampton Buildings
Robbins, Red Lion Street
Canrow, Red Lion Street
Vernon, Lamb's Conduit Street
Sinclair, Lamb's Conduit Street
King, Lamb's Conduit Street
Harrison, Gray's Inn Road
Doole, Gray's Inn Road
Bookstall, Euston Road
Allwood, Francis Street
Petherier, Gt. Charlotte Street
Flagmann, Rathbone Place
Johnson, Cleveland Street
Randell, High Holborn
Scammell, Shaftesbury Avenue
Perks, St. Martin's Lane
West, Sherwood Street, Regent Street
Bewick, Air Street, Regent Street
Brommell, Gt. Windmill Street

West Central (*continued*).

Stauffer, Wardour Street
Willis, Foubert's Place
Alscot, Gt. Marylebone Street
Noble, Gt. Marylebone Street
Whitehouse, Marylebone Lane
Bouchier, South Street, Marylebone
Stockley, Paddington Street
Welch, Seymour Street
Smith, Gt. Chapel Street
Varley, High Street, Bloomsbury
Varley, Charing Cross Road
Henderson's, 66, Charing Cross Road
East, High Street, Bloomsbury
McKenzie, Endell Street
Samuels, 175, Strand

South-West.

Kelson, Rochester Row
Dearman, Regency Street
Field, Vauxhall Bridge Road
Toby, Morton Street
Rossitter, Morton Street
Stone, 510, King's Road, Chelsea
Jesson & Sons, 129, King's Road, Chelsea
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THE
BRITISH SOCIALIST.

Vol. I., No. 7. JULY 15, 1912.

JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

By E. Belfort Bax.

The 18th century was one of great activity in all directions, and was prolific in writers who may be regarded as protagonists of 19th century thought. But of the writers of the 18th century there are two who above all others were instrumental in moulding its thought and forming its public opinion and who, in popular estimation, pre-eminently represent their century on its intellectual side. These two outstanding personalities are François Marie Arouet de Voltaire and Jean Jacques Rousseau. The latter was many years the younger of the two, having been born in 1712, the present year being thus the two-hundredth anniversary of his birth, while Voltaire was born in 1694. Rousseau came of a French family established in Geneva, where his father was a watchmaker. His mother dying at childbirth and his father practically deserting him while still young, he was educated and apprenticed through his maternal uncle. Running away from his master he commenced that wandering career so graphically described in his "Confessions."

Of his writings, his prize essay "A Discourse on the Arts and Sciences," published in 1749, was the one that laid the foundation of his fame. The somewhat artificial attack upon Civilisation and intellectual culture caught on at once and made him a hero in the mid-eighteenth century. It was followed by an essay on "The Origin of Inequality," in which the fundamental positions of his great work "The Social Contract" were first laid down. The "Contrat Social" itself, which formed the Bible of the French Revolution, the "Gospel of Jean Jacques," according to Carlyle, was published at Amsterdam in 1762. More immediately successful, and of more profit to the author, was his celebrated novel, "Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloise," and "Emile," a work in which his theories of education and his sentimental deism (in an excursus called "The Confession of a Savoyard Vicar") were propounded. But his great historical title to fame undoubtedly rests with his "Contrat Social." In his "Essay on Inequality," Rousseau traces all injustice and all inequality to a departure from a state of nature. All distinctions of governors and governed, of rich and poor, of master and servant, are a violation of nature, which created all men equal. It is on the basis of this inequality that all the miseries, the tyrannies, and the slaveries of civilised society grow up. Pursuing this line of thought, which he had originally started in his prize essay on "The Origin of the Arts and Sciences," in the "Contrat Social," Rousseau proceeds to discuss the basis of the Social State as we know it. In order to remedy the present state of affairs it is necessary to find out the manner and the occasion of the change from natural equality to social inequality. This he finds to have been in the recognition at a certain stage of the weakness of individual action and the advantage of combined action in the protection and the furtherance of the individual and his interests. Hence arose the Social Contract, or the Social Pact, which was nothing else but an agreement among primitive men to become members, each in his own interests,

BRITISH MUSEUM

of an organised society. The fundamental problem, of which the Social Contract gives the solution, is, in the words of Rousseau, "to found a formal association which defends and protects with all the common force the person and the goods of each associate, in such wise that each, uniting himself to all, obeys nevertheless himself only and remains as free as he was before." Only so long as the latter condition is observed is the Social Contract valid. The moment in any given society the conditions of the Contract are violated, be it by never so little, the Contract is rendered null and void, and each individual regains his original right of independence and freedom of action. The tacit, if not avowed, conditions of the Social Contract are that each puts his own person and force at the control of the general will, provided that the general will recognises the integrity of his personal rights. The collective association based on the Social Pact, once in being, has a common life and a common will outside the lives and wills of its constituent members. In ancient times this common life was called the *city*, now it is called the *republic* or the *body politic*, which again is called *state* when it is passive and *sovereign* when it is active. Considered as the collective body of its members, it is termed the *people*; these members as individually partaking of the common sovereignty are termed *citizens* and as being submitted to the law *subjects*. On the basis of the foregoing notions Rousseau builds up his theory of the rights of man and of the citizen, of the sovereignty of the people, of the liberty of the individual, etc., the whole forming the groundwork of the French Revolution on its intellectual side. Throughout the Revolutionary period we find the ideas of Rousseau, especially as embodied in the "Contrat Social," repeated, applied, and appealed to as axiomatic and indisputable truths in thousands of speeches, pamphlets, and newspaper articles, not alone in Paris, but throughout the length and breadth of France. Never before has any book acquired within the space of one generation such a stupendous influence over mankind as the "Contrat Social" of Jean Jacques Rousseau.

The theory, however, was not original to Rousseau as regards its fundamental conception of the basis of organised society being a contract entered into by mankind "once upon a time," since this had previously been enunciated by other writers, notably by Thomas Hobbes in the previous century, who made it the basis of his doctrine of absolute monarchy. According to Hobbes, the contract having once been made, involving the autocracy of the king, is inviolable and unalterable: for Rousseau and the other revolutionary writers of the 18th century the people were sovereign, and any encroachment on this sovereignty on the part of the rulers of mankind for the time being, of itself renders the compact null and void.

The whole theory is, of course, unhistorical; unanthropological, and generally absurd, judged from the standpoint of our present knowledge. There never was on land or sea such a compact as that supposed. We now recognise social or super-organic life to be a growth, equally with the organic life which has preceded it in the order of natural evolution. There are salient differences, of course, differences in kind, if you will, as well as in degree. There is the purposive psychological element in human nature which is apparently absent in the earlier forms of nature, and this element of conscious moulding and adaptation tends to assert itself more and more in the higher stages of social evolution. But at the period when the fabled Social Contract was supposed to have been made, that is in the earlier stages of social life, the element of conscious determination in the moulding of human affairs was, for practical purposes, as good as wholly absent. Social development was determined by tribal custom and naive primitive habits of thought. Man was then led by inherited tendency and not by reasoned conviction; by group-instinct based on tribal necessities and not by the conscious determination of individual wills. All this, of course, was veiled from the mind of the 18th century. For the latter there was no such thing as evolution. So far as the essential of things human

were concerned, "as things were in the beginning they are and ever shall be," was its motto. Man was always the same and society was always the same to all intents and purposes, save in matters of detail. Everything was regarded from the juridical point of view—i.e., from that of consciously-made law and its formulæ. Moses and Lycurgus were law-givers and moralists like Pitt and Dr. Johnson. The thinker of the 18th century was for the most part content to postulate as facts what it thought ought to have been the origins of things and to argue from them as such. Recking little of economic history, knowing less of comparative anthropology and mythology, all its ancient history consisting of an uncritical recapitulation of the statements of classical historians, its outlook was at once limited and distorted.

Rousseau was a typical child of his century. With a perfectly sincere pity and concern for the lot of the disinherited he sought the solution of the social problem of his day along lines of thought with which it was familiar, and which, indeed, were the only ones possible to him. His great historical importance consists in his having voiced the sentiments and sentimentalism of millions throughout France, and, indeed, throughout Europe. Like all men of first-rate importance in history, his greatness is due as much or more to the fact of his arriving at the moment when the times were ripe for him than for any inherent intellectual or moral qualities in his personality. There are other obscure writers of the 18th century who had more glimpses of truths subsequently recognised as such, and hence more originality than Rousseau, but they are forgotten, and Rousseau lives and will live in the memory of mankind to all time.

Rousseau laid the intellectual foundation of the French Revolution, or, at least, he was the chief figurehead of those who laid it. But he died in 1776, thirteen years before the opening of the great drama in which he was so pre-eminently the guiding spirit and from which the modern era of history may fairly be dated.

SOCIALISM VERSUS SYNDICALISM.

GAYLORD WILSHIRE'S REJOINDER.

Syndicalists and Socialists are both in accord in demanding the abolition of the present system of private ownership of the means of production and the substitution of the community ownership. Their vision of the future Industrial Democracy may differ somewhat in details, but, inasmuch as both no doubt would be quite willing to take a chance if the present competitive wage-system were abolished, the future system will settle itself satisfactorily enough without needing any quarrel to-day about arranging things for the millennium.

The main point we have to consider is, "how to get there," and the "there" may be defined as being either Socialism or Syndicalism as far as I am concerned. The "how" is the important thing, inasmuch as the Syndicalist declares the "how"—the vote—of the Socialist as impractical as the Socialist declares the "how"—the strike—of the Syndicalist to be.

Now let us consider what the "vote" is, anyway. Is it not simply a method of counting noses and determining whether or no one side is so strong that the minority had better at once give in rather than be slaughtered by a superior force?

In cases of no apparent vital import a man will usually submit to the will of the majority rather than suffer any great physical discomfort or danger. As the import of the question increases, the chances of peaceful submission decrease, and particularly is this the case if the minority think the majority have not the physical strength to coerce. Witness Ulster.

Suffragettes admittedly have no majority of the nation on their side, yet, such is their devotion to their

cause, it is probable that the Government will succumb to their attack, to sabotage, simply because they will consider the loss they may incur through giving women the vote is less than the annoyance they will surely experience if they do not.

The experience in other countries has shown very conclusively that giving women the vote, or the men either for that matter, makes practically no difference to the propertied classes. It is merely tradition in England and not any real fear of danger that prevents woman suffrage here.

Parliament will under pressure give about anything the public may demand except any real concession of property rights; rather than do this it will end the Parliamentary system itself.

Knee instances what the peasants of Ireland have done. I would point out that they have really made no dent in property, inasmuch as the landowners have been reimbursed; and anyway if they had not been it would simply mean that certain Irish landlords had been expropriated for the benefit of the remainder of the British capitalist class. I take it that as long as the competitive wage system exists the workers will be automatically deprived of any surplus-value they may create, and that any changes in property rights is merely a question of shifting profits and rents from one section of the capitalist class to another section. The capitalist class as a class is not affected. Moreover, it might be pointed out that the Irish got what they did get, not by any revolutionary political action, but partly by sabotage and partly by political trading, by pitting one section of the Parliamentary capitalist party against the other section. If the demands of the Irish had been sufficiently revolutionary we would never have seen them supported by big capitalists of the Liberal Party merely in order to keep Asquith and Lloyd George in office. Certainly Knee does not imagine that if the British Socialist Party, or even the Labour Party, had the same balance of power now held by the Irish Party that the Liberal

wing of the Liberal-Tory capitalist Party would give them Socialism in order to retain office. Let the Labour Party get stronger and Liberals and Tories will at once combine.

Says Knee, for "one seventh of a man's estate to go to the State is a limitation of property rights." This would seem that Knee has rather put himself, too, among the Lloyd George admirers, as he charges me with being, although without that proof he is now furnishing against himself.

Yes, of course, a death duty, and, in fact, any tax, is a "limitation of property rights," but I cannot see that any new principle is involved in a death duty which should fill Knee with this sudden glow of affection for the Liberal Party. As he admits, it is merely a question of the "State's necessities," and as the money must be raised anyway somehow, and as the capitalists have taken care that the workers have nothing and can't pay anything, it is obvious that the burden of any new taxation must fall on the rich.

That the capitalists should have decided to put what is possibly an unfair burden upon those of their number who are dead and gone where they can neither kick nor vote is more a tribute to their caution than to their sympathy with the proletariat.

What I am driving at in all this is to show that the capitalists will allow Parliament to do almost anything except make a real attack on property. A stronger section of them may allow attacks on their weaker brethren, just as a wolf pack will rend a wounded member, but that is their limit.

Knee would have us believe that if the workers should decide by a majority vote that the capitalist must give up all his property rights, that he would cheerfully and peacefully acquiesce in the Socialist programme.

I first of all deny the probability of the workers ever organising well enough politically to elect a majority of revolutionists to Parliament.

Moreover, I declare that even if they did elect a majority that it would be ineffective to compel the

capitalist to hand over his property unless they had the power of industrial organisation back of them to compel surrender.

It is upon this point that I seem to find Knee dodging, and it is the crux of our argument. There is no use of his diverting the issue into a discussion of the differences in the vision we may have as to the future State. And it is even less to the point for him to talk about Wilshire hankering after the Insurance Bill and the Labour Party, etc.—I might hanker after goosebery tart and yet be logical—nor does the fact that Knee proclaims himself a trade unionist make his side of the argument any stronger? He might as well talk about the lovely colour of his hair, or the excellent state of his digestion. This present argument has nothing to do with the personalities immediately involved in it.

I ask Knee directly, what does he propose to do if, when he gets his miraculous Parliamentary majority, the capitalists refuse to give up?

But he has already answered the question, and answered exactly as a Syndicalist would answer it. Not only once but twice in his reply does he rely upon the strike, upon industrial solidarity, to back up his majority vote. He says, "the working class by vote and strike shall thrust the capitalist out." Of course, when he brackets vote with strike he means merely that preparatory to the "thrusting out" process the capitalist shall first be voted out. He says if the franchise were restricted that there would remain to the workers "the strike as a weapon of desperation." He quite gives up any recourse to any force other than the strike, for, he says, "it is no use discussing the bullets we have not . . . . but vote as you can and strike as you must."

Now, it seems to me that in all this Knee completely gives away his position. He certainly must agree with me that there is a chance that the capitalists may not abdicate merely out of politeness when they hear that the election has gone against them.

If this does happen he admits that the only weapon left to the workers is the strike.

Our difference is merely, then, in forecasting what the capitalists may do. I, myself, am so sure that they will never surrender merely because they may have lost such an unimportant outpost as Parliament, that I say that the workers ought to get busy at once and form the only organisation powerful enough to carry them through to victory—namely, *industrial* organisation.

Knee says that the thing to do is to first get your political majority, and then, if you are refused the fruits of your victory at the polls, form your industrial organisation. I contend that to wait is a useless waste of time.

First, because we will never get a political majority, and if we should, it is absolutely a foregone conclusion that the capitalists would never give up. Meanwhile, by pursuing the Parliamentary delusion we are both enervating our rank and file and exposing our leaders to the corruption of Parliamentary life.

But, says Knee, "the other classes forced their way out of servitude to economic power by using the political weapon"; therefore, he is convinced that politics may be useful to the worker because, by "possession of political power the capitalists retain possession of the means of life."

This reminds me of the old story of the man remarking that big rivers always ran near big cities. The "other classes" first got possession of economic power, the landlords the land, the capitalists the capital, and then the economic power commanded political power.

Political power is the reflex of economic power, and not vice versa, as Knee seems to think. Let the workers get economic power, let them unite industrially and gain possession of the machinery of production, and I will guarantee they will not be wanting in political power, whether they have elected one member to Parliament or six hundred.

Parliament is the tool of those possessing wealth, of those who have economic power. Let the workers get economic power and they will need no votes to mould Parliament to their will.

Knee says he is in favour of using all the weapons. Would he be in favour of using a bow and arrow

against a Dreadnought? The vote as a weapon for revolution is like the bow and arrow, out of date. And yet I admit that in local elections, when there is no thought of revolution, that a Socialist majority on a town council may be of considerable value to the workers.

But in Parliamentary elections the danger is that the workers will be misled by the leaders making them think that the election of their man means a step to revolution. At best, voting is merely indicative of the worker's pious opinion. On the other hand, I also admit that it is obvious that pro rata with the increase of industrial solidarity there will naturally come about an increase in the revolutionary vote. The workers are sure to vote for someone, and, as Knee has pointed out, they usually vote for their masters.

And they always will vote for their masters as long as they are not inspired with the spirit of revolutionary unionism. The most natural evolution of a Tory or Liberal working man is first into Syndicalism and from that into a revolutionary voter. He will not, however, vote with any expectation of getting the revolution by political action, but merely as a method of expressing his desires upon the subject. Just as it is easier to get a man to drop his old economic views for Socialist views than it is to get him to drop his religion for Agnosticism, so it is easier to get him to join an industrial union than it is to get him to drop his old-time political affiliations. Liberalism to the Liberal is like Romanism to the Roman Catholic. Syndicalism proceeds along the line of least resistance—the industrial line—with the workers, and therefore it is the more likely to find a readier acceptance than Socialism.

Knee denies that a workman will "stake his very life on a strike." It seems to me that the proof of my assertion is grimly afforded in the present dockers' strike. I quote the following from "Reynolds's Weekly" for the week ended June 30:—

FACING DEATH.

BABY TAKEN TO CHRISTENING IN BROWN PAPER SHEETS.

Remarkable revelations of the plight of strike-ridden families in the East-End were made by Dean Ring, the Rector of St. Mary and

St. Michael, Commercial Road, in the course of an interview last night.

"The tragedy of the whole thing is appalling," he said. "Homes are stripped bare, and people have even sold the clothes off their backs in order to relieve terrible sufferings of hunger which they are undergoing. The need now is even greater than last week, for then my poor people had their few sticks of furniture to pawn. But these have now been parted with, and unless the public at once comes to our aid lives will be sacrificed.

"It is no exaggeration to say that people here in Stepney and in Wapping and Canning Town are dying of starvation. Parents are so weakened by hunger that if work was offered them they could not do it."

Asked to specify cases, Father Ring pointed to the case of a family of nine, where he said that all they had to exist upon was the wage of six shillings which the eldest girl earned at office cleaning. "But there are still more terrible cases," continued Father Ring. "Only the other day a docker's wife gave birth to a child, and there was not a rag in the home to wrap the infant in.

"In another case a baby was brought to the church to be christened clothed in brown paper. So racked with hunger are some of the people that they spend their time in bed. They tell you there is nothing to get up for. One man who was visited was found dressed in a sack."

Knee talks about the Saxons laughing at the Norman castles, thinking by ignoring them they could regain their land. It seems to me his illustration would be still more apt if applied to the Parliamentary Socialists who ignore the Norman capitalist castles of to-day, and seem to think that the vote is a Gabriel trumpet that has only to sound to lay Capitalism flat.

Knee asks how it is that when, "by some queer streak of luck the worker becomes a capitalist he takes to the political air like a lark." Perfectly simple. As I have said before, political power is the reflex of economic power. It is his money that votes. Knee says that power comes from politics, whereas I say it comes from economics, and this is the rock upon which we split.

Knee is very wobbly about the power of the strike. As shown, he admits that the strike is the final weapon of desperation if the capitalists refuse the fruits of political victory, and yet he says, "so long as the

capitalist State remains so long will it be able to throttle any strike, however big."

It seems to me that this is a most pessimistic position. First to declare that if voting won't work then we must rely on the strike, and then to follow this up by admitting that the State can throttle any strike. I would ask, then, how Knee ever expects to get anything except by the grace of God and the capitalists? He gives up the vote, the citizen army, and finally the strike, and as far as I can see his one method remaining is that miracle that he has been patiently waiting twenty years for.

Quite true, as he says, hitherto the strike has been simply a weapon of defence, but that is because the trade unions have been merely after ameliorative measures in their own particular trades. They have not been class-conscious, revolutionary, industrial unions, and naturally their strikes have not been aggressive nor revolutionary.

Here the Syndicalist is prophetic. He insists that the strikes of the future will become more and more revolutionary as the workers organise by class instead of by trade.

That, instead of the unions as in the past being merely agents for reform, they will in the future be the means to the Social Revolution.

Knee cries, "Let us oust the capitalist class." As a matter of fact what he means by "oust" is merely to bend the Knee and politely pass a vote requesting them to oust themselves.

Then, if they do not "oust," Knee proposes coming to the Syndicalists and asking them to do the "ousting" for him; he to take the glory for originating the idea.

The Syndicalists need no suggestion from the Parliamentarians as to what they ought to do when they have achieved solidarity. One thing is certain, they will not waste time waiting five years for a Parliamentary election before they dare make their wants known.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE PARTY SYSTEM.

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO "THE PARTY SYSTEM," BY HILAIRE BELLOC AND CECIL CHESTERTON.

By George C. Swanson.

III.

England has every reason to thank Providence that it has an unwritten Constitution; the absence of the rigidity which a written Constitution would involve has allowed our political system to develop naturally in accordance with the needs of our times. The office of Prime Minister, created by Walpole during his long administration, 1721-1742, has no legal justification. The Cabinet itself grew and was not created by any Act of Parliament, and both these institutions must have some virtue and some relevance to their environment, or they would not have lasted as long as they have, two hundred years.

After the Revolution of 1688 William III. appointed a Ministry of Whigs and Tories, believing that it was best for the country and for himself that the ablest Ministers should be selected irrespective of the Party to which they belonged. This is a policy which appears to have every good reason in its favour, and its popularity died hard. Years afterwards, when this system had proved itself impossible, the existence of the Party System was deplored by Bolingbroke and lamented by Chatham. Both these statesmen, in their respective times, called for a National Party and the ablest Ministers irrespective of their political leanings. It was a long time before England could adapt herself

to the necessities of representative government, and it is a testimony to the innate political instinct of our people that out of the chaotic conditions succeeding the revolution, order at last reigned instead of chaos. But how did the change take place, and why?

When William ascended the throne he was engaged in a life and death struggle with Louis XIV. of France, and it was necessary that he should be supported in his wars by Parliament, both to give him men and grant him money. His two predecessors had their revenue voted them for life, a fact which enabled Charles to defy Parliament, and James to impose a tyranny. William, on the other hand, was granted a revenue annually, a circumstance which naturally led him to complain that the Parliament refused to the country's deliverer that which it had lavished upon its oppressors. The country had, however, learnt the lesson not again to allow a king to be independent of Parliament by making him master of a life income.

The Ministry, being composed of men of both parties, had no settled policy: its component parts were as much at war with each other as were the parties in Parliament. The Tories were never in sympathy with William's foreign policy, and Nottingham and Shrewsbury, both Tory Ministers, did not give him that support which it was necessary for him to receive if he were to carry the war to a successful conclusion. The Commons also were a thorn in his side. In his letters to Hensius, his Minister in Holland, he complained continuously of the endless talking, the factious squabbling and the tardiness of that body which his position compelled him to treat with deference. Nor had William over-stated the difficulties of his position. There was no homogeneity in the body which was the sovereign power in the country. Parliament had won its way to supremacy, it had established its right to govern, but as it was itself divided, with a host of conflicting counsels, and with no recognised responsible leaders, it was impossible for it to express

that supremacy in administration. It was not at that time recognised that, inasmuch as a strong Parliament is the only safeguard against monarchical usurpation, some method of procedure must be adopted which enables Parliament to act as a whole body.

Whatever may be Macaulay's defects as an historian, he is an authority upon this period; this is what he says: "Neither William nor the most enlightened of his advisers fully understood the nature and importance of that noiseless revolution—for it was no less—which began about the close of 1693 and was completed about the close of 1696. But everybody could perceive that at the close of 1693 the chief offices in the Government were distributed not unequally between the two great parties, that the men who had those offices were perpetually caballing against each other, haranguing against each other, moving votes of censure on each other, exhibiting articles of impeachment against each other, and that the temper of the House of Commons was wild, ungovernable and uncertain. Everybody could perceive that at the close of 1696 all the principal servants of the Crown were Whigs, closely bound together by public and private ties, and prompt to defend one another against every attack, and that the majority of the House of Commons was arranged in good order under those leaders, and had learned to move like one man at the word of command." The transition took place because William found it impossible to work with a Parliament which was torn with internal factions and did not know its own mind from one day to another. He had either to leave the country to its fate, as he more than once threatened to do; to act the part of a usurper and try to govern without Parliament, which he knew to be an impossible course to adopt; or he had to choose those Ministers who were in sympathy with him and were able to lead the majority in Parliament.

In the circumstances there were other very good reasons why he should choose the Whigs. They were thoroughly in favour of the Revolution,

it had been a triumph of their political theories, and they were in favour of his general policy. That, however, was a mere accident. He would have been compelled, in any case, to choose his Ministers from the predominant party in Parliament—as, indeed, he had to do after the elections of 1698, when the Whig majority disappeared and the Tories came into power, and eventually into office. William chose his Whig Ministry and everything went smoothly and harmoniously until 1698, when, because of the fact that the Tories held the balance of power in Parliament and the Whigs held all the Ministerial offices, anarchy once more broke out. To quote Macaulay once more: "The House of Commons became altogether ungovernable, abused its gigantic power with unjust and insolent caprice, browbeat King and Lords, the Courts of Common Law and the constituent bodies, and violated rights guaranteed by the Great Charter." At last, in order to conciliate the opposition of the Tories, he called them to his councils, and gradually it began to be understood that "since the Commons had become possessed of supreme power, the only way to prevent them from using that power with endless folly and violence was to entrust the Government to a Ministry which enjoyed their confidence." In other words, the Party System grew up because it was the only alternative to anarchy and despotism.

The following is a quotation from Green referring to this period: "From the moment when its sole right to tax the nation was established by the Bill of Rights, and when its own resolve settled the practice of granting none but annual supplies to the Crown, the House of Commons became the supreme power in the State. . . . . But though the constitutional change was complete, the machinery of government was far from having adapted itself to the new conditions of public life which such a change brought about. However powerful the will of the House of Commons might be, it had no means of bringing its will directly to bear upon the

conduct of public affairs. By impeachment or more indirect means the Commons could force a King to remove a Minister who contradicted their will, but they had no constitutional power to replace a fallen statesman by a Minister who could carry out their will. The result was the growth of a temper in the Lower House which drove William and his Ministers to despair. It became as corrupt, as jealous of power, as fickle in its resolves and factious in spirit as bodies always become whose consciousness of the possession of power is untempered by a corresponding consciousness of the practical difficulties or the moral responsibilities of the power which they possess. . . . . It was, in fact, without the guidance of recognised leaders, without adequate information, and destitute of that organisation out of which alone a definite policy can come. Nothing proves the inborn political capacity of the English mind more than that it should have found a simple and effective solution of such a difficulty as this."

The credit of finding a solution belongs to Robert, Earl of Sunderland, and "his counsel was to recognise practically the new power of the Commons by choosing the Ministers of the Crown exclusively from among the members of the party which was strongest in the Lower House. . . . . Not only would such a plan secure an unity of administration which had been unknown till then, but it gave an organisation to the House of Commons which it had never had before. The Ministers who were representatives of the majority of its members became the natural leaders of the House. Small factions were drawn together into the two great parties which supported or opposed the Ministry of the Crown, and the new Ministers became simply an executive committee representing the will of the majority of the House of Commons, and capable of being easily set aside by it and replaced by a similar committee whenever the balance of power shifted from one side of the House to the other."

Professor Pollard, in a short history of England recently written by him for the "Home University Library," says: "During this period the Party System and Cabinet Government were elaborated. Party supplanted the Crown as the determining factor in British government, and the Cabinet became the executive committee of the party possessing a majority in the House of Commons. . . . . The royal veto disappeared, and even the King's choice of Ministers was severely limited, not by law, but by practical necessities. Ministers, instead of giving individual advice which the Sovereign might reject, met together without the King and tendered collective advice, the rejection of which by the Sovereign meant their resignation, and if Parliament agreed with them, its dissolution or surrender upon the part of the Crown."

From that period the Party System has developed until at last it is the settled principle, albeit an unwritten one, in our Constitution. Circumstances since 1700 have favoured its growth. George I., being unable to speak English, did not attend the Cabinet meetings, and since his time no English sovereign has done so. Consequently the Cabinet arrives at its decisions without any kingly interference, and is better able to reflect the opinion of the majority in the House of Commons.

The strong Prime Ministers of the Georges, Walpole and the two Pitts, insisted upon the loyalty of their colleagues in the Ministry and thus helped to consolidate its character and influence. The power of the Ministry was further increased by the growth of legislation consequent upon the loss of the United States of America and by the insanity of George III., and even in the reign of George II. Parliament had become sufficiently powerful to force George to accept Pitt as Prime Minister although he personally disliked him.

In these days Parliamentary power is still divided between the Whigs and the Tories; there is an understanding between them that as the opinion in the

country fluctuates between the two parties so shall they assume office, and reap the benefits of the emoluments and awards of their places. The system has its disadvantages, we know; that we are governed by the landed aristocrats we are well aware; but until the great body of the people become politically educated and are able to seize upon Parliamentary power themselves, what alternative is there? To maintain its supremacy Parliament must present a solid front when dealing with the Monarchy; any resuscitation of the old quarrels and revival of the chaotic conditions of the pre-party system era would mean that Parliament was unfit to govern. The House of Commons may be divided as far as the individual opinions of its members are concerned, but once the decision of the majority has been arrived at, that must be accepted as the decision of the popular will, if such popular will is to remain the supreme power in Government. It is the old story of the three dogs all over again. If the two who might divide the prize between them quarrel over it, the third is sure to jump in and run away with the trophy.

In this country the necessity of some such arrangement as is provided by the Party System is recognised. We have travelled the road of factionism and have gained refuge in a serviceable system, but this cannot be said of all the countries in Europe. Most people will remember the struggles between the different parties in the Austrian Parliament. For many years the Parliament in Vienna has been torn by disorder and disruption, and on more than one occasion it has been an open question whether it would not be necessary to admit that in that country Parliamentary institutions are a failure, and leave the way open for the restoration of absolutism. Lacking a certain solidarity in a national assemblage there must inevitably be a reversion to autocracy—in fact, autocracy only obtains its power because of the political ineptitude of the people.

The conditions in Russia are similar to those in Austria, but in the case of the former the assembly is

so torn by dissension, and has so few liberties, that it hardly deserves the name of a Parliament. Russia has yet a long way to go before she will have an institution parallel with our House of Commons. Its Duma will have to obtain supreme power in finance, and will have to learn how to act as a homogeneous organism, before its reign can be said to have begun. Politically, Russia is where we were in the reign of Henry VIII.; she is four centuries behind us, and has to pass through revolution and struggle before her people can arrive at the political altitude of Englishmen. Political power advances with the material elevation of the people—it is impossible to obtain intelligent votes from men who have not the rudiment of education, who have no knowledge of politics, nc training in administration, and no desire to acquire control. The middle classes in England won the supremacy of Parliament, and the industrial revolution at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries ushered in the reign of democracy; but everything depends upon the solidarity of Parliament, and that itself would be impossible without the Party System.

(To be continued.)

THE MONTH.

The strike of the London Transport Workers still continues, and has developed into what a Radical newspaper very aptly describes as a "real hunger strike." The want and misery now being endured by the poor people in the vicinity of the docks, North and South of the Thames, are beyond description. Even Anglican prelates and Liberal politicians have been moved to pity and to make appeals on behalf of the sufferers. Socialists have been appealed to for aid for the women and children, and have generously responded, to the best of their ability. Socialists on the local Boards of Guardians, too, have succeeded in pressing those bodies to exercise to the utmost extent their powers for the relief of distress.

Meantime, however, the employers, with Lord Devonport at their head, remain obdurate, and the Government are callously indifferent. Yet, from every point of view, it is the duty of the Government to intervene and to force the employers to give way. The Port of London Authority—the head and front of the offending—is a public body, and is engaged with a public service. Apart from any considerations of humanity whatever, it is the duty of the Government, in the public interest, to take order with the Port of London Authority, so that that body shall no longer hold up the trade of the Port, inflict hardships and inconvenience on thousands of people, and sheer starvation on many thousands more, simply in order to reimpose conditions of slavery upon the workers.

The Labour Party, through Mr. O'Grady, succeeded in getting a resolution through the House of Commons, calling upon the employers to meet representatives of the men. But the Government refused to give any official endorsement to this demand, the Prime Minister, like Pontius Pilate, washing his hands of the whole business. Had the Labour Party shown a clearer conception of its duty in this and similar disputes, it is quite certain it could, on this occasion, have stimulated the Government to a more effective exercise of its duties and powers. The Labour Party, however, is just now more concerned with the retention of its seats than with the life and death interests involved in the strike.

The present dispute between the Liberals and their Labour allies over the right of either to the seat for Hanley is both interesting and instructive. It shows more clearly than any number of words could do how complete is the alliance between Liberals and Labourists, and how vain is the hope that the Labour Party can ever become an independent force in politics. It is not merely that every Labour seat in the House of Commons, with not more than two exceptions, are held by gracious permission of the Liberals; what is of vastly more importance is that the Labourists are entirely at one with the Liberals in principle and policy, and have for the past six years shown their loyalty by faithfully doing suit and service for the Liberal Government.

The result of it all is that Socialists, or any other working-class electors, have no opportunity of expressing their disapprobation of the Government and its general policy—even with a Labour candidate in the field—except by voting Tory, and that very few Socialists can yet bring themselves to do. Ilkeston, however, went to show that, with no other choice, the disgust with the Government is such that many working men will even transfer their votes to the Tory rather than continue to express approval of the present holders of office. Unfortunately, the presence of a Labour candidate does not, as it should, afford the opportunity of voting against both capitalist gangs, because a vote for the Labour candidate is a vote in favour of the Government.

Only on one question, it appears, is the Labour Party prepared to run the risk of defeating the Government, and that is the question of Woman Suffrage. There are divided counsels, it appears, and the Party has not quite screwed up its courage to the point; but there are indications that, if put to the test, the Party will vote against the Manhood Suffrage Bill if no amendment for the inclusion of women is adopted.

This is unquestionably a perfectly correct line for the Labour Party to take. There are other amendments which, in our opinion, it should press for inclusion in any Reform Bill, such as Payment of Election Expenses, and the abolition of our absurd and antiquated single-vote system. But on this question of Universal Suffrage they are perfectly right to stand out for the inclusion of women. As a Party, the Labour Party is committed, by repeated resolutions of its conferences, to Adult Suffrage—meaning thereby, as we mean, the enfranchisement of every adult man and woman.

In that there is a definite principle, and the Labour Party should have no difficulty in making it clear that any extension of the franchise which falls short of that principle ought not to have, and cannot have, its support.

That is a totally different matter—indeed, it is the direct opposite—from the policy some of the leading lights of the Party favoured, of supporting a measure to give votes to women on a property qualification. That meant creating another privileged class, and increasing the political power of the propertied class against the working class—a policy which was not only opposed to the working-class interests the Labour Party was supposed to specially champion, but was in direct contravention of the decisions of its own Conferences.

The indignation expressed by some of the members of the Labour Party, as well as by some of our friends, over the treatment of the Suffragettes appears to us to be quite unwarranted by the circumstances. Giving the Suffragette prisoners the fullest possible credit for disinterestedness and purity of motive, it cannot, for a moment, be contended that the punishment imposed was excessive for the offence of which they were proved, and admitted, to have been guilty. We do not think that "militancy," in its later expressions, advanced the cause it was supposed to be intended to further. On the contrary, as we think events will prove, it has done that cause incalculable injury. If, however, the Suffragettes themselves thought otherwise, and believed that by assaulting policemen, hustling and pommelling Ministers, and by smashing the shop windows of inoffensive traders, they were demonstrating their right to and fitness for the Parliamentary franchise, that of course was their affair. No earnest Socialist, we imagine, would hesitate to do any of these things, once convinced that by so doing the cause of Socialism would be commensurately advanced. But anyone having deliberately adopted that line of action should have counted the cost, and been prepared for the consequences, and not claim to be allowed to commit assaults upon persons and property with impunity, on the ground that the motive was a pure one and the ulterior object good.

Having gulled and tricked and swindled the industrial population with their Pensions, Budgets, Labour Exchanges and Insurance, the Liberals are now turning to their old theme—the land question—for a new cry. Just as the Tories used to take the side of the town worker against the factory-lord (present-day Tories

appear to be too stupid to maintain the tradition!) in factory and trade union legislation, so the Liberals used to play off Hodge against the landlord and the town-worker. But it is a little late in the day to try to play the same game. The land question is a very serious and a very important question; but the Liberals dare not deal with it seriously, and we doubt if their "great land programme" will ever be more than a programme.

The preliminary to any satisfactory handling of the land question would be the nationalisation of the railways, and although some Liberals are theoretically in favour of that, the Liberal Government is not only opposed to it, but is promoting legislation to increase the powers and the emoluments of the railway monopolists.

We have to congratulate our Ilkeston comrades on the outcome of the proceedings against them. Whatever there may be to be said, morally, for their action, it was unquestionably legally indefensible, and they were quite right in undertaking not to repeat the offence. Socialists do not, and cannot, claim any right to commit a breach of the peace, as a matter of course. It is necessary, sometimes, to act illegally, and bad laws require to be broken. But laws for the maintenance of the peace are not in themselves bad, and Socialists have at least as much interest in maintaining them as have other people. It is to be regretted that others in the same position and with the same opportunity did not enter into a similar undertaking.

The terrible accident at the Cadeby pit, in which some eighty lives were lost, comes as a tragic commentary on the recent colliers' strike. During the strike we heard a great deal about the selfishness and greed of the miners, of their extravagant wages and pleasureful lives. Such disasters as that of July 8 give a glimpse of the reverse of the medal, and let people see, as in a lightning flash, some of the terrible risks which the miner daily braves in order to win a bare living for himself and his wife and children, and profit for his owner. This latest mining catastrophe should have a chastening effect upon the miners' critics; but that is too much to hope for.

The battle of proportional representation in France has reached a definite stage by the passage of the Electoral Reform Bill through the Chamber of Deputies. It has been strenuously resisted by many Radical supporters of the Ministry, who quite naturally cling

to a system which, with the second ballot, has helped to keep them in power; but the parties who will benefit by the change—the Right and the Unified Socialists—have supported the measure, and its adoption was carried by 339 votes to 217. It will be several months before it will be discussed by the Senate.

Under the Bill each department becomes one constituency, and each party may put forward a list equal to the number of deputies to be returned, each elector having as many votes as there are to be members. The total electorate polling divided by the number of seats gives the quotient required, in the first place, for each member. A party whose average vote is twice the quotient will get two members; and so on. Surplus votes, and votes not sufficient to give a seat at first, will leave "remainder seats." Of these an additional seat will be given to the party with an actual majority of the votes cast, and the rest to those parties who, when the seats are allotted, will have the highest average of votes per member. A little bit complicated at first sight, but not so very difficult to work. The best system of all would have been to make the country one constituency, and let each elector vote by party.

Will light never penetrate into the Belfast Orange workers' brain? Having been marshalled and drilled by Carson and Co., they have now taken to maltreating and boycotting their Catholic fellow-workmen in the shipyards; and also to molesting Protestants and Labour men who think that Ireland should govern herself. All this snobocracy is being stirred up in the interests of the landlords and sweaters.

The parades of strenuous bluster which have attended the selection of the Republican and Democratic candidates for the Presidency of the United States have served very well to obscure the issue. Taft and Roosevelt, Wilson and Clark—all of them stand for the maintenance of capitalism, with sufficient modifications as to make the thing presentable on paper, and so deceive the elector. If Roosevelt really comes out as the "Bull Moose" candidate, he is certain to declare his sympathy with Labour, and Taft and Wilson will copy him as they best can. The American workmen will, we hope, in increasing numbers "put their money" on Debs, and vote the Socialist ticket in November.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF A SOCIALIST CONFERENCE.

By Irene San Carolo.

As the psychology of any crowd is usually a topic of interest, the psychology of a Socialist Conference must be especially noteworthy now that the "Labour Unrest" has been "discovered" and considered by so many great writers, including a bishop and a dean, to say nothing of its acknowledgment by royalty itself.

The capitalist Press has commented very severely on certain disorderly episodes of the B.S.P. Conference.

Our opponents are never too anxious to discriminate between the provokers and the resisters in our quarrels. Why should they weaken their case by making distinctions between those among us who are in the wrong, and those who "protest too much" against what is wrong (for us)?

More capital can be made out of a sweeping assertion that those who aspire to the future government of the country cannot govern themselves.

Wilful blindness, however, is not the safest condition to be in while engaged in a battle, and though there be no desire to exemplify the French saying, "Tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner"—the "most able governing class in the world" should justify its reputation for wisdom by learning as much as possible about that which it wishes to condemn effectually.

For the contrary reason, the various sections of the revolutionary army would also do well to study the psychology of its forces.

. . . . . .

They come—these alert, eager-faced men and women of every possible type—as delegates from four hundred Socialist branches, representing 40,000 members in all parts of the Kingdom—from Aberdeen in the North to Hastings in the South, and from East Anglia to the West Countree, not forgetting a few representatives of branches in the Emerald Isle and large rival teams from Cockney-land and from the Black Country. They are all congregated in comradeship at the heart of that great cotton industry which considers itself the source of England's greatness—all these differing individualities are to confer together at the centre of that

self-assertion which fondly believes that "what Manchester says to-day London says to-morrow!"

While the delegates are collecting and taking their places at the long desks and tables there is much hearty greeting of old acquaintances which, thanks to these annual meetings, cannot ever "be forgot." Though there always must be differences of opinion wherever there is independence of thought, even ancient antagonists, meeting together after an interval of twelve months, are seized with a fraternal feeling at their first encounter, in spite of the probability that they will again be, metaphorically, at each other's throats in a discussion of some contentious matter before the day is out!

The Chairman's speech is worthy of the veteran who, himself a well-born, cultured 'Varsity man, has spent his life and his substance in the service of the working class, and who is glad to have lived to see the present ferment—a direct result of his thirty years of propaganda in combination with other congenial spirits.

The considerate diplomacy of these opening remarks having put everyone into good humour, a general desire is manifested for the unity which had been so eloquently enjoined.

The superabundant energy of the delegates shows itself at first in a minute attention to details, none of which are allowed to be settled without discussion. As time wears on, and as the vitality of the crowd becomes exhausted, the very opposite tendency will be displayed: some of the most important matters will be hurried over, and many of the finest oratorical efforts will be untimely cut short by demands for "next business"—such propositions having to be frequently voted on, to the waste of much of the precious time which they are designed to economise.

With a foreknowledge of these probabilities, the really vital questions of general policy had been placed at the beginning of the interminable agenda. To begin with, a great battle has to be fought between innovating Syndicalist advocates of "direct action"—with its weapon the strike—and conservative advocates of political action—with its proposed capture of the Parliamentary machinery of government. This latter aim—the established policy of orthodox Socialism—is fully vindicated, though industrial solidarity is in no wise deprecated as an additional support.

"We have to fight upon our stomachs," quotes one speaker, "the food supply remains with the longest purse"—not ours obviously—"the coal strikers starved themselves and their families and gained next to nothing. If twenty Socialists had been in Parliament, instead of a timid time-serving Labour Party, the miners would not have been 'dished'; the Labour Party sold the fort, not for money, but for nothing! The worse they are the more need there is for Socialists to get into Parliament."

"What is the use of saying to soldiers, 'Don't shoot,'" asked another delegate, "when you vote into Parliament the very men who will, if they can, order the military to break up your strikes?

If we got the control of Parliament, and consequently of the Army, we could prevent the soldiers from having to kill their fellow-workers or to take on their jobs."

"Liberals and Tories alike," explains another, "want to keep the toilers contented—each party in turn pretends to help the poor *in* their poverty; Socialism proposes to help the poor *out* of their poverty. The workers must first be taught discontent, then they must be educated to use their votes in their own interests, so that they may hasten the social reorganisation which alone can benefit them permanently."

Great applause now greets the defeat of an attempt to introduce the hysterics of Suffragette-itis into the serious business of Socialism—a greatly-daring woman, ably seconded by another, recklessly incurs the wrath of the feminists by opposing their resolution. It is clearly shown that Socialists are bound to be afraid of the votes of women who are rich enough to pour hundreds of pounds into the coffers of Suffrage societies, whilst Socialist propaganda frequently languishes for the lack of a few pence. Any woman's vote but that included in Universal Adult Suffrage would certainly be ranged against Socialism in the class war. Any suggestion of sex-war in the Party would dissipate its forces. Men and women are fighting together as comrades in the ranks quite regardless of sex. All service, whether of speaking, organising, or writing, is valued for itself; it is not judged by any sex-criterion. No branch ever refuses to send a woman as delegate to a Conference if she is capable and suitable. "It is really a bad joke," continues the opposer, "for the Syndicalists to say that men have no use for Parliamentary action while they wax rhetorical over the grievance of women in being debarred from the same thing. No! woman's grievances are mostly due to Nature's spite, not to any lack of political power—the higher civilisation of man under Socialism is expected to remove all that she can complain of in his way of regarding her—no mere vote can do it." Women delegates are finally adjured to resist being carried away into this selfish side-issue—"all our power must be concentrated on Socialism!" Nothing else matters!

In the midst of a serious discussion on education, an amusing diversion is created by another woman. She begins by objecting to being called a "lady" by the chairman, and then complains that her bright young daughter, the pride of a Council school, had been forced by economic pressure into making shirts at 1s. 9d. per dozen. "She is surely fit for something better than that!" "What could be better?" questions a facetious comrade. "It would be better for men to make their own shirts. Why not? Some are considered capable of making ladies' costumes now. There is nothing so very intellectual in shirt-making," she slily added; "the whole is not made by the same person: one hand machines the seams, another puts on the collar; the worker who makes the button-holes won't speak to the one who sews on the

buttons! A woman need not be well-educated for that sort of work." Economics and education have got to be co-ordinated.

Many fraternal messages were received from, and sent to, Continental comrades, and much heated discussion raged round alternative proposals of affiliation with the International Bureau.

"Let us be independent of the traitorous Labour Party," shouts one; while another protests: "Let us not leave the trade unions in the lurch because they have been betrayed by their leaders; we could do more good by closing up the divisions between us and the Labour Party than by widening them!" "Let us not deprive ourselves of the benefit of co-operation," pleads a third. "Let us all get up and talk all at once!" seems to be the general impulse; and, indeed, there reigns considerable confusion—a dozen delegates are all trying to get a hearing. Through the clamour the Chairman's bell rings continuously, and his voice persists: "There is nothing to be excited about! Sit down, sit down, sit down!" "I *won't* sit down. I *will* be heard!" roars a pale-faced fanatic, at white heat; "turn me out if you dare!"

Two fighting youths were already on their way to take him at his word, when—he did sit down, the noise subsided, and the vote was taken, the independents for once getting their way.

Not for long, however, does the calm continue. The nerves of the Conference have become exasperated; the strain has lasted too long. Two whole days of strenuous attention in an atmosphere, which ends by being exhausted and vitiated, has told on the temper of the crowd. Cantankerous interruptions provoke unnecessary altercations, incessant requests for the closure, ridiculous raisings of "points or order," roars of dissension, simultaneous jumpings-up of the jack-in-the-box order all over the hall, shouts of "Respect the Chair!" "Are we never to be allowed to get on to business?"

During the lulls in the recurring storm, much of the lengthy agenda is hastily disposed of. Delegates show impatience at every resolution that had not emanated from their own branches. However, proceedings on the third day are opened by an appeal from the indefatigable chairman for more dispassionate deliberations, and a vote of confidence in himself is carried with only two dissentients. A good night's rest had restored the crowd to the same sweet reasonableness that had been evident at the beginning of the first day.

The comparatively conservative character of the Party was revealed in the voting for the new Executive Council, nearly all the tried and trusted leaders being re-elected.

Even the North Country delegates end by resigning themselves amiably to the majority's decision that London shall continue to be the headquarters of the Party, and the Conference closes in the same fraternal spirit in which it had begun.

Too much must not be made of the disturbances at these Conferences. They have the faults of their qualities, these earnest, over-anxious proletarians. At times they behave just like children,

or rather, perhaps, like self-educated women who take themselves far too seriously in espousing a cause, or on entering into public life for the first time.

It is all a matter of experience. The older hands in the Socialist world do keep calm, except, of course, when they allow themselves a little show of righteous indignation over the irresponsibilities of the freshmen of the Party. Freshness is not only shown in the particular work of Conferences; indeed, these in themselves are very educational. They quickly teach the give-and-take of social intercourse and the courtesies of self-governance, which are matters of habit and second nature with those who have had the advantage of several generations of culture. Those who are not used to the amenities of life are apt to confuse civility with servility. Delicate distinctions are difficult for the subjects of long outside-repression which always operates in an opposite sense to the inner-restrictions of self-discipline and self-control. An unfortunate symptom, in the newly-emancipated, is the uneasy suspicion of all who seem in any way cleverer or better than themselves. The "nous sommes trahis" attitude is the natural outcome of an ill-assured position—an uncertain status.

The little breeze between the small extremist minority and the steady-going body of legitimate Socialists, must not, however, be forgotten: it has its significance for others besides those immediately concerned. It was a noisy minority that pushed the French Revolution to unhappy extremes.

EVENTS OF JUNE.

AT HOME.

4—London tailors and tailoresses decided to resume work.

5—House of Commons: Mr. O'Grady moved the adjournment of the House to call attention to transport strike.

10—National transport strike declared.

Lord Loreburn resigned Lord Chancellorship; Lord Haldane succeeded him.

11—Partial response to call for national strike.

Police attacked peaceful crowd at Rotherhithe: many injured.

House of Commons: Home Rule Bill in Committee.

Hythe bye-election: Sassoon (Unionist), 3,722; Moorhouse (Liberal), 2,094; no change.

Horatio Bottomley adjudicated a bankrupt.

Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the Empire at Guildhall.

11 to 14—National Conference at Caxton Hall on Prevention of Destitution.

12—Opposition motion to censure Home Secretary for his refusal to provide police protection for blacklegs at Purfleet defeated by 337 to 260.

Colonel Seely appointed Secretary for War.

14—Birthday honours; three more peers.

Provincial part of transport strike collapsing; London still firm.

15—Women's Social and Political Union announced a hunger strike of imprisoned suffragists.

17—House of Commons: Franchise and Registration Bill read a first time.

Professor Perkin announced the discovery of synthetic rubber on a commercial basis.

18—Frederick Crowsley sentenced to four months' imprisonment for inciting to mutiny.

Arrival in London of Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, the new German Ambassador.

19—Irish Senate approved by House of Commons: 288 to 199 votes.

20—Holmfirth bye-election. Result (announced next day): Arnold (Liberal), 4,749; Ellis (Unionist), 3,379; Lunn (Labour), 3,195; no change, but increased Labour vote.

21—Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway accident near Halifax: four killed, 20 injured.
23—Tom Mann released.
25—George Lansbury caused a scene in the House of Commons by denouncing the forcible feeding of hunger-striking Suffragists.
28—House of Commons discussed treatment of Suffragist prisoners.
Death of Enoch Edwards, M.P., President of the Miners' Federation.

ABROAD.

1—Cretan deputies attempted to force their way into Greek Chamber, but were repulsed.
2—Belgian General Election: Clerical victory.
4—Count Tisza forced the Army Bill through Hungarian Chamber; violent scenes; Opposition expelled.
Election riots in Brussels.
Miners' strike riots in Spain.
5—United States marines landed in Cuba.
6—Canadian town of Cobalt (7,000 population) destroyed by fire.
Belgian political strike: 100,000 idle.
7—Count Tisza fired at by Opposition deputy Kovacs.
8—French submarine Vendémaire sunk near Cherbourg.
The Ban of Croatia fired at.
10—Miss Malecka's sentence of penal servitude commuted to expulsion for life from Russia.
Seamen's strike at Havre.
12—Kaiser Francis Joseph expressed his approval of Count Tisza's methods.
Death of M. Frédéric Passy, political economist.
Severe fighting in Tripoli.
Strike riots in New Jersey.
18—Republican National Convention opened in Chicago.
20—Seamen's strike spreading at Marseilles; Havre shipping paralysed.
21—Tramway strike at Lisbon: leaders arrested.
22—President Taft re-nominated by Republican Convention at Chicago. Roosevelt threatened to form a new party.
25—Democratic Convention opened at Baltimore.
27—Italians captured important Turkish position.
30—Special conference of Belgian Socialists to discuss general strike.

VICTOR ADLER.

REMINISCENCES ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SIXTIETH BIRTHDAY.

(Taken from Karl Kautsky's Article in the "Neue Zeit.")

On June 24 it was sixty years since Victor Adler first saw the light. A strange coincidence gives this date a double significance for me. For almost on the same day I celebrate the 30th anniversary of the occasion when I came into that personal relationship with Adler which was destined to ripen into a bond of friendship for life.

Born in the same town—Prague; studying in the same town—Vienna; living in similar social circles, only separated by a slight difference in age, fired with the same revolutionary fervour, the same love for the proletariat, we had still required three decades to find each other. Both Austrians, we were both national enthusiasts to the same extent, but it was just this that led us into opposite camps: him into the German, me into the Czech. And from thence my road to Socialism was shorter than his, although interest in the Socialist movement began at an earlier age with Adler than with me, and he occupied himself sooner with social ideas. . . . .

The hard times during the first years of the Anti-Socialist law constituted the decisive moment in Adler's life. When I made his acquaintance in 1882 he was not yet an active Social-Democrat, though already full of theoretical interest in Social-Democracy.

Our first meeting was only casual. After the publication of my book on the increase of population, I had been engaged at Zurich, in 1880-1881, in the Hochberg undertakings and the "Sozial-democrat." The following year I conceived the plan of starting the "Neue Zeit," and for this purpose stayed some time at Vienna. There I met Adler, and found him to be a clever man, rich in knowledge, with great sympathy for our Cause, a man with whom it was a pleasure for me to associate. But I made no attempts to get him to throw in his lot altogether with us. I knew he would come of his own accord if he were really of the fighting nature suitable to our movement, as soon as his studies brought him to a clear conception of Socialism. And he did come. He would probably have entered our ranks even sooner than he did

had Austrian Socialism in the early 'eighties presented a more attractive picture. Until 1866 Austria had been merely a part of Germany. The Austrian Labour movement remained intellectually a part of that of Germany till 1878. And when the Social-Democracy of Germany appeared to foreign observers to surrender without resistance to the tricks of the Anti-Socialist law in that Empire, the intellectual foundations of Austrian Social-Democracy broke down also. The mass of Austrian proletarians, especially in Vienna, lost confidence in their former pattern, therefore those who criticised it won all the more respect and applause the more scathing their criticism. They went further and further with Most and his emissaries in the direction of Anarchism. This development was accelerated by the rise of the agents-provocateurs, who had met with great success since the inauguration of the Anti-Socialist law in Germany. With the power of the police increased also the police instigation of crime, at first political and afterwards also common crime. . . . . Nowhere did this system find a more favourable breeding-ground than in Austria—the officials as its promoters and the proletarians as its victims. An opposition to it did indeed arise in the Party, but it was only strong enough to cause a split in the ranks, not to constitute a defence against Anarchism and the agents-provocateurs. The "moderates" constituted a minority as against the "radicals." . . . .

Under these conditions it would have been difficult for Adler to work fruitfully in our Party. He, therefore, first sought to help the proletariat not as a politician but as a doctor. In this capacity he used to write for the Party Press. When I brought out the "Neue Zeit," in 1883, one of our first articles was by Adler on "Industrial Diseases." . . . .

The agents-provocateurs at last succeeded in finding excuses for the forcible destruction of the whole Labour movement. In consequence of the outrages of Kammerer, Stellmacher, and others, the Government, in 1884, laid Vienna under an exceptional law, and the Provinces, especially Bohemia, under Russian conditions, without any actual exceptional legislation. Some of the proletarian organisations were forcibly dissolved, others dissolved themselves voluntarily, to avoid the confiscation of their funds. Both "moderates" and "radicals" were hit hard. By 1885 there was actually no longer any Socialist organisation in Austria.

Not only were the organisations destroyed, but there disappeared with them all the illusions which had led to the split—the illusion that nothing but one forcible upheaval was required in order to throw capitalist society on to the rubbish-heap.

The Social-Democratic organisation had not only to be built up anew, but to be filled with a new spirit which should do away with the difference between "radicals" and "moderates." But they were still divided by the memory of personal quarrels as yet hardly overcome, and to find and become masters of the new thought was a difficult task for the theoretically quite unschooled masses.

In this situation Victor Adler entered the field. It was at the time of the deepest depression of the Austrian proletariat that he took his place in their ranks as a neutral mediator who had taken no part in the internal quarrels, and whose name was, therefore, not connected with any bitter memories for either side; but also as a teacher. If I entered the Party ten years before him, I did so as a seeker and learner. He had already gone through this stage outside the Party, and when he came to it he was already equipped with the whole armoury of Marxianism. From the first day of his membership he was theoretically far ahead of his comrades.

As mediator and as teacher he soon acquired influence over both sections, all the more because he did not seek it, but only placed his strength at his comrades' disposal. At the end of 1886 he had already got so far as to be able to publish a weekly paper "Gleichheit" (Equality), which both parties recognised as their organ. This recognition, indeed, would not, in view of the deplorable state of the Party at that time, have sufficed to keep the paper going had not Adler given his fortune as well as his personal services for it.

. . . . Never before had the authorities been attacked with so much boldness and vigour by our Party in Austria as now by Adler. Till then police and courts had arrogated to themselves the right to determine the boundaries beyond which the rights of the Press and public assembly might not go. Adler set himself and the Party the contrary task—namely, to educate the police and the courts, and see that *they* did not pass *their* limits. A difficult task. But his courage and persistence succeeded at last in giving the proletariat, who up till then were really without any rights whatever, a new actual right, which not only fulfilled the nominal right, but even extended it in practice on certain points.

Soon the confusion, the depression, the mutual mistrust among the members of the Party disappeared. With renewed strength they set to work to found a new party organisation. A Party Congress was convened, for which Adler drew up a programme, which in every respect was excellent: the first Marxian Party programme in the German tongue. That is, strictly speaking; the first was that which I laid before the Brünner Conference, and which it accepted. But mine was not original. The conveners of the Conference had, indeed, decided that I was to work out a programme, but had forgotten to tell me! I only heard of it at the Congress itself, just before I was to present it. What was to be done? I saved the situation by translating the French programme prepared under Marx's surveillance in 1880, which was familiar to me, making a few alterations to adapt it to Austrian conditions. This programme was certainly very Marxian, but not suitable for Germany. The first programme composed in the German language was that written by Adler, and accepted at Hainfeld in 1888—three years before the Erfurt Programme.

The Hainfeld Conference was the starting-point of the new

Social-Democracy of Austria. It laid the foundation on which it has developed so splendidly. No one took a greater part in the preparations and arrangements than Victor Adler.

But he was not satisfied with being a theoretical teacher, a theoretical fighter and organiser. He wanted to be at home with, and take part in, all branches of the proletarian movement. He not only studied them all theoretically, but also took an active part. He knew how to fit them all into their right connection with the whole social development of our time, and how to interest himself in all their details.

That already became evident in 1889, a year which brought a new burst of life in the trade unions, and a great strike movement. Here, too, Adler's wisdom, energy, and expert knowledge constituted him a leading spirit. Already the first great strike of the new era—that of the tram-drivers, from April 4 to 27, 1889—gave him the opportunity of winning his spurs. That this strike, which threw all Vienna into confusion, at last ended by a recognition of the drivers' demands, was to a great extent due to Adler's advice, and the funds that he raised for its support.

Chance willed that just a few days ago a letter came into my hands which I wrote to Engels from Vienna at that time (April 23), with the following sentences:—

"During the last few days we are all full of the strike. Excuse on that account the shortness of my letter. I am writing in great haste, and my thoughts are more in the street than at the desk. I live vis-à-vis to a cavalry-barrack—just now the cavalry have been called out. It is a Trafalgar Square affair in miniature which we are experiencing here, only here I am, of course, more in the thick of it. Adler has behaved in a manner worthy of all admiration. I have more respect for him every day."

. . . . Adler's activity was recognised with joy by the great majority of comrades from the beginning—recognised, too, though on no account with joy, by our opponents. In their own way, of course. The tram-drivers' strike gave them the first occasion. For incitement, abuse of the authorities, and praising illegal actions, Adler and Bretschneider, the responsible editor of "Gleichheit," were prosecuted on May 7, 1889, and ordered before an exceptional court for Anarchistic aspirations. For, so said the court, all aspirations towards a violent upheaval are Anarchistic. The goals of Social-Democracy could not be reached without a violent upheaval, therefore their aspirations must be considered as synonymous with those of the Anarchists. It is clear that a court capable of such logic would not hesitate at any sentence. On June 27 Adler was sentenced to four months' severe arrest, intensified by one fast-day in every month—a measure which is only used in dealing with the most hardened criminals. It was the most futile revenge against Adler for having made use of the trial to denounce the Exceptional Court of Justice—one of the most rascally institutions that Austria has ever produced.

Adler's appeal was rejected on December 7. Before he entered upon his imprisonment, he prepared the propaganda for the May-Day festival.

In July the Paris International Congress had been held, at which Adler at once attracted general notice. From the time of this first meeting of the New International, he was numbered among its recognised leaders. The decision of the Congress most pregnant with results was that which fixed an international celebration for May 1 without going into details as to the form it should take. That was left to each country to decide for itself.

I well remember a conversation with Adler about what form the demonstration should take in Austria. He came to the conclusion that a general abstention from work should be aimed at, and, in Vienna, a procession to the Prater. I shook my head sceptically at these plans; the proletariat of Vienna, enslaved by the exceptional law, and whose organisation was but in its preliminary stages, did not seem to me ready for this trial of strength. But at last I too became infected with the enthusiasm of Adler, who was usually so sober in his judgment. And he managed to fire the whole Party with this enthusiasm, and the success proved that it had been no mere intoxication. The Vienna May-Day turned out the most brilliant and imposing celebration among those of the whole world, and it has remained so ever since. All at once the self-respect of the Austrian proletariat, and its reputation among its opponents, as well as among the comrades in other countries, became immeasurably increased. The Social-Democracy of Austria, hitherto a pitiable dwarf, appeared from that time onwards as a feared and respected giant.

And how this giant has grown since then!

That is to be ascribed to a great extent to the comprehension which Austria showed in the early days for modern mass-action.

The example of the Belgian mass-strike of 1893 awakened the liveliest echo in Austria, then in the throes of the most violent suffrage campaign. The idea of the mass-strike caught on, and set the Party on fire. Victor Adler was one of the first to study the nature of this weapon, and determine the rules for its use. He did not belong to the older comrades, still numerous at that time, who simply repudiated the mass-strike or even refused to discuss it; but he kept cool, and did not let himself be carried away by the easily excited hot-heads who, always ready for a fight, thought a weapon that had once been successfully used was equally good everywhere and under all circumstances.

At the Vienna Conference of 1894 he introduced a resolution which laid down:—

"The Conference declares that it will fight for the suffrage with all the weapons at the disposal of the working class. To these belong, as well as the already used methods of propaganda and organisation, also the mass-strike. The Party representatives and the representatives of the organisation groups are instructed to

make all arrangements, so that if the persistency of the Government and of the bourgeois parties should drive the proletariat to extremes, the mass-strike can be ordered at a suitable time, as the last means."

Thus he formulated the basis on which the struggle for the suffrage has been carried on ever since. The idea of the mass-strike, the consciousness of not having to stand defenceless if the worst should come to the worst, but of being possessed of a sharp weapon, has vivified and strengthened the confidence and the fighting spirit of the masses to a high degree. But at the same time the leaders of the Party took care that this last and extremest weapon should not be used prematurely or at the wrong time, and hindered every agitation which might have the effect of binding the Party beforehand to use the weapon at any particular moment. They determined the goal and the tactical principles, but took care to reserve the fullest freedom to use in every situation such measures as are best suited to it.

By a wise and determined use of these tactics the Austrian Social-Democracy has attained its enormous triumphs in the suffrage-struggle, has become possessed of general and equal suffrage [for men.—Translator] in a fight which has increased its numbers by tenfold. This was not indeed taken by storm, as the hot-heads of 1894 hoped, but in a long, persistent struggle, lasting for over a decade.

This was not possible without Adler's often being obliged to put on the brake, to impress upon those who were rushing forward the necessity for a sober investigation of the conditions. A hard and ungrateful task. In many cases Adler managed to solve the difficulty successfully without paying for it in love and respect. That was only possible because everyone in the Party knew that if he put on the brake it was not from timidity. In times of danger Victor Adler has ever been found in the front ranks. Everyone felt that it was only his thorough and sober knowledge of the strength of the various factors that determined Adler in some situations to play the part of a warning voice, instead of urging forward.

He, and we with him, may now look back upon his work with satisfaction, and with joyful expectancy into the future, even though there falls across the day of his triumph the dark shadow of a phenomenon which inflicts severe wounds on our Party, which for a time seemed even to menace it at its roots, and threatened to destroy just what had always been the most precious thing to Victor Adler, for which he had specially cared and worked—the unity of the Party.

The phenomenon here alluded to is the Czech Separatist movement, and Kautsky goes on to describe Adler's attempts to bridge over the differences, and then continues: The great danger was that of a national struggle between the Czech and German proletariat. That would have entirely ruined the Social-Democracy of Austria for years to come. This danger may now

be considered as overcome. Never among the German proletariat has it come to a fight against Czech proletarians as such. Neither has the Czech proletariat in its totality taken up the fight against the German Social-Democracy. . . . . Thus Victor Adler may have good hope of seeing his greatest longing—for the unity of the proletarian army—again realised in a full measure.

This will be owing to a large extent to the fact that all the class-conscious, international-feeling proletarians of Austria see in him their leader, in whom they have the most trust—all proletarians, Czechs, Poles, Italians, no less than Germans.

There are few so able to adapt themselves to the peculiarities of foreign nations, and to understand them, as Victor Adler. A specially important quality for a politician of Austria, and not very common there, where every nation watches jealously over the preservation of its own peculiarities.

This international understanding of Adler's is due to a quality which also in other ways greatly increases his usefulness in the Party: his gift of understanding people and adapting himself to them. Few understand as he does how to work upon the soul of the masses, as of the individual. To this is largely due the special character of the influence.

He is just as much a master of the pen as of the spoken word, and his scientific knowledge would enable him to elaborate his ideas in learned books. But this way of reaching the world has never attracted him; so far he is one of the few thinkers in our paper age who have not published a book. He prefers the old Socratic method of direct personal influence on those who for one or the other reason appear to him to carry weight. This influence goes deeper than most books. And it is, as becomes Adler's many-sided interests, of the most variegated kind. If one looks at any of the younger leaders of our Party in Austria, they have nearly all been through Adler's school: the theoreticians and the journalists, the parliamentarians and the trade unionists, as well as those at the head of the co-operatives. He has given himself to each of them, encouraged each, helped each to begin his work, and therefore he is bound to the mass of comrades who are active in the service of the Party, not only by a mutual goal and comradeship in arms, but also by the most affectionate personal friendship.

This is clearly seen on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday. His life for decades has been spent for the life of the Party. The celebration of his work is at the same time a celebration of the conquests and triumphs of Social-Democracy. But it also bears the character of a family festival—a festival of the great family of the Austrian Party, whose patriarch Victor Adler has become; not by virtue of his years by a long way, but long since by virtue of the trust and the love which all those feel for him who have felt the breath of his spirit.

THE REVIEWS.

THE YELLOW PERIL.

Writing in the current "Nineteenth Century and After" on "The Outlook from Australia," the Hon. James Alexander Hoyne (late Minister of Public Instruction, Labour, and Industry, New South Wales) has the following to say about the Yellow Peril.

. . . . . The yellow races have yet to realise the value of consolidation. That may come. A Chino-Japanese alliance is a perfectly natural development. It is, perhaps, inevitable, and may come when China's internal strife and bloodshed are ended, and the great Oriental Republic now in the making settles down to business. With China and Japan in alliance, the yellow man will begin to feel his real strength, and, no doubt, cherish an ambition for a bigger place in the sun than he has yet dreamed of. East and West may thus soon find themselves on a relatively changed footing, their lines of life drifting still farther apart. . . . .

At any rate, China, freed from the manacles of the Manchu and become a Republic, must in future be reckoned with on a basis of valuation as a World Power far different from that in its pigtail period.

The existing Anglo-Japanese Treaty expires within the next three years. Up to yesterday, so to speak, everything pointed to a further renewal of the alliance. Mutuality of interest required a continuance of existing relations; but the whole international position has been fundamentally altered by the revolution in China. In that revolution the hand of the Jap may be traced, not to be sure, as instigator, but as the friend, guardian, and counsellor, of the principal actor in the hideous drama. Yuan Shi-Kai, to-day the first man in China, has long been under Japanese tutelage and influence. To Germany, for that and identical reasons, he was never *persona grata*. That he is now at the head of the newly-born Republic must be peculiarly gratifying to Japan, and he only just missed the Imperial Crown. From the end of the Russo-Japanese war, if not before, the eventual Japanisation of China was clearly foreseen, and by no Power more sharply realised than Germany. Yuan-Shi-Kai's elevation may be regarded as one of the most

signal triumphs of Japanese diplomacy. It is a further revelation of the genius for high statesmanship of that far-seeing, patient, and singularly gifted people.

From the Australian point of view, as surely from the European and American, Japan is thus seen to be fast strengthening and consolidating her already powerful position, and extending her commanding influence in the East. She has in China a willing and natural friend and ally, the yellow streak of kinship cementing the bonds between them, and the puling and bleeding infant Republic doubtless only too ready to look to this Britain of the East as guardian, guide and protector.

Hence there must come, as may easily be foreseen, a tremendous swing in the balance of power from West to East.

THE LURE OF THE LABOUR LEADER.

"World's Work" in its opening "March of Events" has the following to say, in this month's issue, about "The Lure of the Labour Leader":—

"The cause of organised Labour stands greatly in danger of irretrievable damage at the hands of its leaders. The lot of the Labour agitator has never been easy, or one popular with the general public. Yet, in the past year one forgave these men a great deal because it was necessary that the dumb, slow-moving mass with a recently awakened intelligence should have spokesmen to make known its desires.

. . . . . .

Readers of the "World's Work" know how its sympathies are always with the unfortunate multitude, and how little patience we have with the "shoot-'em-down" brigade, or the "starve-'em-out-and-break-their-backs" coterie. In fact, until recently, these two schools of philosophy have been rapidly disappearing—their last members chiefly confined to comfortable chairs in London clubs. There was something like a universal awakening on behalf of Labour, and remarkable exhibitions of public patience with the discomforts brought about by recent strikes.

But it looks, at the time of writing, as if too zealous leaders have lured the men into an impracticable and impossible position—one wherein they will lose a great deal of the sympathy so remarkably shown for them. . . . . It will soon become quite natural to speak of the greed and rapacity of the labouring man; and when this happens there will be a great loss in the sympathy and consideration which it has taken so many years to build up.

The London Dock Strike has at times during the first few weeks looked very serious. It was begun upon the old, old combat for

the "open dock." Labour leaders are seeking to force employers to hire only union men; and because one firm employed a foreman who declined to join the trade union, the whole of the transport workers of the docks were called out on strike. The men have, it is true, other grievances; but in view of the fact that an agreement was signed only last summer, and that the non-union membership of this one foreman was made the basis of the strike, there was little public sympathy following the men when they left their work.

. . . . . .

. . . . . What is more regrettable is that there is a revival of the old hostile feelings towards trade unions generally, and a signal victory against the men will again encourage the short-sighted in the belief that the back of organised Labour has been broken.

Fortunately, neither the Government nor the Leaders of the Opposition are so foolish. It is believed that serious steps are under consideration towards compulsory arbitration, at least among the transport workers.

The employers who stay outside or leave the Employers' Federation whenever they wish to break an agreement signed by the whole may yet be compelled to enter a responsible body which can be held to justice with the men. But vice versa there will have to be some sort of financial responsibility on the part of the unions, even if we are not yet advanced enough to consider the possibility of forcing all workers to become members of some registered society which can make agreements and be mulcted for breaking them.

THE BELGIAN ELECTIONS.

Dr. Dillon writes on the above in this month's "Contemporary Review." He says:—

Electoral problems of a theoretical or practical nature absorb a good deal of attention abroad just now. In France, where electoral reform has for years been a stumbling-block to parties, Cabinets and individuals, the Premier, M. Poincaré, has drafted a plan of his own, which, so to say, saves the sheep while feeding the wolves. In Turkey, the elections, which were expected by many to return an Oppositional majority, resulted in the utter exclusion of the rank and file of the Opposition, and now the Parliament is regarded as the nominee of the Government. In Russia, where the central authorities cannot put heavy pressure upon the electors in the same way, a Duma is looked for as the result of the coming elections which may turn out to be too radical to work together with the Cabinet. And in this case it will probably be dissolved before it has acquired much legislative experience. In Belgium the elections are over, and the nation—nay, the world—is surprised to learn that,

contrary to hopes and fears, the Conservative or Catholic Party has been vouchsafed another lease of power. There were so many interesting elements in the Belgian elections, personal, religious, political and cultural, that all Europe watched their development with attention, almost with emotion.

Twenty-eight years ago I was resident in Brussels, on friendly terms with several members of a Liberal Cabinet, of which M.M. Frère-Orban and Rolin Jacquemin were the most prominent representatives. Anti-Clericalism was their common denominator. They had laboured hard in favour of undenominational, or, at any rate, lay schools, had quarrelled with Rome, broken off diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and were about to go before their constituencies for approbation or censure. They went with light hearts to the accompaniment of martial music. And I remember the violent heats excited by the telegrams announcing the successive victories of the Conservatives or Catholics; the free fights in Brussels, Louvain, and elsewhere; and then the new gallery of faces in the Chamber, and the strange figures in the Ministerial seats. Much has changed since then in Belgium and beyond it, but the Conservatives there have never since lost their grasp of power. During the last ten years their downfall has been prophesied over and over again on the basis of symptoms which seemed infallible. The Socialists and Liberals grew in strength, the number of the latter party in Parliament rising from thirty-three to forty-five, and in the single constituency of Brussels from 57,000 to over 100,000. Fourteen years ago the Conservative majority in the Chamber amounted to 72 votes on a division; within two years it had fallen to 54, later on it dwindled to 26, then dropped to 20, twelve, eight, and at last, two years ago, it shrank to six. The majority of the electorate seemed to have become anti-Catholic. And now, at last, this belief has been tested. The Liberal and Socialist bloc still hold that the bulk of voters is anti-Catholic. Possibly they are right. But the Catholics have scored a victory and their adversaries have not yet had their innings.

. . . . . .

The elections to the Chamber occur once in two years, and only one-half of the total number of deputies is returned each time. This year, however, the Government, anxious to ascertain the will of the country and to disarm their opponents, agreed to have general elections, and accordingly dissolved the Chamber. The result is favourable to the Conservatives. . . . .

But for all that the struggle will go on, and not in the Chamber only, but in the streets of Liège, Brussels, and other cities as well. For the Conservatives, now masters of the situation, will proceed to pass their Educational Bill, while the Opposition will agitate against the electoral system which placed the power in the hands of their antagonists.

THE CLOCK.

By Maxim Gorki.

I.

It is eerie to listen, in the stillness and loneliness of the night, to the beautiful and uniform voice of the clock. To those monotonous, mathematically exact sounds which are ever marking one and the same thing: the untiring movement of life. The earth lies in darkness and dreams. All is still. It is the clock alone which, cold and hard, reminds one of the passing of the seconds. The pendulum ticks. And, with each sound, life is shortened by a second. This second, this microscopic atom of time, has been given to each of us, but it passes, never to return. Whence came this second and whither does it go? No one gives an answer. . . . . There are many other questions which remain unanswered, many momentous questions, on the answer to which our life's happiness depends.

How shall we live so as to have the consciousness of not having lived in vain? How shall we live so as not to lose faith and will-power? How live that no second shall pass which is not moved by intellect and feeling? Will the clock never give an answer to that? Oh! this motion without an end! What does the clock say to it?

II.

There is nothing in the world more equanimous than the clock. It ticked with the same uniformity at the moment of our birth and at the time when we eagerly plucked the flowers of youth's dreams. From the day of his birth onwards man is moving ever nearer to the end, and, when he lies *in extremis*, the clock, cold and impassive as ever, will continue to number its seconds.

And if he listens he feels in these dry counts something all-knowing and weary from all the knowledge. These tones cannot be excited about anything, and nothing is sacred to them. They are indifferent to us, and if we would live we must procure another clock, a clock full of feeling and thought, a clock full of actions, as a substitute for the many monotonous, dull, cold-sounding hours of life, which kill the soul with depression.

III.

Tick-tack, tick-tack.

In the never-tiring haste of the clock there is no interval of rest. What, after all, do we call the present? One newborn second follows on another, and already the first falls into the abyss of the past.

Tick-tack, and all at once we are happy. Tick-tack, and into our hearts is poured the corroding poison of grief. And it threatens to remain in our hearts all our life long, if we do not quickly see that every second of our life is filled by something new and creative. There is something seductive in suffering. It is a dangerous privilege. If we possess it we forget the other, the higher right of the human calling. And we find so many sufferings that they become depreciated. They lose their claim on the attention of mankind. It is, therefore, foolish to look upon suffering as something precious. No, let us rather fill the soul with something more unusual. Shall we not?

Suffering is a worthless treasure. And one should not complain to others about life. Words of comfort seldom contain that for which man craves. Life is richer, more interesting, if man seeks to fight alone against all that which opposes itself to him. It is only in the fight that the dull depressing hours of life disappear.

Tick-tack! The life of man is absurdly short. How shall one best live? Some turn obstinately away from life, others dedicate themselves completely to it. At the end of their lives the former are quite destitute of intelligence and remembrance, the latter are rich in both. The one, like the other, dies, and of one as of the other, nothing remains, unless he has joyfully given others of the treasures of his heart and intellect. And at their death the clock will number its seconds. Tick-tack! And during those very seconds new human beings will be born, several, indeed, in one second; but the others are already no longer there. And nothing remains of them but their bodies, which soon see corruption. Must not your pride rebel against this automatic process by which we are called into life in order afterwards to be torn out of it again—and nothing more? Strengthen, then, during your lifetime the future remembrance of you, if so it be that you are proud, and rebel against this mysterious function of time. Think about your part in life. A brick was formed. Thenceforward it remained motionless in the wall. Then it crumbled into dust and disappeared. It is dull and ugly to be only a brick, is it not? Do not be like the brick, you, who possess reason and soul, and long to taste to the dregs all your stormy feelings!

IV.

Tick-tack!

If you would only think about it, what this ceaseless motion means, the feeling of unworthiness must oppress you. O, that this

consciousness might rouse you, might awaken the pride in you and lead you to the struggle with life. Life, which offends you: declare war against it.

When nature had once brought man to the stage at which he no longer needed to crawl on his belly, she gave him a staff—the ideal. And since that time he instinctively and unconsciously aspires higher and higher. Make this aspiration a conscious one; teach men that the true happiness of humanity is only to be found in the conscious aspiration towards something higher. Do not accuse yourselves of powerlessness, do not accuse anything. All you can obtain by that means is pity—an alms for the intellectually destitute. All people are unhappy, but the unhappiest are they who boast of their unhappiness. Such people thirst to direct the attention of others to themselves, but they are just those who are least worthy of it.

The forward aspiration is the greatest object of life. May your whole life be such an aspiration, and then the most glorious hours will be your portion.

V.

Tick-tack! Tick-tack!

"Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life unto the bitter in soul, to the man whose way is hid?" This is the question Job of old put to God. There are to-day no more such courageous people who, in the consciousness of being on a level with God, do not fear to speak to God, like Job. Men think themselves too small, too insignificant. They do not love life enough, nor themselves. They fear pain, as they know they cannot escape it. The inevitable is a law of nature. It is a fact, and one must face it, that the dying of man has been going on since he first saw the light. Only the consciousness of having accomplished one's task can destroy the fear of death. The honestly trodden path insures a calm end.

Tick-tack! And all that remains of man are his deeds. His hours, with the desires they contain, break off and make room for other hours. Hour measures of his life! Cruel hours!

VI.

Tick-tack! Tick-tack!

In this world full of contradictions, lying and wickedness thrive indeed to a tremendous extent. All would be better if men would mutually seek to protect each other, and if each possessed a real friend. The individual, however great, is of little account. Mutual understanding is absolutely necessary, for the way we express ourselves is much more dim than our thoughts. Many words are wanting to man in order to enable him to open his heart to his friend. Hence comes the loss of so many important

thoughts, because we cannot at the right time find the right forms for them. A thought is born, and with it the deep sincere wish to embody this thought in words as hard as steel. But the words are wanting.

More attention, then, to the thoughts! Help to increase the number of thoughts that are born, your trouble will not be unrewarded. You find thoughts everywhere: even in the clefts of stones, they are there, for him who knows how to find them. Does it not depend upon a man himself whether he will be a lord of life instead of a slave? If you had but the burning desire to live, and the proud consciousness of your strength, the whole of life would be nothing but one row of glorious hours, full of spiritual strength and of great-souled heroism that would astonish you yourself.

VII.

Tick-tack! Tick-tack!

Long live the strong souls, the brave men! Men who dedicate their lives to truth and justice and beauty!

We know not these men, for they are proud and do not hunt after reward. We do not see with what joy they sacrifice their hearts on the altar of truth; but as they cast a halo over life they force the blind to see. It is of urgent importance to make the blind see, for there are but too many of them. "Open your eyes to see the unworthiness of your life."

Long live the man who is master over his longing!

The whole world lives in his heart, and all pains and sufferings live in his soul. All that is evil and ugly, lying and cruelty, are his bitterest enemies. With a full heart he consecrates all his hours to this struggle, and his life is rich in stormy joy, in beautiful anger and proud persistency.

Do not spare yourself—that is the most glorious truth on earth. Long live the man who knows not how to spare himself! There are only two ways of life: to rot or to burn. The cowardly and avaricious choose the first, the brave and generous the second. Everyone who has any sense of the beautiful knows where Greatness is hidden.

The hours of our existence are empty, dull hours. Let us fill them up with beautiful deeds of heroism, without sparing ourselves!

Then will come and meet us hours full of joyful tremor, of burning pride. Long live the man who knows not how to spare himself!

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THE
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SOCIALISM *VERSUS* SYNDICALISM.

A FURTHER REPLY TO WILSHIRE.

By FRED KNEE.

It will be remembered that in my June article I denied that any of us members of the British Socialist Party were "Parliamentary Socialists," in the sense of restricting ourselves to the use of the political weapon. I urged that we should use the vote and industrial organisation, and armed force as well, if that were necessary and available. Wilshire's position, as far as I could understand it, was that we workers should pile all our energies on the industrial organisation, though he discriminated, like the old Anarchists, between the Parliamentary vote and the municipal vote. It was very difficult to define Wilshire's position, and it is still more difficult now, because he does not suggest that we should abstain from voting, which is obviously the proper thing to do if the vote is of no service; but he tells us in his last month's venture that "voting is merely indicative of the workers' pious opinion," and that "with the increase of industrial solidarity there will naturally come about an increase in the revolution-

ary vote." Seeing that I had already pointed out the fact that in other European countries the revolutionary spirit expresses itself in industrial and political organisation both, I am beginning to wonder what on earth Wilshire is arguing about.

Go to, Wilshire; you are no Syndicalist at all; you are only playing with the thing as a sort of intellectual gambling flutter.

As far as the argument went, Wilshire looked to me last month like a "done" pugilist at the ropes, pawing at the air and unable to see clearly. Every point I had made on which he touched at all he weakly conceded, but he sought to despoil me of the effect by dragging in extraneous matter. For instance, I tried to show by analogy and by fact how absurd is the contention that it is unnatural for the worker to function politically. As a case in point I mentioned the Irish peasantry, who had by the use of the vote secured themselves against their absentee landlords and had lifted themselves into another social class. Wilshire first admits this; then half-denies it; says they did it by sabotage and "political trading" (as though they could trade politically without using their vote with a purpose); and introduces irrelevant twaddle about their not having "really made any dent in property." He is all at sea, too, when he goes on to say that "certain Irish landlords had been expropriated for the benefit of the remainder of the British capitalist class." No one acquainted with the facts could have used that expression.

Again, I said that when even the capitalist State found it necessary to interfere with property rights it did so, and instanced the death duties. Wilshire grudgingly admits the point, but accuses me of being among Lloyd George's admirers! I happen to know, like most British Socialists, that there were death duties before this Welsh Agamemnon appeared on the scene.

Our friend, so far as his genial disposition will let him, is nettled at my remarks on his inconsistencies as

a Revolutionary Syndicalist and apologist for the Labour Party—his "Nation Owning the Trusts" business and his transient contempt for the political power by which alone the democratic nation can do anything of the kind. But he is still more nettled at my rejecting Syndicalism—root and branch—not only as a Socialist but as a trade unionist. He says the latter fact does not make my argument any the stronger and talks about the lovely colour of my hair. I am flattered, of course; but what I wanted to convey by a delicate hint I might have stated more brutally. I might have asked what he could possibly know about industrial organisation? Frankly, I always resent these middle-class people telling us how to conduct our own particular business. What would Wilshire say if I advised him on mine prospecting? What, anyway, I always ask, can these middle-class folks know of industrial organisation—its power or its weakness? I am even less inclined to listen to them about that part of the matter than to adopt their advice in matters political. Let me tell Wilshire and all other outsiders whom it may concern that they understand not so much of the "psychology," as they call it, of the working man as the average man does that of the woman, or the Western European that of the Oriental.

Their interest and advice are all so unnecessary in this department. If they had eyes to see and ears to hear they would know that our industrial organisation was framed by the workers according as the circumstances of the time dictated; that for years we had been federating and amalgamating with such class-instinct as we possessed before a single person in Great Britain thought he was a Syndicalist; and that the action of the half-a-dozen of them—middle-class men and women, with Tom Mann thrown in—has had as much to do with this development as the crowing and clucking of so many farmyard cocks and hens have to do with the rising sun. If we adopted their advice and we were successful they would soon be running to the State for protection against us because we were trying

to squeeze them out. Where, for instance, would Wilshire be if we could apply Syndicalism? He would be unemployed and unemployable. What workman fed on Syndicalist doctrines would give up a comfortable job to accommodate Wilshire?

As we saw at the beginning, Wilshire deserts his main position. His gyrations are most amusing. Like all people who try to be "advanced," he is the slave of phrases. "Industrial organisation" is his Mesopotamia; and he builds a great deal on "political power is the reflex of industrial power." That puts me in mind of the rabbinical riddle—"Which came first, the hen or the egg?" But the funniest thing of all which he perpetrates is this: "Parliament will, under pressure, give about anything the public may demand, except any real concession of property right; rather than do this it will end the Parliamentary system itself." That is to argue that Parliament and the public are in opposition; or else that a Parliamentary majority rather than have its own way will commit suicide.

Wilshire dogmatises on the conversion of Liberal and Tory working men—he says they first become Syndicalists and then revolutionary voters. That, says he, is their "most natural evolution." Then those millions of revolutionary voters of whom we have record must have evolved most unnaturally. The reader will see that here again the Syndicalist, according to Wilshire, will vote.

Parliament, we are told again, "is the tool of those possessing wealth, of those who have economic power." If that is true the corollary should follow that the more economic power they have (i.e., the more wealth they possess) the more political power they will have; which does not always happen. The small-capitalist faction is not yet wiped out politically.

The workers are told to "get economic power, and then they will need no votes." It is a sorrowful fact that the workers have less economic power than they ever had; and when they desire anything they find they need to use the votes they already have—at any

rate in this country. Can Wilshire explain how it is that where the class-conscious workers have no vote or a restricted suffrage they clamour for universal suffrage; how it is that every time the capitalists and landlords of those countries oppose to the hilt any concession in regard to the vote? Wilshire says experience shows that giving the vote makes no difference. How remarkable it is the capitalists should so oppose it!

There was one danger I touched upon to which Wilshire makes no reference: the danger of workers' syndicates coming to terms with employers' syndicates, and they together jointly controlling the industry against the interests of the community. That is a real danger—a co-partnery which would make things temporarily much better for the worker in any industry and intensify the outer darkness for the unemployed. We get enough of the maintaining of effete methods of production now, and it would be worse then the better organised the co-partnery became.

There has not been a single thing advanced to show how we are going to reach Canaan through this road of Syndicalist action. It leads to the Dead Sea. To restrict ourselves to one arm and to tie the other up, or even to use the left to impede the right or the right to impede the left—to waste time in discussing which is horse and which is cart—all this is absolute folly. To sectionalise ourselves; to maintain existing industrial divisions, and to foster the anti-communal spirit—this is reactionary in tendency and destructive of solidarity.

The fact of the matter is, Wilshire and the Syndicalists have no faith in democracy—they find one kind of minority rule in existence and what they propose is to substitute another kind of minority rule for it. That is not so clear in his last "British Socialist" article as in a letter Wilshire recently wrote to the "Daily Herald," in which he frankly put forward the idea that the miners, transport workers, and railwaymen should hold up the community. He will find that no minority rule can be maintained except by consent—tacit or expressed—of the majority. If the organised com-

munity in its present form of the capitalist State (the controllers of which, be it marked, have both political and economic power, and show no disposition to part willingly with either) made up its mind to resist these they would be successful in doing so unless the other workers sided with the minority and so made it a majority. Nonconformist passive resisters fought a long while against what they regarded as tyranny; but they have failed. "Ulster," which, in its reactionary blether, pleases Wilshire, will make a show of resistance so long as the Orange bullies think there is a chance of a majority here siding with them. The conscious majority is always stronger than the minority, however turbulent or violent. The Government need not succumb to women's sabotage; with sufficient courage—brute courage if you like—they could stamp out this trouble. We may continue to have our affairs managed for a very long time by the active minority, but that minority will be the section whose rule is for the time being assented to by the majority. That is the essence of democratic social development, as I understand it.

Both in method and objective the Socialist and Syndicalist are as far asunder as the Poles. As to their objective, Socialism stands for the community owning and controlling the means of life; Syndicalism stands for those means of life being held by comparatively narrow sections, possibly at war with each other and also with the community. As to the method, Socialists would use every weapon which came to hand; Syndicalism would profess a criminal sabotage which it would not have the pluck to pursue to its logical conclusion, and for the most part would rely on the "passive resistance" of self-imposed starvation.

We Socialists want industrial organisation and have worked for it—many of us have helped to organise; some of us want the Citizen Army, thinking that would be useful if we had it; we want also that the workers should do as even Wilshire admits they might do—

vote in a revolutionary sense. As to what would happen with a majority of Socialists in the House of Commons I have no sort of doubt. There need be no miracle about it. I expect no miracles from it any more than I expect miracles from industrial organisation; and it requires much more faith to expect solid industrial organisation of even the majority of the workers than to hope for a majority of Socialists in the House of Commons. In two or three European countries there is an easy possibility of a Socialist Parliamentary majority. If it were realised in Great Britain it could be as effective here as anywhere. It is not a matter of counting noses. You will never get a revolutionary majority in the House of Commons unless there is a revolutionary majority in the country. Then, if the capitalists wanted to try conclusions, they might make a deal of trouble; but, polite or not, they would have to go—and I do not think we should have to institute a hunger-strike for ourselves to get them out. It would be far easier to freeze the capitalists out, were they to prove troublesome, if we had the whole or major part of the machinery of State in our hands. The industrial organisation would help in securing and maintaining the position, and would be particularly valuable in the work of reconstruction.

I am for using all means—all forms of organisation—to achieve the triumph of the working people. But I can do nothing, Wilshire can do nothing, without the people themselves. The people will do nothing—they will neither vote nor take any other action—till the revolutionary idea bites them. At present the people do not desire economic and social freedom; when they do they will choose their own means of getting it, and they will not consult Wilshire. If they make the mistake of confining themselves to the use of one arm they will fail—whether that arm be industrial action or political action; and they may even fail with both unless they have adequate lethal weapons in their hands. But the foundation for any action towards freedom must be the class spirit—the desire of the slave to be free.

ROUSSEAU.

By H. W. INKPIN.

I.

A couple of months ago the Republican parties in France united in celebrating the bicentenary of Jean Jacques Rousseau, philosopher par excellence of the French Revolution, who was born at Geneva on June 28, 1712. On June 11, the Chamber of Deputies, after an animated debate, the subject lending itself to a display of all the brilliance of French Parliamentary oratory at its best, voted the sum of £1,200 for the fêtes in memory of the philosopher, a vote which was subsequently confirmed by the Senate. France is justly proud of her great men, and her anxiety to keep alive their memories sets a commendable example to this country, which seems hardly able to appreciate anything which cannot be measured in £ s. d. The fêtes took the form for the most part of illuminations and gala performances, while a permanent memorial is to be found in the monument, the work of the sculptor Bartholome, which has been erected in the famous Pantheon. The sculpture consists of three female figures representing Philosophy, Truth and Nature, with subordinate figures representing Music and Fame. At Ermenonville, where Rousseau died in seclusion on July 2, 1778, a statue of the philosopher has been erected with the inscription "Vitam impendere vero" (to stake one's life for the truth). Geneva also, not to be outdone, has commemorated his birth, claiming him now he is dead as her own child and citizen, though alive she drove him from her gates.

Even at this late date materials for a biography are by no means plentiful or reliable. About the events of his earlier life almost the only source of information is his own "Confessions," the peculiar style of which does not easily lend itself to a discrimination between thought and reality. Though born at Geneva, he was of pure French origin. Of his youth it is recorded that he was brought up in a haphazard fashion by a dissolute father, his mother having died in childbirth, and apprenticed at a very early age to a notary. He showed no aptitude for this profession, and exchanged it shortly afterwards for an engraver's shop. Here the cruelty of his employer made his life intolerable, and in a short while (1728) he ran away and commenced a roving life during which his occupation varied from that of accepted lover to a lady of fashion to the more menial one of copying music for a living.

As a writer he was practically unknown till 1749, in which year the Dijon Academy offered a prize for the best essay on the effect of civilisation on morals. Rousseau entered the competition and carried off the prize with his "Discours sur les arts et sciences." The brilliance of this work, in which he enunciated his famous teaching, the necessity of a return to nature, brought him immediate fame. He had already written musical criticism and had invented a new system of notation. He next tried his hand at operetta and comedy, producing "The Village Soothsayer" and "Narcisse," the former of which was performed at Geneva during the recent celebrations. Of the works by which he is best known, "La Nouvelle Héloïse" was written in 1756 and published four years later, and the "Contrat Social" and "Emile" in 1762. The "Confessions" were written some years later, the greater part during his stay in England, and were not published till after his death.

The popularity which the publication of the "Discours" brought Rousseau did not last long after the full bearings of the teachings contained in the "Emile" and the "Contrat Social" were understood. Brilliant

paradox and generalities, even a little bit dangerous, might be tolerated by the leaders of the Government and society, but in the two latter works Rousseau ran full tilt against some of the most cherished traditions and prejudices of the day in a manner that seriously endangered the interests and privileges of the First and Second Estates. The persecution that followed enables us to appreciate the meaning of the motto just placed on his statue at Ermenonville. The deism of "Emile," sentimental rather than intellectual though it was, offended the fashionable scepticism of the philosophers, whilst it naturally failed to satisfy the Church. Still more did the distinctly Republican teaching of the "Contrat Social" bring upon him the wrath of the temporal powers. The "Emile" was denounced by the Paris Parliament in June, 1762, and Rousseau was forced, or persuaded, in self-preservation to flee. Even his own city turned against him. On hearing that the Council of Geneva had joined in the general condemnation, Rousseau renounced his citizenship and recommenced his wanderings, finally accepting in 1765 Hume's offer of hospitality in England, where he landed on January 13, 1766. His experiences in this country were not happy, though there is little doubt that the blame rests chiefly with Rousseau's own impetuous temper and the morbid suspicions which caused him to quarrel all his life with his best friends. It was in the refuge provided for him in Derbyshire by Hume that the "Confessions" were mainly written. The pension which influence had obtained for him from George III. was the cause of a fresh quarrel, and in May, 1767, he fled back to France. Further unfortunate misunderstandings marked the last decade of his life, both at Paris, where he copied music, wrote his "Dialogues" and finished his "Confessions," and at Ermenonville, where he died of apoplexy on July 2, 1778. Even in death he was not allowed to rest in peace, the rumour being spread that he had committed suicide. There seems to have been little, if any, foundation for this rumour, and a subsequent post-mortem exami-

nation disposed of it. At Paris and Ermenonville to-day it is only his greatness and influence that are remembered; even the reactionary parties are silent on his weaknesses and failings. As to the latter, just a few words may be said before leaving this brief biographical narrative. It must be remembered that those who condemned his moral character are largely indebted to Rousseau himself for their evidence, and that his morbid sensitiveness and the exaggerated introspection of his method might easily have led him to distort the case against himself. He was, besides, easily imposed upon. For instance, he has been thoroughly trounced as a moralist for leaving his children at the Foundling Hospital. Modern criticism has come to seriously doubt the very existence of these children, and inclines to the belief that they were an invention of Rousseau's mistress, their reputed mother, to strengthen her hold upon him. That which tells most against his character is the fact that he quarrelled with men who were undoubtedly his good friends. His petulance, as Havelock Ellis says, at last wearied out the almost inexhaustible patience of Diderot. He even accused Hume of delaying the grant of the pension which the latter's influence had been chiefly instrumental in obtaining. But even here he claims our sympathy. If he sinned, it was mostly himself that he injured, and much can be forgiven in the man who cast all the weight of his eloquent spirit against the tyranny and injustice that shackled the minds and bodies of the people.

II.

Rousseau's work was of many parts. As a musical critic he undoubtedly exercised considerable influence, though his new system of notation was not a success. In the realm of literature his sentimentalism and wonderful blending of outward with inward observation opened out an entirely new field for imaginative writing. The beginning of the Romantic movement is

plainly discernible in his insistence on the powerful influence of nature upon the feelings and the importance of individual psychology. Since his time there has been no return to the lifeless, stilted treatment of the human character that preceded him. Men were not puppets but centres of feeling and action; to sustain the interest of the reader the author must animate his characters with the same emotions and impulses, and subject them to the same influences, good and bad, as make up real life. In his philosophical romance on education, "Emile," Rousseau combined these literary features with much teaching that was of a highly practical nature. Scientific method, such as we look for nowadays in educational treatises, there is none; and his demand for a return to nature is in some respects more artificial than the fashions and prejudices against which he protests; but there is a wholesome recognition of the rights of the child to have its capacities and susceptibilities made the subjects of intelligent and sympathetic study. "God made all things good, man meddles with them and they become evil." These are the opening words of the "Emile," and they are the text that unites the "scattered thoughts and observations" that make up the work. His hatred of make-believe sometimes carried him to absurd lengths, as when he protests against the use of the fable on the ground that to pretend that animals can speak is to deceive the child. The poet Cowper, who was addicted to this method of conveying moral teaching, gently takes the philosopher to task for his narrowness of judgment on this point. But little weaknesses like this are insignificant beside his powerful advocacy of reform in education, which was always directed towards bringing out the self-reliance and independence of the child. Mention should be made of Rousseau's recognition, now universally shared, of the peculiar and important influence of women in the early education of children. It is singular that, holding this view, he largely shared the prejudices of the time which gave so little attention to the education of women themselves.

But it is not the educational theorist or reformer any more than the musical critic or sentimentalist, whom the French people have had in mind when celebrating the bicentenary of Rousseau. In truth they were commemorating the work of the philosopher in a sphere altogether foreign to the man as his biography discloses him. Rousseau the man of letters died at Ermenonville in 1778; Rousseau the man of action, "the Messiah of the Revolutionary Crisis," as he has been called by Belfort Bax in the latter's brilliant little sketch of the French Revolution—this was a new personality who was born on the day in May, 1789, which saw the opening of the States-General and the raising of the curtain on the greatest drama the world has ever witnessed. From that time forward Rousseau's direct influence on the men and events of the revolutionary period was paramount. It is his chief work, the "Contrat Social," and to the condition of France in the eighteenth century, that we must turn for an explanation of this influence.

The death of Louis XIV., the "Great King," in 1715 gave free play to the forces working for the dissolution of the old régime. The profligacy and extravagance of the Court, released from the curbing hand and worldly wisdom of the old king, plunged further and further into excess. Absolute power concentrated in the hands of one man may preserve itself for a time from the inevitable overthrow, but the dogma of Divine Right cannot long survive the appearance of several claims to its exercise. The different Administrations that followed in rapid succession simply vied with each other in accomplishing the political and financial ruin of the country. To pay for wars undertaken in the most wanton spirit, and to supply the means of gratifying the vicious fancies of royalty, taxation was increased to an intolerable extent. Privilege seemed to lose all sense of the dignity which is its main security, and openly flaunted itself before the eyes of the oppressed middle classes and peasantry. Church and nobility alike abandoned all pretence of

serving any other end than that of self-aggrandisement. These, briefly, were the conditions which brought about the crisis of 1789, and it is these conditions, reflected through the genius of Rousseau, that we see in the pages of the "Contrat Social." This book became the inspired text-book of the revolutionary leaders, because it articulated the sentiments and aspirations of the multitudes whose wrongs had forced them into open revolt. It has been said, and perhaps truly, that Rousseau was not a revolutionist; there is no doubt that he would have repudiated many of the things done in his name. Nevertheless, their inspiration can be traced to the criticisms and political theories of the "Contrat Social."

The keynote of this work is struck in the opening words, "Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains." The Socialist reader must inevitably be reminded of the famous exhortation of Marx, "Workers of the world, unite: you have nothing to lose but your chains," where we find the complement of these words of Rousseau. The natural form of society, says Rousseau, is the family. Self-preservation, which is best secured in larger groups than the family, led to the voluntary association of persons under a "contract" which was to "defend and protect with the whole force of the community the person and property of every associate, and by means of which each, coalescing with all, may, nevertheless, obey only himself and remain as free as before." The last words are important, for they mark the advance made by Rousseau over the doctrines of Hobbes and Locke, from whom he borrowed the general notion of a primitive contract. Hobbes held that the contract was practically irrevocable; that thenceforth the individual had nothing to do but to obey the sovereign power, whether tyrant or democracy, and must never strive to alter its form. The best form of government is the existing one, and anarchy is to be dreaded before all things. Rousseau, on the contrary, emphasised the mutual obligations of the contract. The Government makes a continual effort against the

sovereignty of the people. Sooner or later the Prince will become an oppressor and thus violate the social treaty. The King who governs with violence and without regard to justice is a despot and a usurper. The State must then change its form or perish. The individual is justified in revolting when he is no longer secured that freedom and felicity for which he surrendered his rights. His duty is to revert to the original condition of equality and to re-establish the sovereignty of the people.

Such doctrines, put forward under the conditions of the time outlined above, could not fail to find a ready acceptance. Their effect was not diminished by the fact that the primitive contract was pure dogma, without any historical foundation. At the time it held the field, and the deductions drawn from it were sufficiently applicable to contemporary affairs to inspire immediate action. The leaders of the Revolution found in the "Contrat Social" a theoretical justification for their revolt, and there was no need to look further. It would have been useless to say that Rousseau was against violent methods and looked to education to accomplish his reforms. He had said that the people were sovereign, and who was to say them nay if they used other and quicker means? Certainly not a dissipated Court or an effete Administration incapable of responding to the growing demand for a change in the political institutions of the country. So revolution was inevitable, and the sovereign people overthrew the Administration and cut off the head of the king. Rousseau might have wept for poor Louis; but he had wept at the wrongs of an oppressed people, and they avenged their wrongs in the only way open to them.

The influence of Rousseau's writings did not cease on the accomplishment of the definite act of revolution. His investigations had covered the whole field of social and political theory, and the Constitutions of 1790 and 1793, as well as the legislation carried through by the Assembly and the Convention, bear distinct marks of his teachings. Much of it was impracticable, as might

be expected in an attempt to make a paper Constitution, and in laws for which the economic conditions were not ripe; but many of the principles of the "Contrat Social" became part of the accepted order of things. Rousseau denounced mercenary troops, the Revolution abolished them. He advocated the subordination of the Church to the civil power, and the control of the executive functions by the Legislature. These reforms also the Revolution achieved. Even if his theories only anticipated the inevitable course of events, he so concentrated attention on the questions involved that the path of progress was rendered easier. The reader who wants to consult the "Contrat Social" at first hand will find an English translation in Sonnenschein's Social Science Series, with a useful introduction. In it he will meet with much that is illogical and inconsistent. If he is a Socialist he will perhaps class the author as an individualist, for he will find there is no conception of the State as an instrument for providing by collective intelligence and co-operation the possibilities of higher and ever higher development. But the complementary doctrine, to which he can also subscribe, that the State should be the guardian of individual freedom and rights, he will find argued with unmatched eloquence and power. And he will not fail to observe many ideas and proposals which it is the mission of Socialists, as the inheritors of the revolutionary tradition, to bring to fulfilment.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE PARTY SYSTEM.

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO "THE PARTY SYSTEM," BY HILAIRE BELLOC AND CECIL CHESTERTON.

By George C. Swanson.

IV.—*(Conclusion.)*

Little more remains to be said to prove the relevance and the necessity of the Party System under capitalist conditions. Let us suppose, for a moment, that there was only one political party in existence. Well, then in that case no Party System would be required, because that party would continue in power administering the nation's affairs without let or hindrance; but, if that one party split up into two or more parts, then there must be some understanding between these new parties, providing that as they secured predominance in voting power, so should they assume office. If they refused to come to some such arrangement, then the country would be given over to bitter factional strife, and the way would be prepared for a restoration of autocracy or a military despotism. Just as an abeyance of the kingly authority has always brought popular national parties into being, so the suspension of popular control, which necessarily follows upon protracted political conflict, leads to monarchical or some other form of tyranny.

The reigns of weak and injudicious kings have always been accompanied by the rise of popular schism, brought about by their own inability to adapt their government to the needs of the period. John and Richard II. of England and Louis XVI. of France

were all three fathers of revolution, because they attempted both too much and too little. Consequently, all three lost their crowns and two of them their lives, through insurrections which their own weakness had nursed into being.

Similarly, the weakness of national parties and their inability to divide the government of the country in accordance with the fluctuations of political fortune, has always prepared the road for a restoration of despotism. The earlier revolution of the seventeenth century would have left a greater impression upon the history of this country had the army and Parliament been able to compose their differences and agree upon measures of reform. No man more desired true national government than did Cromwell, and it was with real reluctance that he was compelled to take sides with the army against the Rump Parliament, who refused to dissolve in favour of a reformed Chamber. At last, to use his own words, he became convinced that "There is little to hope for, from such men, for a settlement of the nation," and summoning a company of musketeers he expelled the members from the House. England had then a wonderful opportunity of firmly establishing Republicanism, combined with a real representative system, which would have saved her much disorder and trouble during the last three hundred years, but lost it because the people were unable to perceive the necessity of a party understanding such as exists now, and which enables the people (not the whole of the people, I grant you) to retain a hold upon the government.

The same with France. Louis XVI. was inadequately equipped by nature, to deal with the terrible problems which presented themselves for settlement in his reign, and his weakness brought about an abeyance of the monarchical authority with a consequent rise of popular parties. The king fell, and the people consequently rose to assume the power which fell from his weak hands. But this accession to power did not endow the people with that political foresight necessary to en-

able them to properly use their new weapon. The popular party immediately and naturally broke up into its constituent parts, chief among which were the Girondists and the Jacobins, the men of the mountain. With no higher authority to compel them, by its oppression, to consolidate into one popular party, they spent their precious days and years in tearing at each other's throats. This disastrous policy could only end in one of two ways: either there must have been a restoration of the monarchy, or the chaos of political strife must give way to a military despotism. As fortune would have it, the Monarchists lost, and Militarism and Bonaparte won.

We shall have a strong Socialist Party in the House of Commons before many more years are over, and possibly a Socialist Labour Government; and when that time arrives, if the English people has not retained its belief in the necessity of submitting to the policy of the party which has secured predominant popular support, and allowing that party as a disciplined organisation to determine the course of affairs, then we shall witness a national conflict as great and worse than that which devastated France from 1790 to 1800, and probably with the same result—a military dictatorship.

It is futile, then, to protest against the Party System, with all its corruption and humbug. Until the time arrives when, by the abolition of the property basis of society, we shall have abolished the cause why the people divide into parties, some such system is both natural and inevitable. It is the conflict of economic interests which is the foundation of conflicting political organisations, and when the economic interests of all the people are common and equal, political parties will disappear, and the Party System will die. In the meantime, our authors and others who have expressed similar opinions will save themselves a lot of trouble and will be doing a good service to the people's cause, if they will be so good as not to confuse the real issue by talking and writing as if we could change our political system as easily as we can change our clothes.

Furthermore, as far as corruption is concerned, that also is natural and inevitable. The sole right to live to-day is based upon one's possession of wealth; consequently mankind, which desires above all things to continue existence—perhaps a mistaken ideal but a real one, nevertheless—necessarily seeks after the various forms of wealth, to obtain them honestly if possible; if not, to obtain them in some other way. We induce this inordinate love of money or wealth because we allow monopolies in the means of life, and what else can we expect? It is tantamount to saying to men, "In order to secure the means whereby you can live you must compete with one another," and then, when we find this absurd, insane competition, in a world, mind you, where production must necessarily be social, leads to nepotism and corruption, we raise our hands in holy horror and talk about instituting a system which, whilst synchronising with capitalism, shall be free from that taint. Our authors will probably be surprised, when I say that greed and competition are natural expressions of the desire for self-preservation, which are consequent upon our present economic basis of society, and are not necessarily evidences of national decay. Corruption is an effect of capitalism, and is common to all communities, progressive and otherwise, which are not absolutely co-operative in economic constitution.

Nor are we to-day any worse than our forefathers. Cæsar spent nine years in Gaul exterminating the Nervii, amongst other tribes, and accumulating booty wherewith he corrupted the Roman Senate and created a Cæsar's party in the capital. He corrupted political life in Rome without scruple, and, using the support of his pocket partisans, he crushed the Commonwealth and established himself as dictator. From the time when Satan bought a woman with one of the "rare, refreshing fruit" in the Garden of Eden, down to the purchase of the Labour Party by the Liberals, corruption has played a large part in the history of the world. Who does not remember

the South Sea Bubble, and the corruption which was revealed when it burst? Craggs, the Secretary of State, died of terror at the investigation, and Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was sent to the Tower. As far back as 1695 an Act of Parliament was passed against bribery and corruption, yet Walpole, our first Prime Minister, maintained his position by wholesale corruption of the members of the House of Commons, and during Bute's Ministry in the reign of George III. bribery was employed on a scale never known before. At this time an office was opened at the Treasury for the purchase of members, and twenty-five thousand pounds are said to have been spent in a single day. That things are just as bad now we are all aware; peerages are bought and sold in the same sweet way as they were of yore; but surely it is obvious that while competition in the means of life endures, it is quite impossible to eradicate corruption from our national and political life. Messrs. Belloc and Chesterton apparently do not think so, for with all the innocent enthusiasm of those young political crusaders, who imagine the social revolution is coming next week, and who continually wear red ties in order to be in the fashion when it does arrive, they think to end it by the substitution for the Party System of some other method of government. Gentlemen, gentlemen, it is really too silly.

It is not necessary to devote space to the remedy suggested for the modern ineffectiveness of our Parliament, for our authors have no such remedy. They grope about in the dark, talk about the replacement of our degraded Parliament by some other organ, and indulge in some indefinite suggestion about every member being compelled to take independent action; but they do not feel very sure of the proposal, and themselves confess they do not think it would work.

That the Party System is bad we all admit, that it is a means whereby the people are continually being fooled and misled we do not deny; but what we do desire to impress upon our authors is that capitalism is

bound to produce such a system of government, and that the only way to prevent the disease is to deal with the cause. It may be possible to assuage the evil effects of the Party System by adopting certain measures restricting the creation of peerages, or some other such method; but the effect could at the best be only temporary, and in a little while we should be just where we were before.

This book of Messrs. Belloc and Chesterton is in the same category as the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission. Both contain suggestions that the evils of capitalism may be abolished gradually by a series of minor operations dealing with the manner in which capitalism expresses itself in the life of a people, and both are ineffectual and even dangerous. Man is born in a world where, to preserve himself alive, he has to struggle against nature. He can carry on that struggle competitively or co-operatively. If he chooses the former, he must inevitably drift into competing with his fellow-man and give an economic basis to society which must bring with it all the evils with which modern society is acquainted—great riches, great poverty, wealth for the few, starvation for the many, disease, physical deterioration, degradation of literature and art, a false religious ethic, Dreadnoughts, patent medicines, the "Daily Mail," and the Party System. If, on the other hand, he is wise enough to socialise the means of life, to abolish competition in the materials necessary for existence, these evil results cannot appear. There is only one remedy worthy of the attention of serious men, and that is the establishment of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

THE MONTH.

The outstanding event of the past month for the working class has been the conclusion of the London Transport Workers' strike. After as stubborn a fight as any in our industrial history, the men surrendered at discretion; beaten by hunger. They stood out as long as was humanly possible, and when, defeated by sheer starvation, they returned to work, they did so reluctantly, unwilling to admit their defeat.

The strike and its conclusion should have many lessons, especially for Socialists, and if these are thoroughly learnt the sufferings, the privation and misery of the strike, and the bitterness of defeat will not have been endured in vain. It has demonstrated once more the too readily forgotten truth that, as a general rule, it is the employers who are responsible for a strike and not the men. In this instance the vilest abuse was showered upon the men's leaders for instigating a strike, when, as a matter of fact, they had done everything in their power to prevent a strike taking place. But the strike was forced upon the men by the employers, partly out of revenge for the victory the men gained last year, but chiefly in order to break the power of the men's unions and to get back some of the concessions which they had gained.

This event also teaches once more that when the employers endeavour to force a strike it is to the interest of the men to avoid it if possible. But it is seldom possible. If the employers really want a strike they can make it practically impossible for the men to decline the challenge. That was so in this case. Neither the men nor their leaders desired a strike; but they had no choice in the matter. They had to fight at a disadvantage, and the wonder was, not that they were worsted in the struggle, but that they held out so long and that the struggle ended in a capitulation and not a rout.

The chief lesson to be learnt from it all, however, is the oft-repeated, but still much needed, one of the general futility of strikes. As we have said here, and often enough before, strikes are generally unavoidable, but are seldom to the advantage of the worker. It is essential to maintain unimpaired the power and the right to strike; but the exercise of that power is another matter, and should never be entered upon if it can be avoided. Concessions may be wrung from the employer by the fear of a strike, but in most cases when he is prepared to risk a strike he knows he is not going to lose by it.

Lord Devonport and his colleagues showed throughout the whole dispute the callousness characteristic of their class. They struck at the men through the defenceless women and children. The want and suffering caused by the obduracy of the employers was indescribable and heartrending. It is only fair to say that all sorts and conditions of men and women subscribed to the funds raised to aid the sufferers, and in this work of mercy, naturally, Socialists were well to the fore. Not nearly as much was done in this respect, however, as ought to have been done, and although some of the trade unions came readily and spontaneously to the aid of their comrades, it cannot be said that the whole of the trade unions did their duty in the matter.

The leaders, and notably our friend Tillett, in spite of the opprobrium endeavoured to be cast upon them, came very creditably out of the strike. All through what they could not but know was a losing fight they stood manfully by the men with never a word of weakness or discouragement; and, best of all, they deferred to the men on every occasion and set a high example of real democratic leadership in most difficult circumstances.

The bye-elections seem to be going steadily against the Government. After Ilkeston, where Colonel Seely just managed to save the seat, came Hanley, where it is true the Liberal succeeded in getting elected. There is little doubt, however, that the Liberals rather than the Tories gained by the Labour candidature, as none but those opposed to the Government would have voted for the Labourist, and their votes would otherwise have gone to the Tory. In Crewe, however, even the candidature of Mr. Holmes did not save the Ministerialists from a crushing defeat, their candidate polling over two thousand votes less than in the last triangular

contest there. And North-West Manchester has now returned a Tory with a majority of twelve hundred. St. Rollox, South Manchester, Ilkeston, Hanley, Crewe, and North-West Manchester all afford evidence that the tide is setting strongly against the Government. Yet Ministerialists never tire of telling us that the policy of the Government is generally approved, and that the Insurance Act in particular is popular. If the results of the bye-elections are evidence of the popularity of the Government, it would be interesting to know what would be regarded as indications of unpopularity.

The worst of it all is that the results indicate a Tory reaction. It is neither strange nor regrettable that the Liberals should be defeated. What is to be regretted, however, is that they should be defeated in favour of the Tories.

In spite of their pretended satisfaction, there are not wanting signs that the Liberals are becoming uneasy, and are casting about for further means of ensnaring the workers. To that end they have re-furbished up the old land-taxation dodge. We are not opposed to taxing the landlords, even to extinction, but we cannot develop much enthusiasm for a proposal to tax the landlords for the benefit of the capitalists ; nor do we find any strong popular feeling behind this latest Liberal "land programme." Even the chiefs of the Party are not very keen about it. Probably they are waiting to see which way the cat jumps.

It is difficult to understand how any reasonable human being can feel any sympathy with the latest exploits of the Suffragettes, or regret the punishment inflicted upon them. We are not in favour of the principle of punishment at all, but so long as the punishment of crime rather than the reclamation of the criminal is the object of our criminal laws, it cannot be said that the Suffragettes have not richly deserved punishment, or that the punishment imposed has been excessive. Five years' penal servitude is a heavy sentence it is true, but it is scarcely possible to conceive of any more cruel and mischievous a crime than that of setting fire to a theatre. Those who were responsible for this abominable outrage in Dublin have reason to be thankful that their attempt failed, or the consequences, even for themselves, would have been far more serious.

The reaction against the militant tactics of the Suffragettes was bound to come, and we are not surprised, therefore, that several of their meetings have already been broken up, and that they find it increasingly difficult to obtain a hearing anywhere. They cannot reasonably complain of this. Having asserted their right to run amok and to indulge in the wildest and most mischievous hooliganism, they cannot be surprised if the same hooliganism is directed against themselves. They have the right to publicly advocate their principles, just the same as any other body of propagandists, but they cannot reasonably claim that right unless they are prepared to respect its exercise by others.

There is nothing of much more importance to any body of propagandists than the right of public meeting. But such a right obviously depends upon mutual toleration. If, therefore, a minority deliberately attempts to suppress the right of public meeting of the majority, it can scarcely complain when the majority in its turn makes the exercise of that right by the minority impossible. We have protested most strongly, and generally successfully, whenever the Government, local or imperial, has interfered with our right of free speech or public meeting; but we do not find Governmental interference or attempts at suppression more objectionable than the operations of male or female hooligans.

Our pusillanimous, pacifist Government is still pursuing the evil tenour of its way in naval and foreign policy. It is a penny wise pound foolish policy, which is neither pacific nor economical. The additional millions to be spent, and being spent, on the navy are simply so many millions wasted and worse, because they stimulate German rivalry, which again serves as the excuse for the expenditure of still more millions, while bringing the menace of war appreciably nearer. In the meantime, for fear of Germany we are bound hand and foot to the sinister Russian despotism. That is not only an unholy alliance, but an absolutely futile one. Far better come to an arrangement with Germany, even on her own terms.

Our American comrades are now in the closing stages of the Presidential campaign. They could not have chosen two better men than Debs and Seidel—both are distinctly proletarian and tried workers in the revolutionary movement. Both have given the best of their lives to the cause.

The Socialist campaign is being ably conducted: special attention being given to the absolute tyranny of the Trusts; the corruption of the old parties; the supreme power of the trust-owned judiciary; and the use of both civil and military forces against the workers without the slightest provocation. This persistent cannonading of the old order, carried on with the vim and enthusiasm typical of our American comrades, must surely result in a tremendously increased Socialist vote. The loss of Milwaukee and the confession of the MacNamara brothers are being used by our opponents to the greatest possible extent, but it is improbable that these events will have any appreciable effect on the returns.

Both Republican and Democratic Party candidates are but instruments of the capitalist class. As Debs says: "The finances for the booming of both Taft and Roosevelt come from the 'interests,' one gang of Wall Street pirates backing Taft and another Roosevelt. Both Taft and Roosevelt are the political chattels of these interests, legal ownership having been established by cash purchase. Taft wears the collar of the Standard Oil Trust and Roosevelt the collar of the Steel Trust and Harvester Trust. . . . The cold fact about Woodrow Wilson's nomination is that it was given to him by the Wall Street interests."

THE SYNDICALISTS.

(From the New York "Vorwärts.")

The Syndicalists repudiate political action on the part of Labour. They advocate trade union organisation more in its activity than in its structure. Now, what do they put in the place of the latter? What means do they wish to see adopted in the struggle of the masses of workers for a better existence?

The Syndicalists expect from "direct action" what the Socialists expect from political action. Direct action, sabotage, general strike—these are their watchwords.

Direct action is opposed to Parliamentary action. The latter is indirect action of the workers; it is carried on by means of delegations, mandates, representatives. When a Labour member introduces a Bill regulating the length of the working day, the proletariat only acts indirectly. But if the trade union express their will, shortly and to the point, if by laying down their tools they force the employers and the State to introduce the eight-hour day, that is direct action. According to this view the Congress of the French General Confederation of Labour decided in 1905 that on May 1, 1906, the French workers should simply "leave off working more than eight hours." A decision which, however, led to nothing.

It is very easy certainly to think of attaining the eight-hour day in this manner. Just as easy as the recommendation by the Syndicalists to attack and destroy the State indirectly by ceasing to respect or observe its laws. To run one's head against a wall is a somewhat similar practice.

Direct action leads in the natural course to the strike and the general strike. The class-struggle expresses itself above all in the cessation of work. But it is, according to the ideas of the Syndicalists, a mistake for the workers on strike to depend merely on the funds collected by themselves. The strike must be won through storm, enthusiasm, by rapid energetic pressure. Therefore, in a strike the state of finances must never be taken into consideration. One must count on sympathetic strikes, sympathetic financial support, and must seek to set these on foot.

Finally, the general strike is to the Syndicalists the sole means of salvation, the symbol of the social revolution. They declare that the whole of the workers' Socialism is contained in the general strike. And another of their spokesmen declares: "The moment

is perhaps not far off when one will not know how to define Socialism other than by the general strike."

If the general strike is to the Syndicalists a great means of carrying on the struggle, so sabotage is to them the means in the everyday struggle. The name is derived from "sabot"—a drag, brake. The name is new, but its nature is an old thing in the Labour movement. Sabotage as a weapon in the struggle means slow working, turning out bad work, endangering the carrying on of the business, destruction of the means of production, passive resistance, as it has often been carried on during strikes of railway workers. A paper which backs up sabotage writes: "If the employer will not give in to a demand of the workers, the latter can carry on the business in such a manner that he will prefer either to give in or to send away the men and put in others. And in order to set at nought also this intention of the exploiter, one can bring the whole works to a standstill by injuring machines, etc. Thereby one can to a great extent get rid of the danger of being hindered in one's aspirations by willing slaves, strike-breakers. If a workshop is really filled with blacklegs, strikers would do well to put in one of their own men among them so that the work can be carried on according to the wish of the strikers. One single person can sometimes render the work of hundreds useless. . . . "

". . . . The sabot can be used everywhere: here by disturbing the regular course of the machine, there by giving a new direction to hand and brain. The employer is helpless, because he cannot catch anybody; he becomes thoughtful and finally gives in. The workman has in the present complicated and improved mechanism a dangerous weapon in his hand; everything depends on his goodwill, on his sense of duty towards others. The slavery of the worker is a voluntary slavery; the masters are beggars. The rich throw the poor out of the door. Let us do the same with the greedy beggars and impostors! Only, as regards the weapons to be employed therein, we must not inquire as to their morality."

This conception of morals on the part of the saboteurs is contradicted by the German "Metallarbeiter Zeitung," which declares: "It is quite contrary to social morals to carry on the class-struggle in a manner which awakens and lets loose the lowest and worst instincts of the human heart. Who is there among fairly decent workmen who would demean himself to play his employer a trick behind his back, and then to rejoice also behind his back at the injury that resulted? Quite the contrary; a class-conscious worker will be conscious of his own weight as a representative of higher social morality. . . . One often, indeed, hears the opinion expressed that all is fair in war, but this is not in accordance with the conception of a class which is aspiring to something higher, which would create not only new conditions, but also new human beings."

No doubt there are, as regards the class-struggle, points where Marxists and Syndicalists meet. But the idea of direct action,

of opposition to the political activity of the working class, sabotage, and so on, make the Socialists sharp opponents of the Syndicalists.

The Socialists know that the ballot paper is no almighty weapon with which they can attain everything. But they know also that political action on the part of the working class has hitherto been the means of building up a goal-conscious, firmly-organised Labour movement. Without political action the militant organisations of the workers which exist in Germany, Austria, and Scandinavia would not have been possible there either in the political or economic domain. We do not propose to give examples either of what political action has gained for the workers, nor of what it has done in preventing harm being done to their class. But this must be said: If the workers in countries where there is a strong Socialist movement have elevated themselves intellectually during recent years to an extent unknown during any other equal period in history, it is owing to the political action of their class. And if to-day the idea of workmen's insurance, of factory legislation, the idea that it is necessary to show consideration for the masses of workers, has become generally accepted, the credit for this is due in the first instance to the political action of the working class.

In face of these facts it is nothing less than a crime to advise the workers to substitute direct action for political action.

"Direct action!" "General strike!" Big words, which dissolve in vapour if circumstances have not created the soil for their realisation. In all revolutionary circles one has pretty well come to the decision that revolutions cannot be "made," that they are the final result of a long development, that the soil from which they spring must be ripe for them. That which applies to revolutions applies equally to the general strike. One cannot "make" it any more than the revolution. The soil must be prepared for it. It does not depend upon the will of the workers, but on the economic and political conditions under which they live. And according to these conditions it will be determined whether a general strike is possible or not.

There remains the much bepraised "sabotage," the disturbance of production by all kinds of violent means!

It would be childish to deny that wherever labour struggles assume an acute form deeds of violence may occur. Deeds of violence in one or other form do occur in all labour struggles. Resistance to laws and courts of law becomes the duty of the worker when vital conditions are at stake for his class. If strikes, if boycotts, if political action on the part of the workers are forbidden by law or by judicial decision, then the instinct of self-preservation demands that the workers break these laws or these judicial decisions. They cannot do otherwise.

But it is altogether different with the deeds of violence which may occur in the daily struggle of the workers. It is one thing

to be forced by the pressure of circumstances to seize upon violence and illegality, and another thing to start out by *advising* such deeds of violence. One may be forced to *do* a certain thing, but one does not say it, and still less does one base one's propaganda upon it. And it is often the fact that those who urge the use of force keep far enough away themselves at the critical moment.

Whoever is at all intimate with the history of the Labour movement knows that all propaganda based on the open recommendation of violence has ended in the net of the agent-provocateur. Where deeds of violence are propagated and planned there the agents-provocateurs build their nests. If sabotage becomes the watchword of a movement, one soon ceases to know where sabotage ends and where the work of the agent-provocateur begins. Mutual distrust, mutual suspicion, weakening of the organisation will be the result. And the movement and the workers will suffer most.

Karl Marx, who used the expression that force is the midwife of every old system of society pregnant with the new, still turned sharply upon Bakunin and his supporters when they wished to introduce crime and deeds of violence into the revolutionary movement. One may very well be of opinion that in the final solution of the social question force will play a paramount part, and yet set one's face absolutely against the workers making use in their struggle of violent methods which are of no use either to them or to the movement; and, indeed, can only do harm.

The Syndicalist movement and its doctrines are not the expression of the strength of the Labour movement, they are the expression of weakness. The use of force inside the Labour movement will always be advocated where no other means are at its disposal. Thus the use of force is always seen where the right of combination is denied to the workers, where they have not won the right of organisation. An inclination to employ force also shows itself where strong organisations have not as yet developed, or where for one reason or another the organisation is reduced to inactivity.

It is on this account that we see Syndicalism arise in France, where the trade union movement is only slightly developed; in the same way in Italy, where conditions are still backward, it has been able to spread. And because in England the unskilled workers have as yet no strong trade union organisation we see there a tendency to Syndicalism, just as we do in the United States for the same reason.

"The philosophy of Syndicalism," we read somewhere, "is the expression of its weakness. A virtue has been made out of necessity, out of the small number of members in the syndicates and their financial incapacity; one must not depend on funds to carry on warfare, but on enthusiasm; not on constituting the majority, but on the enthusiasm of an energetic minority carrying along with it the phlegmatic majority; not on an improve-

ment in the workers' lot gained by the help of legislation, but on conquering employers and State by means of force."

But Syndicalism is not *only* the expression of weakness. It is also the expression of protest and reaction where the Socialist movement has deviated from its original functions, where it loses its character as the class movement of the workers, and where Revisionism has begun its enervating and demoralising activity within the Socialist ranks.

It is no mere chance that it is in France, the land of Millerand and Briand, and other "socialistic" Ministers, that Syndicalism should have reached its greatest strength. France is the home of that Socialism which separated itself from the working class and took the petty bourgeoisie into its embrace. The Socialism which would take part in governing also in the bourgeois world is at home in France. No wonder that the workers there dissociated themselves from the Socialist world, that they gave themselves over to views which must seem absurd to us, but which are to be explained by the conditions prevailing there.

Syndicalism is strengthened wherever there is no strong political and trade union movement of the workers. It becomes strong wherever Socialism has lost its old revolutionary force as a political Labour movement, where it has become a mere reform movement which tries to appeal to all circles, however backward. It will be strong wherever the Socialist movement neglects all its other tasks for the sake of Parliamentary action, and where the movement ceases to draw new nourishment from the soil of the working class themselves.

But where the Socialist movement does its duty as the expression of the labour struggle, there it is a bad look-out for Syndicalism. Already in France, its mother country, it is doomed to destruction. With the strengthening of the trade union organisation, and with the clearing of issues within the political Socialist movement, the hour has struck for Syndicalism. Even its own theoreticians are already leaving the sinking ship, and its foremost advocates are throwing down their arms.

Of all those who tried to base French Syndicalism on theories George Sorel stands in the front rank. Ever since 1897 he has been attempting in a number of works to determine and co-ordinate Syndicalism. He and Eduard Berth were the cleverest exponents of the doctrines of Syndicalism in France.

And now? One should read what is written in Paris: "Sorel, Berth, and others have done nothing but translate and give form to the workers' inarticulate moods. Sorel has lately given up revolutionary Syndicalism." "Syndicalism has not fulfilled that which it promised. Many hoped that the future would improve the bad conditions of the present; but he feels that he is too old to be able to live for remote hopes." "All that Sorel and Berth have retained from their Syndicalist past is their dislike of the democracy. Thus they promised to become contributors to the

new monarchical monthly journal 'La Cité Francaise,' which, however, never saw the light. But even by the mere announcement they ruined their relationship with the workers, who, in spite of all the criticism they pass on the democracy, still hate nothing more than that which savours of the 'ancien régime.'"

So much for the theoretical advocates of Syndicalism. And what of its practical representatives?

Well, it is common knowledge how Gustav Hervé has recently changed—that chief representative of Syndicalist propaganda in France, or rather of the particular part of that propaganda which deals with the agitation among soldiers. The same Hervé who once declared at the International Congress in Stuttgart that "the whole German Social-Democracy has become bourgeois," and is nothing but a "voting and counting machine, a party with mandates and cash-boxes"—the same Hervé now declares: "I begin to ask myself whether we, with our big words about insurrection, direct action, sabotage, the 'chasse aux renards,' are not from the revolutionary point of view merely little boys as compared to the Socialists of Germany." He declares that one should not "misuse" sabotage, and not commit excesses in connection with strikes. In short, he turns away from the practice of the Syndicalists.

The absence of success on the part of the Syndicalist movement and its practice was bound to have this result.

EVENTS OF JULY.

AT HOME.

1—House of Commons adopted Mr. O'Grady's motion on the Transport Workers' strike.
Ilkeston bye-election: Seely (Secretary of War), 9,049; Freeman (Unionist), 7,838; greatly decreased Liberal majority.

3—Clause 1 of Home Rule Bill carried.
Great distress at East-End through Dock Strike.

4—Many cases of foot-and-mouth disease.
Port of London Authority demanded unconditional surrender of the strikers.

5—Dock Strike Committee decided strike shall continue.

6—Orange disturbances in Belfast.
London cattle markets closed owing to disease.

7—King decided to cancel engagement to cut first sod of Albert Dock extension.

9—Explosion at Cadeby Pit, near Sheffield: 74 lives lost, including three Government inspectors.
Members of Parliament inspected the Fleet at Spithead.

10—Speech by Canadian Premier at Royal Colonial Institute.
Strike disturbances at Surrey Commercial Docks.

11—British protest against U.S.A. Panama Bill published.

12—Franchise and Registration Bill, second reading carried by 290 votes to 218.
Maximum of 88 degrees in the shade in London.

13—Mr. Lloyd George at Kennington; assaulted by Suffragist.
Suffragist incendiaries discovered at Nuneham House.
Hanley bye-election: Outhwaite (Liberal), 6,647; Rittner (Unionist), 5,993; Finney (Labour), 1,694; Labour loss.
Peruvian atrocities report published.

14—Police attacked strike demonstrators in Hyde Park.

15—Insurance Act operative.
Strike representatives met Lord Devonport.
Premier received miners' deputation on Minimum Wage Act.

17—L.C.C. Education Committee by a majority of one declined to use rates on feeding school children during holidays.

18—Mr. Asquith arrived in Dublin ; Suffragists threw hatchets and attempted to burn down the Theatre Royal.

19—Premier addressed Nationalist demonstration at Dublin.

22—Mr. Churchill on Navy increase.

23—British Medical Association broke off negotiations with Mr. Lloyd George, and ordered members to withdraw from Insurance Act appointments.

Mr. O'Grady moved the adjournment of the House to discuss the Dock Strike.

London County Council again rejected motion to feed school children.

24—Ben Tillett, at Tower Hill, prayed God to strike Lord Devonport dead.

26—Government escaped defeat by three votes on question of procedure.

Crewe bye-election (result declared next day) : Craig (Unionist), 6,260 ; Murphy (Liberal), 5,294 ; Holmes (Labour), 2,485. Tory gain.

27—Incendiary speeches by Mr. Bonar Law and others at Blenheim.

Strike Committee recommended men to return to work.

28—Mass meeting of strikers in Southwark Park refused to obey Committee's orders.

29—London Strike Committee adhered to determination to end the strike.

30—Report of Titanic inquiry issued ; ship lost through excessive speed.

House of Commons : Mr. Montagu announced appointment of Mr. J. R. MacDonald on Royal Commission to visit India.

31—Serious collisions between ex-strikers and "free labourers" at London Docks : blacklegs used revolvers.

House of Commons : Debate on Belfast outrages.

ABROAD.

2—Dr. Woodrow Wilson nominated by Democratic Convention at Baltimore.

Three Egyptian Nationalists arrested for conspiracy.

3—Military disaffection in Turkey.

4—Kaiser and Czar met at Port Baltic.

Railway accident at Corning, N.Y. : 34 killed.

5—Strike riots at Havre.

6—Portuguese Royalists crossed the frontier from Spain, but were repulsed from Valencia.
Railway accident in Pennsylvania : 21 killed.
7—Italian Socialist Party Conference opened at Reggio Emilia.
8—International Miners' Congress opened at Amsterdam.
Camorra trial ended.
10—New Zealand new Cabinet sworn in.
French Chamber passed Electoral Reform Bill (Proportional Representation) by 339 to 217 votes.
11—Strike riots at Dunkirk ; town occupied by troops.
American judge impeached for corruption.
10—Shevket Pasha, Turkish War Minister, resigned.
14—Five Chinese Ministers resigned.
16—Gustave Hervé liberated.
17—Turkish Cabinet resigned.
19—Italians bombarded Dardanelles entrance.
21—Mukhtar Pasha appointed Grand Vizier.
30—Death of the Mikado.

THE REVIEWS.

THE BURBANK FRUIT-FARM.

A very interesting article appears in the current "Chambers's Journal," on the work of Mr. Luther Burbank, the American horticulturist. Here are a few extracts :—

When we see in the huckster's shop the rows, pyramids, circles and crosses made of the red-cheeked apples, peaches and other fruits, this appetising display is very attractive to the eye. It would seem as if Nature had made the product of the tree and bush not only good to the taste but picturesque to the eye.

Yet a man in America has actually excelled Nature in producing fruits that have a richer colour and a better taste, and are of a larger size. Peaches from the orchard of this horticultural wizard are equal in size to two clenched fists held together. Weigh one of the big red apples on the scales, and it tips the beam at over a pound ; one person could not eat more than half of it. The melons in his garden-patch, even the humble potatoes from the vegetable-field, are double the size of the ordinary fruit and vegetable.

This Nature improver has his farm in far Western America, in the State of California. Over thirty years ago Mr. Luther Burbank began to get his first world-wide popularity. His work was so unusual and mysterious to the ordinary mind, and so exaggerated by certain writers, that he was dubbed a Nature faker. Every time a new fruit or flower was announced, persons who knew absolutely nothing about the subject set out to prove the world's foremost horticulturist an impostor. While these attacks for a time injured Burbank, in the end they proved a "boost," for the controversies created a wide interest in his discoveries.

Probably the last doubt of Mr. Burbank's genuineness passed away when the assembling in San Francisco in 1899 of the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experimental Stations gave a large group of scientific men from all parts of the

country an opportunity to examine critically the man and his work on his own grounds at Santa Rosa, and his farm called Sebastopol.

. . . . . .

The Burbank potato, as it was called, was the first of his efforts to increase vegetation in quantity and quality. He planted seed potatoes in clay, loam, sand, and black earth, fertilising the green shoots with various nourishing elements. At harvest he placed samples of each potato grown in a row; but the largest and best tasting was not up to his expectations. For five years he ploughed, seeded, and cultivated. Then was produced the Burbank potato, with its white skin instead of red. How popular it is with the farmers is shown by the fact that so many seed potatoes are grown of this variety that, according to a statement of the United States Department of Agriculture at Washington, the Burbank potato is adding to the farm productivity of the country an annual amount of three and a-half million pounds sterling.

The Burbank plum, when first introduced, was, by dealers and shippers, canners and dryers, generally pronounced as "not like other plums," and they would have none of it; but although generally introduced less than twenty years ago, it is perhaps to-day more widely known and more generally grown than any other plum of any name or kind produced either by Nature or by the scientific experiments of man.

Fifteen years ago the first experiments with the thornless cactus were instituted on Mr. Burbank's farm. Four years ago his opuntias, as they are called, were put on the market, and the interest in them has been so far-reaching that the official representatives of almost every Government have shown their profound appreciation for the work either by correspondence, personal investigation, or purchase of some of the different varieties of spineless cactus he has created. They are as safe to handle and as safe to feed to cattle as beets, potatoes, carrots, or pumpkins, and they produce more food with less care and less water and on poorer soil than any other plant which grows on this earth, excelling even the banana in their never-failing bountiful crops of fruit.

. . . . . .

He confesses to having put $240,000 of his own private earnings into his work. "Not one-tenth of this sum," he says, "has ever been received in return, nor was it expected, as few originators of a new plant have ever made it pay themselves, no matter how many untold millions their work may have produced for others. No patent can be obtained on any improvement of plants, and for one I am glad that it is so. The reward is in the joy of having done good work."

DEGENERATION.

Dr. Max Nordau, writing in the "Hibbert Journal," has the following to say on the above subject:—

Degeneration is no new phenomenon. It is probably as old as humanity itself. We may assume that it began in prehistoric times. We know that it has been present in the whole course of history. Only it never before had the range and character which we now observe. Formerly it only attacked the ruling class of the nations, the dynasties and the aristocracy. In these circles life was always lived too intensively, and more vital energy was expended than was received; their vital economy showed therefore an organic deficit, that ordinarily required but few generations to lead the family and individuals to bankruptcy. The rapid exhaustion of great houses, and especially those of rulers; their collapse in madness, their extinction through languor, celibacy and childlessness, have often been studied. I need point only to the fundamental work on the madness of the Cæsars by the Russian author Jacoby, and to the recently-published researches into the biological relations of dynasties by the Swedish writer Gustav Sundborg This degeneracy, which was confined to the upper stratum, was deplorable from the point of view of the class affected, but without any real mischief in respect of the community. The pinnacle of the social edifice was always crumbling away, but it was always being renewed. A ceaseless circulation brought the exhausted families down from their height into ruin or obscurity, and brought fresh stocks up out of the depths. The deep masses of the people afforded an inexhaustible source of supply, out of which the life-sap pressed and mounted continually towards the summit of society. Ambitious, energetic individuals, and those that stood out above the rest in character and mental endowment, perhaps, too, by the help of some peculiar, specific talent, thrust aside those that had become decrepit, and took their place. No doubt, thanks to the conservatism of the multitude that clings to the accustomed, the prestige of high position, the interests of class, party, or group with which they were interlinked, and the institutions which surrounded them like a rampart, the exhausted and worn-out families could survive for a certain time their decrepitude; but sooner or later they were forced to yield to the pressure of the more efficient. That is the history of the Stuarts in England, the elder line of the Bourbons in France, the Tsing or Manchu in China. History

also offers examples of the decline of a whole people through degeneration. The Roman conquerors of the world came to ruin through debauchery and childlessness; Italy was depopulated by its system of slave-cultivation (the latifundia); the infiltration of the freedmen into the ruling class soaked it with bad anthropological elements, and slavery wrought physical and moral destruction on the masters as well as on the slaves. But Roman civilisation did not perish with Rome. For there was at that time in Europe an enormous reserve of robust peoples in the best biological state—barbarians, but of the same race as the degraded Romans, and perfectly capable of acquiring their culture. These reserve peoples began then in their turn to migrate from their Germanic forests, refreshed the impoverished blood of Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and ended, after centuries of war and obscuration, by extending yet further the Græco-Roman civilisation.

But to-day the conditions are different. Degeneration attacks not only the pinnacle of the social building, but also its broad base; not a privileged class, but the whole stratum of the large-town population—that is to say, a very important part of the people, in some lands even the majority of the nation. There is no doubt that degeneration has its chief home in the large towns, and that the population of the large towns is condemned, as a whole, to degeneracy. The decadence of the peasantry in whole provinces, such as that of the Italian Maremma through fever, that of Normandy through alcoholism, is an exception; but the decline of the town population is the rule. The large town gives the highest percentages of crime, insanity, and constitutional diseases; the large town is the focus of all the frenzies of fashion, all hysterical aberrations of public opinion, all anarchical movements in politics, social customs, morality. It is in the large towns that celibacy and childlessness are most to be found. In the large towns the tall races are dwarfed: not, indeed, among the patrician class, which has country houses and only spends a part of the year in town, but among the multitude that is born in the town, lives there, and dies there. In Rouen the Norman people, which even at the beginning of the nineteenth century was rich in splendidly-built men and women, is declining at such a rate that to-day 78 per cent. of its young males are unfit for military service. The Prussian Guard, which enlists none but tall men, and is quartered in Berlin and Potsdam, receives only its smallest part from Berlin itself. The stunted forms that we meet in the slums of East and South-East London are the descendants of the gigantic peasants of Saxon Sussex, of Danish and Norwegian Hertford, of Jutic Kent, and Anglian Northumberland. In the large towns, families which had originally the finest constitution disappear in four or five generations if they are not renewed by a continual infusion of fresh blood from the country. In London and Paris—the young cities of America cannot here

come into question—there are probably not a hundred persons who can show a pedigree of a hundred and fifty years, consisting, on both sides, of ancestors born only in London or Paris. The large town is an abyss, in which the population that pours in from the whole country and from foreign lands oozes and trickles away. But for that inflow from without it would be extinct in about a century and a-half, since its population is not renewed out of its own resources. For the present, the country population is still capable of feeding the large towns. But the day will come when the depopulated country will have no more reinforcements to bestow on the great city, and then the question of national degeneration will have come very near to us. The danger will be European in its scope, since one people after another is adopting the large-town civilisation, and the white race has no more barbarians in reserve to step into the weakened ranks and fill up the gaps. On the other hand, the elementary feeling of the white race revolts against an afflux of the unexhausted coloured races.

LETTER TO A MONARCHIST.

By Maxim Gorky.

I thank you, V. T., for your letter, and wish you everything that is good.

I read your letter, and thought to myself: what a pity it is that you are a Monarchist; it ill becomes you, a man with a strong will.

I cannot think otherwise, because I look upon monarchism as an error, and upon monarchism in Russia as a baneful error.

Why? First of all, because people recognise the supreme power of a single man, no different from one of themselves, and give him the sovereign right to dispose of their lives, their liberty or property, at his pleasure—it means that they efface themselves, their will and their reason, and bury their talents, so to say. Secondly, by giving one man unrestricted freedom to dispose of the lives of millions of men you create a kind of God on Earth who is infallible, and give this God created by yourselves the power to pervert and to revoke the laws of God in Heaven, in Whose existence you have such a firm belief.

Here in Russia, for instance, God's commandments: "Thou shalt not kill" and "Thou shalt not steal," are struck out of life.

Why has the monarchical principle had such disastrous results in Russia especially?

You acknowledge yourself that the Russian "has not a strong will," and I agree with you that a strong will can only be acquired when there exists freedom of activity for man, coupled with definite aims for the future; we are deprived of the first condition, and in the majority of cases we do not recognise the necessity of the second condition.

When, some time ago, I tramped over nearly the whole of Russia in order to understand the spirit of my native people, and tried to grasp its semi-pagan conceptions of God, its creative spirit, as it is expressed in popular legends, songs, tales and proverbs, I witnessed the same thing everywhere: weakness of will, the changeableness and instability of thought, the absence of definite aims and of real cares about the future, the regrettable inclination to ethereal day-dreaming and obscure philosophising in the Eastern manner.

All these national traits are characteristic of persons of all strata of society, look carefully and you will see that Oblomoff* is not only a type of a Russian landowner, he is the general type of a Russian; amongst the merchants, muzhiks, or officials you will find as many lazy Oblomoffs as you like.

It is well known that "an apple never falls far from the tree," and you in vain accuse the educated classes of Russia of Nihilism, Anarchism, and other sins; the Russian muzhik had invented Anarchism before Bakunin's time, and embraced Nihilism long before Pisareff; just look at the sect of "runners" or "pilgrims"; think over their teachings. Also observe how the muzhiks build up religious sects, and compare their method of constructing with that of the Russian political parties; you will see at once that the spirit is the same in both cases. People set to work with enthusiasm, even fanaticism, but soon cool down, split up into small sects and groups; they have ridiculous disputes with each other, not over the substance of the matter but about mere words. If we examine the shortcomings of the Russian educated classes, we see that they are born of the flesh and blood of the Russian people, but if we look at their merits, then the educated classes, judged by their heroism and the amount of work they have done, constitute a phenomenon quite without parallel in the history of Europe; it is to them that you are indebted for not being looked upon as Asiatics.

Let us take, for instance, your organisations of "truly Russian men." The authorities give you complete freedom of action, but you are unable to form a Party with a clear and definite programme; you have split up into several factions, you accuse each other of having stolen public moneys. In Moscow your business is going from bad to worse; about 30 branches have been closed, and about 40 more are to be shut down "for want of means."

Your organisations are weak everywhere; they collapse, and will continue to collapse, because what else can you, Monarchists, do except to arrange "pogroms"? What do you trouble about the disorder that is crushing the Fatherland: ignorance, drunkenness, famine, and brutality all round, which are fostered by you in league with the Government? You are miserable people, badly educated, ignorant. You don't know the history or the needs of the Russian people; you don't know anything except that you want peace at any price! Generally speaking you are people with no wills; that is why the writer Leskoff, who was no revolutionary but simply a nationalist, called you "the Slav sweepings" and "the native rubbish."

You who look upon yourselves as "truly Russian men" are that part of the people in whose veins there flows most Mongol blood, and you are saturated with Mongol and Eastern principles, incul-

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* The type of a lazy landowner in a novel by Goncharoff.—Translator.

cated in your brains by Mongols, and accentuated during centuries of serfdom.

This slavish Mongol blood is still in your veins, and you should know that Russia is still a semi-Asiatic country because of your existence; that your "Russian soul" is saturated with fatalism—the Eastern faith in the invincibleness of fate, your baneful lack of faith in the power of human will and reason, your Eastern passive submission to elemental forces.

You have praised me for my books. I am certain that you have read them without understanding them. I have always written, and do still write, that a passive attitude towards life is harmful, that we must take an active part in it; that we Russians philosophise a lot, and do it ineffectively; we work little and badly. I have written that we must struggle with what the East has grafted on us, and that we shall perish if we do not overcome it.

But, as you see, even the Mongols of Japan and China reorganise their life on an Aryan basis, by adopting the experience gained by Europe; but Russia, owing to the laziness and ignorance of people like you, and owing to the selfish activity of incapable users of force, who are at the head of the Government—Russia is left even behind the Mongols. This cannot fail to threaten us with grave calamities, for we live side by side with them, and over-populated China, having organised its affairs, will pounce on us to revenge those misfortunes and degradations to which it has been subjected by the policy of the Russian Government in the past.

"We are all human and all equal," you write. Is that so?

In my opinion there is a marked difference between us and the Japanese; or have you forgotten how they defeated you? There is not less difference between us and the Germans, who will also soon defeat us, and who don't know the disease typhus, which is so common with us; they have forgotten about it because they live in cleanliness and not in filth, and their peasantry do not starve. There is also a serious difference between us and the French, in whose debt we are up to our ears; but no doubt your Government will betray them at a time when they are pressed hard.

No; between Russia, as represented by you, and Europe there is a weighty difference; it is not a Russian capital that exploits the resources of France, England, and Germany, but the reverse is the case; these three States are gradually grabbing the wealth of Russia in the Ural Mountains, on the Don, in Siberia, on the Caspian Sea and in the Caucasus.

And you, blinking with your blind eyes, talk nonsense and boast of the "broadness of the Russian soul," and gaze at the way in which you are being robbed.

Leskoff once said:—

"In fifty or a hundred years' time we shall disgust everybody in such a manner that we shall have to face a European coalition. The Germans or a new set of Normans will come and conquer us."

You Monarchists and "patriots," think of these words! The

time that they predict seems not to be far off, if not already upon your heels.

A country which is all covered with blood and filth, where agents of the police kill Ministers, where thousands of people denounced by agents-provocateurs are sent to the gallows, to hard labour in the mines, or to prison; where in the prisons and police-stations mediæval tortures are resorted to, where a man is not worth a farthing, and thousands of people are slaughtered in a country where the suicides of youths have assumed the character of an epidemic, where little children playing at "court-martial" hang each other—this country naturally is quite capable of evoking the loathing of Europe, and even more serious feelings than loathing, for it might prove the hotbed of disease in the long run which would threaten all sane and healthy people.

Don't you think that the impotence of Russia is pleasant and expedient for somebody, and that the moment will come when strong people who have no scruples will come and say to you:—

"Well, fellows, enough of your unbecoming deeds! We are tired of them. In this wild state you are more dangerous to European civilisation than China was at one time, and hence we will divide you in a brotherly manner as you once divided Poland; we will divide and take in hand your bringing up."

They will divide you as they now divide Persia; they will also divide Turkey. It seems evident that strong and healthy peoples intend to divide up all those nations which lag behind the Aryan civilisation, either being incapable, or not wishing, to adopt it, and thus impeding its normal development.

Let me ask you a few "patriotic" questions:—

Why did your beloved heroes—Herschelman, Stakelberg, Rennenkampf, and others—their name is legion—fight so badly against the Japanese, and kill and mutilate the Russian people so well, so cruelly, and with so much zest?

Why does the majority of the Baltic German barons play the rôle of hired servants in Russian history, whose duty it is to hold the Russian by the throat?

You shout: Russia for the Russians! Down with the minor nationalities!

If you can bring about what this proud war-cry of yours implies—begin at once!

Let me point out a non-Russian family which is most harmful for Russia—a family which during centuries has cruelly bled our country, and has thrice in a hundred years led the country nearly to the brink of national catastrophes. I speak about the successors of Karl Ulrich, the Prince of Holstein, who ruled Russia under the name of Peter III., and his wife Sophia Augustovna, Princess of Zerbst, who also reigned under the name of Catherine II.

Peter III. the "Russian Czar," without fear of offending his subjects, and speaking very bad Russian, styled himself "the faithful servant of the Prussian King," and knelt before his statue.

He began his reign by returning to the Germans Berlin and all the German lands conquered by the soldiers of Elisabeth.

Catherine, having killed him and the Czar Ivan, gave the Russian people into slavery to landowners; thousands of Russian peasants fled across the frontier. She invited Germans to come, and settled them on the best lands of the Southern steppes and along the Volga. She called forth the terrible Pugatchoff insurrection.

Paul I. and Alexander I. led a struggle championing the old forms of the shattered French monarchy; this struggle in the long run brought about the invasion of the French in 1812. This was the first catastrophe, which ended rather favourably for the German Czars on the Russian throne, for the simple reason that the Russian muzhik and the soldier did not understand who was the real cause of the French invasion.

The patricide Alexander I. was a typical German as to his character and his policy. How can we presume that there can be a drop of Slav blood in the Russian Czars when generation after generation of them marry German women? Where are the proofs that the Russian people is near and interesting to them, and loved by them? Just consider. Why, in 1848, Russian soldiers defeated the Hungarians to please the Austrians? Who incited Russia to declare war on Turkey in 1878, just after the Turks had been granted a consitution which might have made them a strong and civilised people? As soon as any people wakes up and a struggle for new forms of life ensues, why does the Russian Government send its soldiers to strangle and kill nations striving after freedom and culture, as it does in Persia now?

Nicholas I. flogged all your grandfathers, and led Russia to the second catastrophe—the Sebastopol débâcle.

You have styled Nicholas II. the "benefactor"; this is a mistake due to your ignorance—or, more correctly, your hypocrisy and cynicism. In the eyes of all honest people of the world this man stands as the gloomiest, bloodiest and the most hypocritical phenomenon of the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. He is a manufacturer of corpses, destroyer of life, something more terrible than the plague; he plays with the lives of the Russian people as a blind man at chess.

When the Governor of Ufa wrote in his report that 47 people had been killed while he was quelling a labour disturbance, the Czar wrote on the margin of the report: "What a pity so few!"

That is the watchword of his reign: "What a pity that so few people have been killed."

I do not tell you fables—these are the Czar's own words! There is more cruel and cold-blooded advice given by him to his servants, which has been written by him personally, and printed in a secret book called, "A Collection of the Most High Comments Written by His Majesty on the Reports of Governors." It is published every year and sent to the provincial Governors for their

"guidance." Find these books, read them, and you will see what your "benefactor" is like.

General Kazbek, the Commander of Vladikavkaz, tells him in a personal report that he had managed to quell a popular disturbance without a single shot being fired. The "kind" Czar, who loves the Russian people, advised him instructively:—

"One must always shoot; always shoot, general!"

On Bloody Sunday he enjoyed himself, for on this day the shooting was merciless, and at close range. No one could understand why the shooting went on. Thousands of people went to their "kind chief" with a firm belief in his good heart—should people be killed for that?

He is a man quite indifferent as to the fate of Russia. When the battleship Petropavlovsk went down, Makaroff perished; Nicholas II. was told about it.

"I know it already," replied your chief, and began to shoot crows through the window with a Monte Cristo gun. This is related by an adjutant of his.

Should I remind you about Lao-Yan, Mukden, Tsushima—the third national catastrophe?

During the reign of Nicholas II. as many Russians have perished as in all the wars of the nineteenth century. As a murderer he has become more notorious for his bloodthirstiness than the famous Abdul-Hamid, whose bloody fame your Czar has surpassed.

"The cunning Byzantine," said a person closely connected with him, omitting to add:—

"Who is cruel and indifferent to everything, except himself and his own life; let it always be sad, filled with the fear of death and remorse."

"But Russia continues to grow and expand," you will say.

You will see, no doubt, how this question will be answered by a generation brought up in an atmosphere of "provocations," executions, suicides, robberies, thefts, under the influence and impression of such grandiose trials as the trials of the commissariat chiefs, the unearthing of the activities of the secret police; under the pressure of general cynicism, of Sadic, sickly cruelty. The new generation is growing up in an atmosphere which poisons one's reason and conscience, and all this has been created by you.

But whatever you do, the revolution is inevitable, and the law of November 9,* which you praise so much, will accelerate it.

It must be expected that the future revolution will not fail to strike down you—half-brutes—by its cruelty. There will be much in that revolution that is unhealthy, called forth from the depths of what is of the brute in man, for in the last five years you have done everything to make people lose all idea of the value of their

* Stolypin's law, 1909, dissolving the village "mir."—Translator.

own and other people's lives ; you have done everything to awaken the bestial element in man.

You seek "pacification," believing that it can be attained by imprisonment, hard labour, gallows ; you have stored up a lot of anger in the country which will blow you to pieces.

And when the future revolution will have turned into a "Russian mutiny, merciless and pitiless," as Pushkin styled it, history will blame you for all these horrors, you who have lost your head from fear of being compelled to become Europeans. History will blame your half-witted, hypocritical Czar, suffering from latent insanity, your Government which has lost every idea of right, honour, conscience and reason.

You are far from being terrible and strong men, as it seems to you, when you collect together in a crowd. No ; you are miserable, half-sickly people, with the blood of Asiatics and slaves in your veins, poisoning Russia by rotting alive ; and you are doomed to die out.

That Russia will live which has already renounced passive submission to another will and to the past, which will go to the West, accept its great experience, its forms of life, and which will live attentively following its work, revering its active Aryan culture which has set as its aim the unification of all mankind in one family.

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THE
BRITISH SOCIALIST.

Vol. I., No. 9. SEPTEMBER 15, 1912.

WOULD ULSTER BE RIGHT TO FIGHT?

By H. Quelch.

It is not necessary to take too seriously the wild and whirling words of Sir Edward Carson, Mr. Bonar Law, and other inciters to riot and rebellion in order to recognise that there is in certain parts of Ulster a very strong popular feeling against Home Rule. This feeling may be unreasonable and unreasoning; with no ground whatever for it except blind prejudice due to racial and religious differences and animosities. The point is that the feeling is there, and that nothing whatever is to be gained by ignoring it.

So far from ignoring or ridiculing this feeling or sentiment it seems to me that we Socialists, who are out-and-out Home Rulers, are bound to give it serious consideration. For what, after all, at bottom, is the demand for Home Rule, except the expression of just such a sentiment, prejudiced and unreasoning as it may be, as that which animates the opponents of Home Rule in the Protestant counties of Ulster? Economic causes, without a doubt, largely influenced Irish discontent with English rule, and, as Davitt said, the Home Rule movement was mainly an economic move-

ment, and there is no doubt that the Land League agitation gave unprecedented vitality and vigour to the cause of Home Rule. But, altogether apart from these considerations, and before form and direction was given to the land agitation, there was a Nationalist movement in Ireland, and the idea of "Ireland a Nation" was the passionate aspiration of all patriotic Irishmen. Now, moreover, the same aspiration survives the disappearance of those economic influences which played so large and important a part in the agitation of thirty years ago.

By dint of persistent agitation, not always of the most pacific character, the Irish people succeeded in forcing successive British Governments to deal with the fundamental grievance of the Irish peasantry, landlordism, in so drastic a fashion that, for the present, that grievance may be said to have disappeared, and on every hand we hear of the prosperous and contented condition of the Irish peasantry. "The principle embodied in this Bill," said Mr. Gladstone of one of his Irish Land Bills, "is one that I should be the last to apply to English legislation, but Ireland is within measurable distance of a social revolution." The menace of a social revolution not only forced the last of our great commercial statesmen to apply to Irish legislation a principle which was objectionable to him, but it compelled him and his successors to do for Ireland, in the matter of giving the cultivators a "grip on the land," and in housing the labourers, what they would never dream of doing for any other part of the United Kingdom. The result is that the inhabitants of that "most disthressful country" have become the "most favoured nation" in these islands. British credit to the tune of twelve hundred millions has been pledged to buy out the rack-renting Irish landlords and to give the peasantry a hold on the soil, and the economic basis of the Home Rule agitation has thus been undermined.

Nevertheless, the Home Rule agitation goes on, and the demand for Home Rule has rather strengthened

than weakened, albeit no longer characterised by the vehemence of the days when it was an economic as well as a political question.

Deprived of its economic aspect, therefore, the demand of the Irish people, outside the Orange counties of Ulster, is just as much a matter of sentiment as is the protest of the people of those counties against Home Rule.

As Home Rulers, believing in the right of every people to self-government and to the management of their own affairs, however badly they may manage them, we Social-Democrats have always championed the demand of the Irish people for legislative independence. We have aided their agitation when their present Liberal friends were coercing and dragooning them and throwing their chosen representatives into gaol. We should, in the same way, have cordially stood by them if they had risen in open revolt and put the cause of Irish Nationalism to the stern arbitrament of the sword. We, as Social-Democrats, believe in the "sacred right of rebellion"—in the right of every nation or people to fight to acquire or to defend its national freedom and independence. But if we are, and should be, in favour of a revolt by the Irish Nationalists against the Union and against being subject to an English-Scotch Protestant majority, we can scarcely condemn the Protestants of Ulster for declaring their determination to fight against being brought under the rule of a Catholic Nationalist majority in Ireland.

This raises once more the whole question of Socialism and Nationalism, and the position of the Socialist Party, internationally, in relation to what is called anti-patriotism.

It has been well said that we Socialists are Internationalists, not Anti-Nationalists. Yet we find many of our friends vehemently condemning the national idea and loudly proclaiming themselves to be anti-patriots. For them the national idea is opposed to internationalism, and patriotism is a crime against inter-

national solidarity. This appears to me to be a complete misconception arising from a perverted view or use of the terms employed. Nationalism, so far from being opposed to Internationalism, is an integral part thereof. There can be no inter-Nationalism if there are no nations, and patriotism—real patriotism—does not mean "my country, right or wrong," nor the lust for domination over other nations. It means the equality and autonomy of each national unit in the comity of nations; the right of every people, in the democratic "federation of the world," to the most complete autonomy, the fullest liberty, in directing its own affairs and in working out its own destiny, as is compatible with the equal liberty of every other people.

On no other ground can we British Socialists justify our steadfast championship of Home Rule; our determined opposition to the suppression of the Boer Republics; our persistent demand for the substitution of native for British rule in India and Egypt. We cannot reasonably claim for other peoples the rights of self-government and national autonomy if we are not prepared to insist upon, to maintain and defend, the same rights for ourselves.

But, it is contended by our anti-patriotic friends, Nationalism is really only thinly-veiled imperialism; and patriotism, as I said some years ago, no longer means a love of one's own country and a determination to maintain her liberties, but a love of somebody else's country, and a determination to grab it for the benefit of the international capitalist marauders. All that is perfectly true, but we do not abandon definite principles simply because the terms by which they have been designated have been abused and misapplied; and we do not become Anti-Nationalists and Anti-Patriots because the words "Nationalism" and "Patriotism" have been wrested from their meaning and are used to denote aggressive domination and imperialist expansion. The things themselves remain the same by whatever names they may be known, or to whatever misuse their original designations may now

be turned. Patriotism does not mean imperialism, nor does Internationalism mean the abolition of all national autonomy, any more than real individualism means autocracy, or Socialism means the crushing out of all individuality and individual liberty.

Many Socialists regard any State interference with individual liberty—however wanton and mischievous—as an expression of Socialist principle. I, on the other hand, am a Socialist because I believe that it is only through Socialism that the fullest individuality can be developed and the greatest possible individual liberty can be secured. But what I mean by individuality or individual liberty does not imply the superiority or dominance of this, that, or the other individual. It means the sovereignty of the individual in all purely individual things, and in all self-regarding acts; and this necessarily involves the equal rights and equal liberty of every individual. As soon as those rights are interfered with true individual liberty ceases. So, too, with nations. True Nationalism and patriotism exclude the idea of imperialism, of domination, of "my country, right or wrong," because such an idea practically expressed by any one nation must be an abrogation of the national rights of other peoples. So far, therefore, from Nationalism or patriotism being synonymous with imperialism, imperialism is the very antithesis of any sane and logical conception of nationality. Anti-Nationalists, therefore, who are so eager to divest themselves of any suspicion of chauvinism that they vehemently denounce any expression of patriotism, are in serious danger of finding themselves enmeshed in the snares of imperialism. If we are so anti-nationalist that we would not raise a finger to maintain our own national liberty and independence, it is sheer hypocrisy to encourage and applaud Irishmen, Egyptians and Indians in making heroic efforts and sublime sacrifices to gain that national liberty which we regard as not only worthless, but actually mischievous and wrong. To say that the proletariat has no country to defend, and that the class antagon-

ism, which runs through all nationalities, is of more importance than the divisions between nationalities, is but to beg the question. All questions cannot, unfortunately, be settled in terms of the class war, and the material interest of a proletarian in the land in which he lives, or its institutions, is not likely to be enhanced by the suppression of national autonomy.

There can be no question, therefore, that Socialists must be Nationalists and stand for national autonomy in a world federation, just as they are individualists and stand for individual liberty in society generally.

Whereas, however, there is no difficulty in determining what is an individual, and little in deciding what rights and liberties pertain to the individual human being in society, it is by no means so easy to determine what does, or should, constitute the national unit, or what are the limits of its autonomy. On the determination of the former question depends the answer to the question at the head of this article.

We have been told repeatedly that, in certain contingencies, "Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right." To that asseveration I can only put the question: Will it? I have no hesitation in saying that any and every nation has a right to fight for its liberty, and to maintain its autonomy. But what is, or constitutes, a nation? Or what determines what should be an autonomous unit in the international democratic federation of the peoples? To me it appears that this can only be determined by a variety of circumstances or factors. Racial and political unity, identity of economic conditions, geographical situation, each and all of these combined, and none alone, must determine whether a given group of people should constitute a unit in the international. Certain it is that no group, however small, should be forcibly coerced against its will into forming part of such a unit, and that, finally, the question will have to be settled by each group or body of people for itself. But only for itself. However wrong the coercion of a minority by a majority may be, the coercion of a majority by a minority is still worse.

SOCIALISM VERSUS SPURIOUS SOCIAL "REFORMS."

By A. A. Watts.

We English Socialists, and also our Continental comrades, are often puzzled to account for the backwardness of the Socialist movement in this country. In other nations we see the working class gathering under the Socialist banner, and the movement going ahead by leaps and bounds; members returned to Parliaments, to local administrative bodies, and, indeed, to all public bodies; whilst here, although progress continues to be made, one cannot with truth say that the workers in any considerable proportion have given their adhesion, in any active sense, to the Socialist movement.

Undoubtedly one very powerful factor causing this has been the astute tactics of various kinds of "reformers," who, coming out with their proposals for social reform, have confused the minds of the people. The Liberals are, perhaps, the greatest adepts at this game, and the present generation of Liberal statesmen are quite up to the level of any of their predecessors in gulling the working class into the belief that they, the Liberals, are just as good as any of the Socialists, and, moreover, that they are in the position of being able to translate their promises into deeds now, instead of waiting for some far-off distant future when the ideal of the Socialists may possibly be realised.

Now, we expect all this from the ordinary politicians. We are not in the least surprised that both Liberals and Tories should come out with their social reform

nostrums so as to retain the support of the free and independent electors, and so enable them to keep the ball of government in their own possession, albeit passing it from one to the other. And we have seen, in these latter days, how the astute Liberal politicians, with their finger on the public pulse, are fertile in the production of "reforms" which, while dazzling the eyes of the unthinking working class, who childishly trust them time after time, leave these same workers more completely at the mercy of the capitalist class than ever.

I say, we are familiar with all this, we expect it. But what we do not and ought not to expect, and what we strongly object to, is for people who avow themselves Socialists, and for so-called Socialist bodies, to play the same rôle. We are urged to this declaration by a circular issued by the "Joint Committee of the Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society," with the heading "War Against Poverty," inviting delegates from trade unions and other bodies to attend a national conference to "consider demands for legislation next Session for a Minimum of Civilised Life." The conference is to be held at the Memorial Hall, London, on October 11, and will consider demands for legislation dealing with:—

A Legal Minimum Wage;
Complete Provision Against Sickness;
Prevention of Unemployment;
Reduction of the Hours of Labour;
A National Minimum of Child Nurture;
Healthy Homes for All; and
The Abolition of the Poor Law.

It appears to me that this is a programme which might just as well be advocated by any advanced Liberals or Radicals, whose advanced views would impel them to pass measures to ameliorate the conditions of the workers, but still leave the landowning and capitalist classes in full possession of their power to

exploit the labour of the people. Where the Socialist differs from the Liberal or Radical is that he believes in the abolition of this power of exploitation and robbery, and whatever social reforms he may be in favour of must be directly aimed at undermining this power of the possessing classes.

It would, doubtless, be a sorry kind of reform programme that did not contain some points which even a revolutionary Social-Democrat could agree with, and so it may be said at once that such a question as the reduction of hours of labour would, of course, command our support from whatever quarter it came. But let us take the items in detail. With regard to the first, a Legal Minimum Wage, we Social-Democrats have been the pioneers in advocating a minimum of 30s. a week for any worker employed by a public body, but we have at the same time shown that any minimum wage was practically worthless unless its corollary of a Maximum Price was also enacted. Recent experience in all civilised countries has shown the soundness of this position, for it is notorious how the prices of all commodities have been increased, the reason given by the possessing classes being the increased wages paid to the workers. In addition to this, we have seen, only this year, how our present politicians may be expected to deal with a minimum wage. The miners are intensely disgusted, and rightly so, with the working of the Minimum Wage Act, and yet our Socialist friends desire that the whole question be dealt with by the same people and be made to apply to the whole nation! For, be it observed, they want this legislation to be carried out next Session, and the same set of artful dodgers will, in all human anticipation, be still in power.

Complete Provision Against Sickness. Now, it really is a little too thin, so closely following on the policy of the Labour Party in supporting Mr. Lloyd George's Insurance fraud, for the Independent Labour Party to place such a demand seriously before the organised workers. Our readers will remember that

the I.L.P. and Fabian Society at first opposed the Insurance Act, but from the moment that the leaders of the Labour Party announced that that Party would support the measure, little more of opposition was heard from the two organisations calling this Conference. For we must remember that the policy of the Labour Party is shaped by a few leaders who are members of the I.L.P., one of the partners of this "Joint Committee." They had their opportunity—never a better—when the Insurance Bill was before the country, and instead of setting up a strong opposition to it, both inside and outside the House of Commons, unless it gave a complete provision against sickness, the Labour Party were staunch supporters of the measure. To support a fraudulent measure of sickness insurance when they might have wrecked it, and then immediately after the Act is in operation to ask the workers to demand what the Labour Party did not have the sense or the courage to demand when they could have obtained it, is downright shuffling and dishonesty.

The Prevention of Unemployment. The conveners of the conference know quite well, *if* they are Socialists, that no measure they could get passed next session (and they are not likely to get any) will prevent unemployment. Some of our modern Utopians seem to believe that we can abolish unemployment, and in various other ways raise the condition of the workers and leave the citadel of capitalism untouched. All this leads to much confusion of thought, and, as I said at the beginning, does more to retard the advance of the Socialist movement than perhaps any other cause. Let us assert at once that we cannot abolish unemployment whilst capitalism remains. The circular uses the word "prevention," not abolition, and there is probably some subtle psychical magic about the word. Mr. Sidney Webb, at the Conference on the Prevention of Destitution ("prevention" again), endeavoured to explain something of this kind, but, I think, only succeeded in mystifying his hearers. Seeing that we have the evil of unemployment existing it seems to me

it wants abolishing; if it were merely threatening us we might try and "prevent" it.

For the moment I will leave the fifth and sixth items (the fourth I have referred to) and come to that which is really the important one, seeing that it affects all the others. Like a lady's letter, the kernel of the matter is in the postscript: The Abolition of the Poor Law. It is very plain that the whole thing is being engineered so as to galvanise into renewed life a movement for carrying into effect the recommendations of the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission. Now, you cannot abolish a thing by merely calling it by another name, nor do you abolish it by merely placing it in different hands to deal with. You might even accentuate it by so doing. What is it that we really want to do? Abolish poverty! Yes, but the abolition of the Poor Law will not abolish poverty. Not at all. What is proposed by our *Socialist* friends is simply to hand over to other public bodies the duties now administered by the Guardians of the Poor; that the Education authorities, the Public Health authorities, the Pension Committees and the Labour Exchanges shall henceforth discharge these duties. However this may appear to pseudo-Socialists, to all *democrats* it is a reactionary proposal—a step backward. As a Guardian for some years, I will admit at once that Boards of Guardians, as a rule, are far from what they ought to be. But they are, in fact, among the most democratically-elected public bodies in the nation, and it is far easier, given an awakened public spirit, to place upon them the right sort of men and women, and far easier for these members to have a direct beneficial influence on the lives of the workers, than is the case with any other public body. I have yet to learn that the Councils (town, borough and county)—a sub-committee of which is the Education authority—are more advanced than the Guardians, and we have no direct control over them; and as for the Pensions Committee—well, no one knows who they are, and we certainly have no control over them. If these proposals were carried

out there would inevitably be one result—that is, that it would undoubtedly mean a much greater amount of officialism and an extension of bureaucracy. We are divulging no secret when we say that the writer of this Minority Report is in favour of official administration, as also are the Fabian Society.

Now, what would be the result of this increased officialism? Bad as the Boards of Guardians are, I look with even less favour on increased official administration and less democratic control. Let us take the facts of the case. Of course, any illustrations I may give are only of value in so far as they are the results of actual experience; and although this necessarily limits them, they may from the fact that they are first-hand be of more importance. It is my experience that we constantly have to oppose and override the official view and official action. I will give a recent example. During the late Transport Workers' strike there were throughout the first weeks practically no increased applications for relief in Poplar. Now, Poplar is pretty well noted for its policy of out-relief, and some of us thought this rather strange, seeing the desperate condition of the people and the eagerness with which they followed up all other kinds of assistance. But presently we received complaints from applicants for relief that they had been refused by the Relieving Officers, and, indeed, treated, to put it mildly, uncivilly. The Socialist members brought this to the notice of the Board, and got a resolution agreed to that the strikers were to be relieved. Even then there was a vast amount of dissatisfaction, and finally we found it necessary to call a special meeting of the Board where, after a stiff fight, we succeeded in getting it made imperative that the people were to be relieved. Now, there is not a single person who knows anything about the circumstances, including comrade George Lansbury, but will agree that if left to the officials, without the democratic control we were able to exert, hundreds of poor people would have been refused help. And to finish off this illustration, let me say that this is our

constant experience, and that we should therefore dread more power being placed in the hands of the officials.

With regard to the children, I maintain that they are better cared for in the Guardians' schools than are thousands of the ordinary workers' children, and that no "stigma of pauperism" rests on them. The treatment accorded the school children by our Education authorities in the matter of feeding is certainly nothing to be proud of, and the depriving the little ones of their scanty meals during the holidays was a scandal. The Guardians, anyway, did not do this.

There are certain departments of our public administration which call for a single body devoted only to the particular work, and the education and proper maintenance of the children, and the care of the poor generally, are certainly two of these.

In regard to the aged, it is quite within the powers of the Guardians to give a larger sum, and to commence at a lower age than is done under the national Old Age Pension scheme. The Board of which I am a member are doing this, and every other Board could do the same. It only requires the right sort of men and women to be placed upon them. It is no answer to say the workers do not elect the right kind. That is what it is our business, as Socialists, to alter, and it is just as probable and just as easy as to expect we are going to get what we want from a Liberal or Tory House of Commons, or from officials, or the L.G.B., or from a further addition of Labour Party members, if they are to be similar to the present Party in the House. Of course, we are in favour of a reform of the Poor Law, and the abolition of the Workhouse. That was made quite clear in the Memorandum the Social-Democratic Party submitted to the Royal Commission.* Our attitude to those proposals was well

* See "Social-Democracy and the Poor Law." (Twentieth Century Press.) 1d.

stated by H. Quelch in his two-nights' debate with G. Lansbury:—

"There was scarcely a word that Lansbury had said in denunciation of the administration of the Poor Law with which he did not agree. But what did the Minority of the Commission propose? To abolish the directly-elected Guardians, and constitute in its place an independent bureaucratic authority; to abolish the poor rate, and have instead a parish rate; to abolish outdoor relief, but have 'home aliment.' They had changed the names but had not touched destitution. They could not touch destitution until they were prepared to deal with the root causes of poverty. Destitution was not a thing apart, but only a degree of poverty, which was very difficult sometimes to define. Some of the Minority proposals put forward were good, and such as Social-Democrats could support, but they had nothing to do with the fundamental changes proposed. The main proposals were anti-democratic, anti-Socialist, superficial and fallacious. They were anti-democratic because they proposed to abolish the Boards of Guardians, and every good thing that Lansbury had suggested could be carried out without abolishing them. The Guardians were the most democratically-elected body in the kingdom, and if they had not been so good as they should have been, that was the fault of the people, and their business was to educate the people to elect proper Guardians."

By the way, I do not notice among the proposals to be submitted to the Conference the abolition of the "pauper stigma." That is a proposal our Liberal and Tory masters will not accept, but it is one all Socialists would be in favour of.

The two items, "A National Minimum of Child Nurture" and "Healthy Homes for All," it will hardly be necessary to discuss at length. I am not sure I understand what is meant by the first, but it is one of those things upon which a great many high-sounding phrases could be delivered without carrying us very much further; and healthy homes for all we are not at all likely to get until our councils are composed of an entirely different set of councillors.

It might be contended that ours simply amounts to a policy of negation. But it is not so. Indeed, I retort that the policy of putting forth spurious social reforms and constantly leading the people down blind alleys is the worst kind of policy that can be pursued —that is, if we are Socialists. Our mission is to

convert the people to Socialism; that is the important thing—nothing else really matters. It is the important thing, because it will settle all these other smaller questions. As the Memorandum previously mentioned states in its concluding paragraph:—

"In conclusion, as Social-Democrats we want to make it perfectly clear that the problem of the Poor Law is the problem of poverty, and that poverty will be the portion of large numbers of the working class whilst the land and the wealth of the country are privately owned and industry is carried on for profit. We assert that only when the land is decreed the common property of the nation, when the wealth created by the people shall belong to the people, and when industry is organised and controlled by the people in their collective capacity, will poverty be banished and the Poor Law or its equivalent be unnecessary."

That is the position. That is positive, not negative, and it also answers one of the most mischievous of the proposals of the Minority Report, that in which the question of the able-bodied and unemployment is dealt with. It will, therefore, be the duty of any members of the British Socialist Party who may be sent as delegates to the Conference to expose the fallacy of most of the "reforms" advocated; to insist that it be a real Conference and not a gathering called together merely to listen to a number of set speeches from "big guns" of the Labour Party; to put the real Socialist position on the question of poverty; and to take the opportunity of winning over the trade unionists and others who may be present to a belief in Socialism as the economic and political faith of the working class.

CAPITALISM AND BRAINS.

By Frank Tanner.

It is a curious fact that the statement of the Socialist contention that "labour, applied to natural objects, is the sole source of wealth," seldom fails to provoke strenuous opposition when made to an audience of working men. More often than not when this simple and, one might imagine, self-evident proposition is put forward it is met with some reference to the masters' brains, coming in nine cases out of ten from a horny-handed son of toil eager to take up the cudgels on behalf of the class that is exploiting him.

To hear some of these sturdy champions of the rights of capital it might well be supposed that the possession of brains is invariably accompanied by prosperity, and that the world is composed of two classes of people—those who perform the hard physical toil, and the superior persons who direct, organise and provide the necessary genius and initiative without which the manual workers would be helpless. Needless to say, such a conception of things is totally at variance with the facts of life under capitalism. It is true that there are, broadly speaking, two classes in society; but the separation arises, not from any question of brains, but as the result of circumstances over which the individual has practically no control. On the one hand, there is the property-owning class who, with their numerous hangers-on, derive a parasitic existence out of rent, interest and profit; and on the other, the disinherited proletariat which embraces all who are compelled to sell their labour-power in order to live.

It is this latter class who actually provide the whole of the mental as well as muscular energy that is necessary to meet the needs of society. Every individual who uses his brains to assist production is performing a social act, and by so doing places himself within the category of the working class in its economic sense. Socialists maintain that this class as a whole are deprived of the greater part of the wealth they create.

The capitalist class have long outlived their usefulness, and, as capitalists, no longer perform any service to the community. Some of them, incidentally, may carry on the management of their business. It is not, however, as organisers or directors that we have to consider them, but as capitalists, as exploiters, as extractors of surplus-value out of the unpaid labour of the workers. As a matter of fact, in all large business concerns to-day the direction of industry is carried on by salaried officials who, strictly speaking, may be considered as belonging to the working class, although in most cases the salaries they receive are large enough to make it worth their while to take the side of the masters. That it happens in some cases that the manager is also a shareholder in the business has no material bearing on the question, and does not in any way alter the fact that in this latter capacity he is a parasite upon society.

Be it far from us, however, to grudge the capitalists the recognition which is due to them. It is plain that if they had not employed their brains to some purpose they could never have held the place in society which they do to-day. The point is that what they are doing does not constitute *socially necessary* human labour. As far as the mass of the people are concerned their brains are misapplied. Clearly successful forgers and pick-pockets must be very brainy people, who in their way work very hard, but it would be better for the public if the minds of such gentry were not so much on the alert. For precisely similar reasons it would be greatly to the advantage of the workers if their masters were less richly endowed with that directive ability which

consists in the ability to direct the proceeds of other men's industry into their own pockets.

A moment's thought should be sufficient to enable any reasonable man to realise that all labour, even of the simplest kind, involves a certain amount of effort on the part of the brain, and that, therefore, it is no more possible to divide "labour" from "brains" than it is to separate the mind from the man. Knocking a nail into a wall is perhaps as elementary a task as a man can undertake, but he must keep his wits about him else he will hammer his fingers instead of the nail. This, of course, is an extreme case where the amount of mental activity involved is practically at its minimum. As we ascend the scale, and the labour becomes more skilled, so the brain is brought more and more into play until eventually a point is reached (in the case of, say, a professor of mathematics) at which the muscular exertion required may be regarded as a negligible quantity.

It is, therefore, evident that it is not merely the muscles of the workers which are exploited but their brains also. This applies to all grades, from the dustman to the doctor, the difference being simply one of degree. Let us, however, consider the question more particularly as it affects that large and growing body of more-or-less educated men and women who are loosely classed by the man-in-the-street as brain workers rather than manual workers.

One of the features of present-day life is the keen competition existing among that section of the proletariat who, possessing a smattering of education, seek to obtain a livelihood by means of book-keeping, shorthand, typing and other forms of clerical work. It is true that early in the last century, when capitalism had not reached its present advanced stage of development, and the majority of the people were illiterate, those who had been fortunate enough to acquire an education were in a position to demand a fair return for their services. As, however, the field of commercial enterprise extended the capitalist class found it essential to

have at their disposal, in addition to those workers directly engaged in production, large numbers who were capable of performing the various clerical duties which became necessary for the smooth working of their business. Hence the necessity arose that opportunities for instruction in certain subjects hitherto beyond their reach should be thrown open to the masses. There is little doubt that this was the real motive power behind the Education Acts, although the politicians responsible for them made the usual claims as to being inspired by philanthrophic motives, and possibly thought they were.

Whatever advantage it may have brought the nation in other respects, the spread of education has certainly proved anything but a blessing to the educated proletariat, whose standard of life has in consequence been reduced by competition to the level of that of the artisan class. Every day the business quarter of London is invaded by a vast black-coated army of these "slaves of the pen," who can be seen between the hours of 8 and 10 pouring over the various bridges leading to the City, all apparently consumed by a feverish haste to arrive at the scene of their daily drudgery. It is probable that the majority of these would be insulted if told they belonged to the working class. Yet the fact remains that capitalism has few more wretched victims than the under-paid City clerk, whose meagre lunch of "a bun and a glass of milk" has become proverbial. On wages which are far less than those received by many a skilled mechanic the average clerk in a commercial office has not only to support himself and those depending on him, but also to maintain an appearance in keeping with the dignity of the firm, so that his very smartness and gentility is really an additional burden upon him. His work is, for the most part, dreary and monotonous, and his hours long; while he is faced with the horrors of unemployment, liable at any moment to be cast on the industrial scrap-heap, like any common labourer, to make way for a younger man. Yet how many there

are among this class who imagine they have interests in common with the sleek, well-fed bosses at whose frown they tremble? How many of them, because they wear stiff collars in the interests of their masters, assume that in the conflict of Capital and Labour theirs is the side of Capital; and even carry their "loyalty" to the extent of playing the blackleg whenever the industrial workers attempt to improve their conditions by means of the strike?

In addition to the army of commercial clerks there are the large staffs employed by the numerous Government departments. A vague impression seems to be abroad that everyone in the employ of the Government must have a soft job, with little to do and much to take—in fact, Civil servants have been facetiously likened to the fountains in Trafalgar Square, which play from 10 to 5. This description may have had some foundation in fact 20 or 30 years ago, but it certainly has no application to conditions as they exist to-day. It is admitted, of course, that persons employed by the State must necessarily enjoy a certain security which is impossible in the commercial world; but the fact remains that the grievances of those in the lower ranks of the service are neither few nor small. It may not be generally known that one of the largest sections of public servants is the Abstractor class, whose maximum salary, which they cannot reach until well on in middle life, is £150 a year, hardly sufficient to justify some of the extravagant notions which exist concerning the universal prosperity enjoyed in the service of the State. Then, again, the sweating and speeding-up which is carried on in the largest and busiest Government departments has aroused widespread discontent, and the attention of Ministers is continually being drawn to the working conditions of sorters and telegraphists.

Almost any Civil servant, in the lower ranks, however mild his political views, can be roused to indignation by a reference to the patronage system, to which public attention has been recently directed as a

result of the scandal in connection with the "Holmes Circular." This system seems to have established itself in all branches of the Service, and renders it exceedingly difficult to rise from the lower into the higher grades, the great majority of the better-paid posts being filled either by means of competitive examination in subjects which only University men can touch, or as the result of personal influence pure and simple.

Much the same bureaucratic element prevails in the teaching profession, where the highest posts are almost inaccessible to the rank and file. More especially, it may be mentioned, has this been the case in London since the County Council took over the control of the elementary schools; and of late years inexperience seems to have become the principal qualification for promotion.

We have, then, abundant evidence to show that it is not the people who use their intelligence in the interests of the community who receive the prime cuts under capitalism. On the contrary, it is those who have succeeded in mastering the art of getting something for nothing. Seeing that the rich can only live by the exploitation of labour, and all socially necessary labour involves an effort of the brain, we are quite justified in saying that all who use their intelligence to assist in the creation of wealth are robbed of the fruit of their brains to a greater or less degree. It is, therefore, to their common interest to put aside all questions of *caste* or *craft* and unite on the broader basis of *class* in order to put an end to the social parasitism which is the curse of them all.

Unfortunately, it happens only too often that the worker takes so much out of himself in the matter of brain-power in the shop or the office that when his day's work is over his mind is too exhausted to be capable of clear and logical reasoning. Consequently he falls an easy prey to the plausible fallacies prepared for his benefit by the political quacks whose business it is to throw dust in his eyes, and when election time

comes is tricked into giving his support to representatives of the class who are fleecing him day by day.

If only the workers could be persuaded to bring into their politics one-half that judgment and ingenuity which they must exercise in the course of their daily work! Then indeed the end of wage-slavery would be at hand; and the time would not be far distant when "we shall make an end of the craft of kings, of lords and of usurers, and there shall be but one craft in the world—to work merrily for ourselves and to live merrily thereby."

THE MONTH.

Several of the matters which came before the Trades Union Congress, and the discussions thereon, gave to the annual Parliament of organised Labour a quite exceptional interest and importance.

It was not surprising that on the question of the amalgamation of unions the amendment should have been carried by a two to one majority. It is not only—as the mover of the amendment claimed—that many of the unions are not yet prepared for amalgamation; the conditions are entirely against it in many instances. There is a remarkable tendency in some people to fly from one extreme to the other; and it is to the credit of the trade union movement that such individuals are but a small minority in its ranks, and that the general body steadily forges ahead undeflected by such influences. Just now, it is the fashion to decry sectional unions and sectional strikes, and to talk as if a sort of general strike, undertaken by a general, amalgamated union, must inevitably be irresistible and triumphant.

There is no warrant for any such assumption. There is much to be said for the amalgamation of existing unions—especially of the sectional unions in a given industry; but there is also a very great deal to be said against amalgamation of the unions comprising different industries. There is no reason for the present number of "General Labourers'" unions; nor is there any reason why the different sections in the printing trade should not be amalgamated, instead of each having its separate union; nor is there any very obvious reason for separate unions for railwaymen. When we come to deal with an industry which comprises men engaged in general trades, however, such as carpenters, bricklayers, or engineers, it is another story; and there are very strong reasons why they should belong to the general union of their trade rather than to a composite union of different trades in the industry in which for the time being they happen to be employed.

So, too, in the matter of strikes. There is no general rule. It is entirely a question of tactics. Complaint is made of union men

"blacklegging" other unions on strike. As a matter of fact, that is, in most cases, a mere figure of speech. It means simply that they continue their own work—which may or may not be carried on in co-operation with actual "blacklegs"—while other men are on strike, instead of striking sympathetically. It does not, as a rule, mean that they are actually doing the work of the men on strike.

It is frequently the case, of course, that the success of a strike depends entirely upon all sections coming out. On the other hand, it sometimes happens that the strikers are best served by localising or sectionalising the strike, and keeping all at work save the section involved. A moment's consideration will show how that may easily be the case; but it is only necessary to recall how frequently the employers reply to a strike by a lock-out. *They* make the strike general. If, in order to ensure the success of a strike, it is only necessary to make it general, the employers in enforcing a lock-out would be playing right into the hands of the men and ensuring their success. They don't do that, as a rule!

The same observations apply, to some extent, to the discussion and vote on Syndicalism as opposed to political action. Because our Labour Party has failed to "make good," we have now among the more impatient spirits a recrudescence of the old anti-Parliamentary Anarchism under another name. It would be just as reasonable to condemn a rifle because an inexpert marksman failed to hit the target with it. Unfortunately, Syndicalism itself was not discussed, otherwise its sheer emptiness might have been exposed. The Congress, to its credit, however, voted by an overwhelming majority in favour of independent working-class political action. And that really was the vital question at issue. We are invited to regard Syndicalism as a new idea: the very latest and most up-to-date revolutionary force. It is nothing of the kind. In so far as its objects and methods take shape at all, and are anything more than incoherent imaginings, they are the objects and methods of a past when trade unionism had not "found itself," but was outlawed and driven into violent courses by the legal obstacles in its path.

Syndicalism, however, "cuts no ice" in this country, nor in any other where trade unionism is strong. The vote of the Congress is sufficient to show how little it has affected the trade unions, and we as Socialists should have no concern with it at all were it not that its advocates have opened the attack upon the Socialist

Party, upon which it parasitically fastens, with a view of paralysing the political activities and organisation of the working class, and preventing it finding any political expression at all.

In the Congress discussion Mr. Noah Ablett challenged anyone to show that Syndicalism is anti-political. We have only to refer him to the repeated declarations in that sense of Mr. Tom Mann, and to the pamphlet "Syndicalism: What it is," by Gaylord Wilshire, which, instead of telling us what Syndicalism is, is nothing but an attack, from beginning to end, upon Socialist political action.

We have no objection to the Syndicalists preaching the importance of industrial organisation and the superiority of "direct" industrial action over the use of the political machine. What we object to, however, is, after we have, by years of ceaseless effort, induced the workers to take up and begin to use (timidly and awkwardly, at present, it is true) the political weapon, that the Syndicalist should now come along and try to knock that weapon out of their hand in favour of the old boomerang, the strike.

What a pity it is that the advocates of Syndicalism are so lacking in a sense of humour. Mr. John Turner, the able organiser of the Shop Assistants' Union, is an avowed Anarchist, an anti-Parliamentarian, and quite properly, from his point of view, opposed, in the Congress, the resolution in favour of political action. Before that resolution was moved, however, on the very same day, in the very same Congress, Mr. Turner moved:—

> "That this Congress calls upon the Government to introduce at the earliest possible moment a Shops Bill limiting the hours of labour to 60 hours per week, inclusive of meal times. Further, that seeing several Government Blue Books exist teeming with evidence of the injurious effect of the long hours worked in shops, and that Bills have been introduced for the last 25 years, emphasises that no industrial question demands more urgent attention."

What on earth had Mr. Turner, Syndicalist, Anarchist, Direct Actionist, Anti-Parliamentarian, to do with such a resolution? What has he to do with Government or Parliament, or Bills? If Direct Action is so efficacious, and political action so futile and useless, Mr. Turner ought to get the hours of shop assistants limited to less than sixty a week by direct action instead of going to Parliament. And "Bills have been introduced for the last 25

years"! Clearly Parliament is very slow, but why have the unions waited 25 years for Parliament, instead of doing it themselves, if direct action is so simple and so easy?

Mr. Naylor, too, said it took the miners 25 years or more to get their eight hours day sanctioned by Parliament. But the Miners' Federation is by far the most powerful industrial organisation in the kingdom. If any union could fix their hours and wages without legislation, surely the miners could. Why didn't they do without Parliament? Simply because they tried and tried and tried "direct action," and failed every time.

We are attacked for sneering at Syndicalism as a recrudescence of Anarchism. Well, read the Syndicalist writings, compare them with those of the Anarchists, and see what else it is. Better still, as a test, is the hostility of both towards the political Socialist movement. Over 20 years ago the International Socialist Congress, to guard itself against the disruptive intrusion of Anarchists, stipulated that only those industrial organisations should be admitted to affiliation which were in favour of political action. That provision holds good to-day, and very clearly puts Syndicalism and Syndicalists in their proper place.

The line taken by the Congress in this matter was complementary to its vote on the Osborne judgment. There it very rightly declared emphatically against the sham Bill of the Government and in favour of the political liberty of the trade unions. Once more, too, it declared emphatically against anything in the nature of compulsory arbitration, and even voted down our friend Tillett's proposal for an investigation into the question.

The resolution of the Congress in favour of the nationalisation of land, railways and mines was in keeping with former Congress decisions. If the rank and file of the trade unions felt any more than a languid interest in and approval of the principle embodied in such a resolution, we should, long ere this, have made considerable progress towards its realisation.

In the matter of secular education the Congress was very weak. All those whose opinion is worth anything have long ago declared that the "secular solution" offers the only way out of the so-called educational difficulty, and there can be no doubt that, but for clerical opposition, it would long since have been adopted. Religious belief has nothing whatever to do with education, in any

real sense, and we are quite convinced that were a referendum taken of the working classes of this country on the subject, an overwhelming majority would be found in favour of purely secular teaching in our common schools. It is a pity, therefore, that the most representative body of organised labour—the Trades Union Congress—should allow a priest-ridden minority to prevent the opinion of the Congress being expressed on the matter.

The death of General Booth has removed a notable figure from the public life of the religious movement of this country. It has also, incidentally, served to illustrate, once more, the self-seeking hypocrisy of our ruling class. There was none among the great ones—from the Kaiser to King George, or from the Archbishop of Canterbury to President Taft—who rendered homage to the dead "general" who did not inwardly despise and contemn the crude form of Christianity by which he held all his life as well as the unconventional methods adopted for its propagation. In the beginning their contempt and dislike was undisguised; but experience had taught them that General Booth and his Salvation Army were really rendering invaluable service to the existing social order. Hence their change of attitude and their ostentatious assumption of grief at the death of so redoubtable a defender.

None of the orthodox Churches of to-day would, we believe, endorse the "hell-fire" theology of the Salvation Army. If they were charged with teaching such crudities, they would at once indignantly repudiate the charge. Yet they made no protest against these teachings, and were quite content, indeed, to profit by them.

We Socialists have little concern with the peculiar tenets of the "Army," however, and strongly as we may feel the immorality of Churchmen, who profess to believe no longer in those tenets, making no protest against their being taught as Christianity, we have always stood by the right of the "Army" to free public expression of its opinions. On the other hand, it was in Booth's "social schemes" that he proved himself, from our point of view, so great a charlatan. His "Darkest England and the Way Out" imposed upon and misled thousands, while his sweating "elevators," which did anything but elevate, served as hindrances to anything useful and effective being done.

It is quite in keeping with the fitness of things, however, that this charlatanry should have not only imposed upon the well-to-do, who really benefited by it, but upon quite serious reformers and pseudo-Socialists like the supporters of the latest "campaign against poverty." General Booth's quack remedies for social ills form a part of the recommendations of the Minority of the Poor Law Commission, upon which this "campaign" is based.

TO THE CHURCH.

By Fred. Dart.

We saw it lately that thou Church—who, they say,
Is founded on the shame and cross of Christ,
The humble Nazarene, the Carpenter—
When damned Oppression with his many whips
Stung to rebellion, raised not up thy voice
To right the wrong, but, timid, took the hand
Of Tyranny, urging the disciples of thy Master
To kneel at Judas' feet. There was a time
When thou hast ta'en a far more active part
Against thy brothers, when with flame and rack
Thou didst Oppression's bidding. Much we hear
From thee of Christian martyrs, slaughtered for
The faith you teach, but little dost thou tell
Of those long centuries of torture, when
The Cross was multiplied to millions, each
With its writhing body, racked for no more reason
Than that the tortured spake a truth unknown
To your diseased conception. Well it is
That men should be reminded of thy works;
How thou hast ever fought against the Truth,
Stifled the cry of Angels, and proclaimed
God's world a hell.
First, then, let me speak—
And well I should—of thy two hundred years'
Fierce persecution of the Huguenots,
Which well-nigh drained of France her choicest blood;
The massacre of the peace-loving Vaudois,
In which a thousand people, burnt and stabbed
And sent to galleys, suffered at thy hands;
The dreadful day of St. Bartholomew—
But one of many of thy coups d'état—
Whereon men, women, children, all were slain.
Good Admiral Coligny, gentle Pallisy,
Philosopher Ramus, all thy victims were.
And what thy attitude in other periods
To men as noble? Cecco D'Ascoli—
A white-haired man of seventy—burnt alive

For daring to pronounce the earth a sphere!
Columbus, too, was persecuted for
Proof of the same discovery. James Young Simpson,
But little more than sixty years ago,
Well earned thy hatred for his use of that
Relief to suffering nature, Chloroform.
Copernicus, Bruno, and Gallileo
Received thy heavy censure for disproving
The movement of the sun around the earth.
Copernicus escaped thy torture only
By the intervention of his natural death;
Bruno was burnt alive, his ashes cast
To the winds of heaven; and Gallileo's
Last dying wish: that his bones might be interred
With those of his own kindred, was refused.
What of the Inquisition, which condemned
To cruelties unheard of ere that time
Its million "unbelievers"? What of those
Professed to claim the sepulchre of Christ
From profanation, who, with scarlet sword,
Ravaged the East, intent on plunder, with
Their conscience an excuse? . . . .

But why prolong the shameful story? Were I
To recapitulate in full such deeds
Of "Holy Mother Church," 'twould take my life
To write it. Unto thee, O Church of God!
I dedicate these lines. Thankful I am
That I am living at the present time,
When the civil power restrains you, else no more
My pen would write; for even now you live
Your reputation, standing in the way
Of Liberty and Progress. Out of the light!
And if ye have no message but the ruin
Of earth's most noble spirits and the curse
Of God upon his creatures, silent be!
Have not the voices from thy pulpits thundered
Enough damnation on the souls of men?
Thou travesty of that great brotherhood
Formed by the Prince of Peace, put up thy sword!
Thou who attempst to confine the Spirit of Life
In a dead creed, and viest thy crumbling altars
With the Everlasting! What! have ye no fear
Of the God of Wrath ye have yourself invented?
What of the sin against the Holy Ghost
Which shall not be forgiven? Are you prepared
To suffer for that sin? No greater blasphemy
Against the Father of all can be imagined
Than to present Him as a God of hate,
Of murder and of lies. Throw down this mask

Whereby ye seek to obscure the Father's face.
I tell thee, a little child new come from heaven,
Unable to pronounce the name of God,
Knows more of God than ye. When will ye learn
To unlearn superstition?—your reply!
"Ah, yes!" you say, "in the past, admitted; but
The eye of God looks on us: we advance."
Advance! in what direction? Where the advance?
Unnumbered quarrels over lighted candles,
Vestments, and prayers, and incense; a learned Father
Flattering his fashionable congregation
With long descriptions of their well-bred sins;
A bachelor Bishop growing eloquent
On things he knows not; a misguided cleric
Presuming to dictate the rules of sport;
The substitution of the sneer and gibe
For obsolete rack and thumbscrew; and a Dean
Who fears the People's "too much happiness."
Is this your bragg'd improvement? Well for thee
That in thy ranks are some few seeing souls
Who glimpse the dawn of happiness beyond
This night of bigotry. Well for the world
If they can cleanse thee of thy many stains.
And if the cleansing break the vessel—well,
A few will mourn, the majority rejoice.
Most of thy backward history is blood,
Thy policy to-day is leagued with Power
Against the People, and the future seems
As like to be alike with then and now.
So let it be! If ye believe in God
The Father and the brotherhood of men,
Then preach it now; if not—out of the way!
Block up no more the path of Progress; go
The way of all outworn, decaying things.
The earth will not expire upon your fall:
It was ere thou wast born, and yet will be.

EVENTS OF AUGUST.

AT HOME.

6—House of Commons: Trade Unions Bill, second reading carried by majority of 100.
Master of Elibank resigned post of Chief Liberal Whip.
7—After statement by Postmaster-General on the Marconi Agreement, the House of Commons adjourned till October 7.
Mary Leigh and Gladys Evans, Suffragists, sentenced at Dublin to five years' penal servitude for setting fire to the Theatre Royal.
8—North-West Manchester bye-election: Randles (Unionist), 5,573; Hewart (Liberal), 4,371; loss of Government seat.
9—Master of Elibank advised Midlothian Liberals to support Provost Brown, the Labour candidate.
Scottish Miners' Conference condemned the use of military in trade disputes.
10—Midlothian Liberal Executive recommended Lord Shaw's son for candidate.
11—The Master of Elibank now advised the Liberals to support Mr. Shaw.
Mr. Churchill's first letter on Mr. Bonar Law's incitement to civil war published.
12—Ebbw Vale steel works (5,000 men) closed on account of local colliery strike.
Allan liner Corsican struck an iceberg, but proceeded to Liverpool.
13—Death of Miss Octavia Hill, housing reformer.
14—General Botha appointed an honorary General in the Army.
16—British Miners' Conference at Blackpool expressed strong dissatisfaction with the working of the Minimum Wage Act.
17—At Gateshead 93 miners were fined for striking without notice.
19—Fighting at Tilbury docks between unionists and blacklegs.
20—Death of "General" Booth, founder of the Salvation Army.
First Insurance Act test cases: £5 fines inflicted.
22—East Carmarthen bye-election (result declared next day): Towyn Jones (Liberal), 6,082; Mervyn Peel (Unionist), 3,354; Dr. Williams (Labour), 1,089; no change.
24—Fire at the General Post Office; all telegraphic communication temporarily suspended.

26—Great floods in Norfolk; six inches of rain in twelve hours at Norwich; the city isolated, and thousands made homeless.
27—Four thousand miners left work at the Glamorgan collieries.
29—Collision at Vauxhall station: one killed, 20 injured.
30—Mr. Cody won £5,000 in the Military Aeroplane Competition.
31—Comet centenary celebrations at Glasgow.

ABROAD.

4—Five English "spies" arrested near Kiel.
5—Roosevelt's "National Progressive" Convention opened at Chicago.
Turkish Parliament dissolved.
Fighting on the Turco-Montenegrin frontier.
6—Krupp Centenary.
8—Release of the Kiel spies.
Terrible explosion at Lothringen coal mine near Bochum, Westphalia.
Severe storms in North Italy and Switzerland.
9—United States Senate adopted Panama Canal Bill by 47 votes to 15.
11—French Prime Minister received by the Czar at Peterhof.
12—French Cabinet ratified arrangements for abdication of Mulai Hafid.
13—Mohamed Imam Waked and two others sentenced at Cairo to 15 years' hard labour for conspiracy against Lord Kitchener.
14—Mulai Yusef proclaimed Sultan of Morocco.
17—Increased trouble in Albania.
19—Peking Assembly threatened to impeach Yuan Shih-kai.
20—American marines landed in Nicaragua.
21—Herr von Vollmar, Socialist leader, delivered "patriotic" speech in the Bavarian Diet.
22—French Government ordered the teachers' unions to dissolve on account of anti-patriotic resolutions.
23—Evidence given before United States Senate that the Standard Oil Company contributed £20,000 to Mr. Roosevelt's election fund in 1904.
24—President Taft signed the Panama Canal Bill.
Sun Yat-sen arrived at Peking and made his peace with the President.
25—Seditious placards in Cairo.
28—President Taft ordered an infantry regiment to Nicaragua.

SIMPLE-MINDED SUBJECTS.

By F. Kummer.

In the castle at Tokio a man lies dying; a frail human being like all the rest. His sickness, his pains, his struggle with death prove it.

Outside, before the castle wall, in the dust of the streets, a hundred thousand people are prostrated on their knees. Their faces are pressed to the earth, their hands folded—they are praying. A sea of paper lanterns illuminates the nocturnal scene. One hears mystic formulas of prayer murmured many thousand times, mingled with faint groans, the whole night long. On every face is depicted sorrow and despair. A man among the crowd kills himself. He sacrifices his life to save the life of him who lies dying over there in the castle. A number of young girls sacrifice the hair of their heads on the holy shrine to propitiate the gods towards the dying inhabitant of the castle. All in vain! The gods do not allow themselves to be softened. They neither hear the prayers of the many thousands, nor appreciate the sacrifice of the other's life. The dweller in the castle dies.

The news of his death soon penetrates over the castle moat to the praying multitudes. Up in the fortress, near the death-chamber, ministers and high officials assemble to order the inheritance of the dead man's successor. In the banks people are busy calculating the effect of the death on business and dividends. Before the castle wall a hundred thousand people are still praying!

One after another of the paper lanterns goes out. The mourning crowd rise up and disperse. At home, in quiet seclusion, fresh lights flicker up towards the house-shrine. Before it the people again lie on their knees, press their heads to the ground, and pray for the soul of the departed. And they sacrifice death-offerings!

The mournful news soon spreads to every corner of the island empire, to every hut. From Hakodate to Yokuschima, from Kanazava to Choschi, people are praying, mourning and offering sacrifices. It is no calculated business humbug! Honest grief, coming straight from the heart, fills the little brown man. *Sancta simplicitas!*

Sorrow and mourning for whom? For the Mikado! Why? Because he is dead.

Mikado! An empty sound! For his subjects a mere name, no personality. The physical form that this name represents to them has been created in the dark room of the court photographer. Of his actions and thoughts, of his intelligence, initiative and culture, of the part he took in the Government, of his attitude towards country and people, of his interest in the poor and oppressed sons of his Empire, they know nothing, or only as much

as the Court camarilla sees fit to let leak out. Hardly one of the many millions of mourning subjects has ever seen the Mikado in person. No one has received any visible kindness from him. On the contrary.

They, the subjects, bear the intolerable burden of national debt which the reign of the Mikado, the "epoch of enlightenment," has imposed on the poor, exhausted country. They work like beasts of burden, in order that their meagre property shall not be seized by the tax-collecting officials; their sons are forced into the barracks to practise themselves in the art of war in order to fight—and if necessary to die—for the glory and honour of the Mikado and his ancestors; their daughters, already during childhood, have to be exploited 12 to 16 hours a day in the industrial treadmill, in order that (the income for the capitalists and) the dividends for the Mikado's 342,786 industrial and bank shares should continue to go up. And all subjects have to contribute their portion towards the Civil List of £500,000.

It is the people who heap benefits on the princes, and not the other way round. And if anybody has occasion to be thankful, to pray, to mourn, and to weep, it certainly is not the people.

A well-known truism, and yet, as it seems, unknown and inconceivable to Japanese subjects, who do not feel that they have the right to ponder on the strange relationship between sovereign and subject. For is it not settled by the Constitution, and been satisfactorily commented upon by their great statesmen, for Asiatic domestic use? This is what the "Bismarck of Japan," Ito—the man overflowing with Prussian Government maxims—said to the Japanese people in praise of their Constitution, which is still framed on a Prussian pattern:—

"The Constitution has been decided upon by his Majesty the Emperor *in person, in agreement with the instructions passed over to him from his ancestors . . . . its statutes must be observed by his subjects and their descendants for all time.*"*

The sense of this phrase is, after all, comprehensible, even to the Japanese "subject-intelligence"; the Constitution is a gracious present from the Emperor to his people. The subjects are under the Constitution; they are ciphers—many ciphers, it is true, but still only ciphers—which, if they would have value and a right to exist, must rank themselves obediently along beside the great heaven-born "One"—that is, the throne of the Mikado. Up till now, it has not occurred to the Japanese subject-intelligence to ask for proofs for the heavenly origin of the throne, nor for a description of the nature of the news-service between the Mikado and his ancestors. If such things are insisted upon so often, and with such emphasis, the right cannot be questioned of demanding to see the proofs of the origin and reality of the divine right. Such pertinent questions, indeed, are not likely to be put just yet in the land of the rising sun. But still, even the most limited subject-intelligence may some day be assailed with diabolical curiosity, and

* From Ito's "Commentary on the Constitution of Japan."

may feel the temptation to question critically at least the substance of which the throne is composed. But any attempt of that sort is also rendered unnecessary by the following remark of Ito's :—

"*The holy throne was created at the time when heaven and earth separated. The Emperor is sent from heaven; he is divine and holy.* He stands above all his subjects ; he is to be honoured and held sacred. Any disrespect to the person of the Emperor is forbidden, neither may he be made the subject of a slighting remark or of a discussion."*

This cuts off from the beginning any possibility of critical examination on the part of a Japanese subject of this rather ancient throne, put together at the creation of the world. It was, however, hardly necessary to choke any such attempts at criticism by such preventive measures, for the soil of the island-empire was anyhow unfavourable to their growth. And during the last four decades the intellect of the people has been so systematically stifled that they have neither the desire nor the courage ruthlessly to expose the relationship between the Emperor "by the grace of God" and his people. In the popular and higher-grade schools the youth of the nation have for many decades had the dogma of the divine origin of the Mikado drummed into them in so many keys that they finished by believing firmly in it, and now pass through life with this faith. During the course of the decades during which new Japan has existed, the antediluvian ancestor-worshipping religion of Shintoism has gradually become converted into a religion of Mikadoism, a religion which has for its first principle reverence for the occupant of the throne and his ancestors. In solemn addresses, children's fables, school songs, the same trend of thought recurs again and again: Our Mikado is the Emperor, superior to all other princes ; his word is law for all time ; the welfare of the country and of the people depend on the prosperity of the royal house ; through him alone do his people become possessed of value and of an object in life; the subject can only hope to attain earthly happiness and heavenly blessedness through absolute obedience, through placing his life and his person at the disposal of the Emperor.

The poor peasant people who have only just emerged from feudal serfdom, and who to-day are still bitterly oppressed and exploited, have neither the strength of will nor the intellectual capacity to stand up against the artificial crippling of the youthful brain. They themselves were taught the same nonsense at school, and finally accepted it, whether they would or no, as sterling coin. A population with such an intellectual basis, with a subject-intelligence which is being systematically trained backwards, is at last capable of throwing itself in the dust, praying and lamenting. And it even contains men who sacrifice their lives—for whom? For a Mikado, for a name void of meaning, which the ruling class thought fit to constitute into a demi-god.

Simple-minded subjects!

* From Ito's "Commentary on the Constitution of Japan."

THE DARROW ACQUITTAL.

With the jury which found him "not guilty" of attempted bribery crowding about him with congratulations, and the presiding judge proclaiming that "hundreds of thousands of hallelujahs will go up from as many throats" on the publication of the news, Clarence S. Darrow's vindication, observes the Springfield "Republican," "is as splendid as it is complete." Nor is the vindication unpleasing to the "Republican," which, though looking upon him as "an extreme radical," has always thought him "too idealistic to descend to corruption in gaining his ends in a court of justice." Like satisfaction is shown by such papers as the Milwaukee "Leader," St. Louis "Republic," Fort Worth "Record," Baltimore "News," and Oakland "Tribune." "The friends of industrial peace, as well as Labour itself, are to be congratulated" upon the outcome, for, says the St. Louis "Post-Dispatch":—

"The destruction of leaders like Darrow, Mitchell, and Gompers would gain nothing for those who are adverse to organised Labour in interest, for it would discourage Labour from putting forth its best men in leadership, and tend to the substitution of less responsible representatives in the common councils."

The Darrow case was a direct result of the trial of the McNamara brothers, for whom Mr. Darrow was chief counsel, and followed an indictment for the alleged bribery of George N. Lockwood, a prospective juror in the McNamara case. To quote the story of the case from the news columns of the New York "Times":—

"On November 28, 1911, Bert H. Franklin, chief detective of the McNamara defence, was arrested for the bribery of Lockwood. In January he made a confession that he had bribed Robert F. Bain, the first juror sworn to try the McNamara case, and had sought to bribe five other prospective jurors, including Lockwood.

"On January 29 two indictments were reported against Darrow for the alleged bribery of Bain and Lockwood.

"Trial on the Lockwood indictment began on May 15, and thirteen weeks and two days elapsed before the case went to the jury, making it the longest criminal trial ever held in Los Angeles County.

"The chief reliance of the defence was that the agreement between prosecution and defence under which the McNamaras

entered their pleas of guilty was made prior to the alleged bribery of Lockwood, and that there was therefore no occasion for corrupting jurors."

Darrow's speech in his own defence, which his prosecutor, District Attorney Fredericks, is said to have characterised as one of the greatest ever heard in a court-room, contained a justification of his advice to the McNamaras to plead guilty, and the assertion that the blowing up of the Los Angeles "Times" building, though a criminal act, was done with no thought of taking human life. The acquittal of August 17 is thought by the press to end the case against Darrow. For, while he faces another trial under a second indictment, the Press generally believe that even should it be found worth while to bring the case before a jury, an early acquittal would be practically assured. In a formal statement given out after his acquittal Darrow said in part:—

"None of those who knew me ever believed that I was corrupt, and their encouragement and faith has been my greatest help in this trial. The indictment and prosecution could not have happened except under the tense excitement and strain of the dramatic close of the McNamara case.

"I shall spend the rest of my life as I have that which is past, in doing the best I can to serve the cause of the poor."

After expressing its "satisfaction that the rotten conspiracy framed up" against Clarence S. Darrow has failed, the Socialist New York "Call" goes on to vent its wrath against the "conspirators" and to hint that Darrow is now free to fight again and to strike another blow. We read in part:—

"The public spokesman of Labour, whether strike-leader or lawyer, must calculate on the chances of being grabbed in this fashion, deprived of liberty, his time wasted, and his living interfered with without any possibility of redress.

"This method of using the law to discourage the activities of advocates of the working class will be accepted by all 'law-abiding citizens' of that class, simply because as yet they must abide by it; they cannot help themselves. Moyer, Haywood, and Pettibone had sixteen months taken from their lives on account of it. It has cost Darrow time, trouble, and much pecuniary loss. And Ettor and Giovannitti are now being subjected to the same experience. . . . .

"The law cannot be used in this manner against the vile, sneaking tools of capitalism. The indictment against Burns for kidnapping was instantly quashed, though the kidnapping was an actual fact, while the rotten frame-up against Darrow, demolished in thirty minutes by the jury, was sufficient to hold him for many months. . . . .

"However, the victims, fortunately, are not the kind of men that such persecution can daunt. The experience usually intensi-

fies their determination to spend themselves further in Labour's cause, and the intended terrorism defeats its own purpose.

"Darrow is a determined man, and we make no doubt that he will make good his statement to the jury that he will still defend the cause of the plundered and disinherited workers. He had virtually retired before taking up the McNamara case, and had not this odious conspiracy against him been framed would probably have retired after the case was closed.

"But this thing will keep him in the field a while longer, and we sincerely hope that room can be found for his services in the Ettor-Giovannitti trial. What Darrow could do to that infamously rotten frame-up would certainly be worth doing, and we should as certainly like to see it done."

The Kansas City "Journal," voicing more conservative opinion, warns Mr. Darrow that if he "seeks to read into his acquittal more than properly belongs there he will make a grievous mistake, and if Labour organisations interpret it as a wholesale endorsement of all of Darrow's incendiary views they will follow in the line of error." It seems to the "Journal" that "the net result of the whole affair will undoubtedly be a restraint upon the violent proclivities of misguided representatives of union labour who practise what Labour officially disapproves."

A fact in connection with the Darrow case which appears conspicuous to the New York "Herald" is "the time consumed in its trial—three months and two days."

"The incongruity of a man taking so long a time to make clear his innocence of an alleged crime, or the State to convict should it be successful, in any court of law in the land, furnishes food for serious reflection by the sober-minded. . . .

"All the time necessary for the meting of exact justice must be given for the hearing of every case, but it would seem that three days or a week would have been ample time for Darrow to establish his innocence. It is unlikely that it would have consumed in England or Canada more than seven days to hear a case similar to Darrow's."

—From the "Literary Digest," New York.

THE REVIEWS.

ASPECTS OF WILLIAM MORRIS.

Mr. E. Hallam Moorhouse has the following to say under the above heading in this month's "Fortnightly Review":—

If William Morris could have chosen the century in which he would be born and live, it is certain that he would not have chosen the nineteenth century. In all the ages of history there could hardly have been one to please him less—particularly that large portion of it comprised in the reign of Victoria—yet there never was a time that needed him more. He found it sunk in an artistic abyss, and comfortably ignorant of the depth of its fall. When he died, only sixty-two years old, he had relit the lamp of beauty and the lamp of memory, made joyful craftsmanship a practical possibility, established a business whose influence has been greater even than its works, and written so abundantly from the fulness of his heart that it needs twenty-four large volumes to give his literary works to the world in their completeness.

Such achievements belong to the heroic age, and could only have been accomplished by a man built in an heroic mould. Such a man was Morris—all who knew him are agreed that he himself was greater than any of his works. "There's Morris," said Burne-Jones, "the larger half of the wonderful personality will perish when he dies." And yet how much survives—how wonderful is the personality that speaks from his books alone, though the pen was but one among his many tools and weapons. In "News from Nowhere," he said: "It is the child-like part of us that produces works of imagination. When we are children time passes so slow with us that we seem to have time for everything." Morris was one of those thrice-blessed people who keep the child-like part alive until "the ending of days." It is the very well-spring of the undying freshness of his romances which are at once so long and so delightful. He had the same joy in telling a tale that Chaucer had—and the same directness, the wish to tell it straight from the beginning to the end, without any of the breaks and elisions that the modern mind, in terror of being bored, invents. The great stories of the world sufficed for Morris, because his nature was in tune with them and all they sung and told. It seems that occasionally in the march of progress one will come

who stays a little by the way and bids people pause and listen to the past. It is always poets or artists who call this halt, and often they are little heeded because of some lack of vitality in themselves that can bring no colour and no music out of the shadowy past. The practical man scorns these often melancholy efforts—but no man, however practical, could scorn William Morris, for his full-mouthed singing was but one among his activities—he had almost as many crafts as there are methods of making things with hands. He was ever of "those that do and know."

. . . . .

Both in poetry and in prose Morris is one of the world's great tellers of tales, and, as Sidney said, such tales "holdeth children from play and old men from the chimney-corner." But it must not be forgotten that Morris's life held many other aspects—in his own half-scornful question: "Was no other beauty but the beauty of words to be produced by man in our times?" The beauty of words was not the only beauty he was content to create.

. . . . .

William Morris shortened his own life by the efforts he made in the Socialist cause, and suffered so much from the doubts, disputes, and distractions to which he was subjected, that at last the time came when he withdrew himself and gave his remaining years to two things for which he greatly cared—and by which posterity has greatly gained—the work of making noble books at the Kelmscott Press, and of writing those prose romances which, as has been said, were "a new thing in literature."

LABOUR AND INTERNATIONALISM.

Mr. Fabian Ware writes the following in this month's "Nineteenth Century":—

The more closely one studies the social movement at the present time the deeper becomes one's conviction that every question of national policy, whether domestic or foreign, should be considered in the first instance in its relation to the welfare of Labour within the nation. It is the neglect of this duty—often on the part of people otherwise patriotic—which is mainly responsible for the internationalisation of the working classes, expressed in the device on the banners of every Labour procession, "Proletarians of all lands, unite!" It is, on the other hand, the want of a proper public sense of the interdependence of the external and internal life of a nation which lays us open to a sudden panic such as that of last autumn, when it was discovered that the railway strike was paralysing the country in face of a threatened foreign invasion; and which rendered us indifferent to the warning contained in paragraphs in a few of the best-informed daily newspapers announcing

the coincidence this summer of a strike in the French ports with the London Docks Strike.

That there is to-day an international spirit moving among the working classes, giving rise, not always where distress is greatest, to anti-militarist and anti-patriotic tendencies, no one can deny. It is not proposed here to deal with its causes in any detail; nor is it possible within the limits of this article to discuss them in their bearing on the preparation for national defence, accounting on the one hand for the resistance of a section of the working men to any attempt to establish a system of universal military service which, in their opinion, would strengthen the forces which might be used against their class during a strike, and on the other, for the opposition of some among the governing classes to the creation of a citizen army, adequate for the defence of these islands, which might be less amenable than the existing army for the suppression of a revolt of Labour. It is rather intended to suggest the inferences to be drawn from the past history of internationalism as to the effect of this spirit on the attitude of Labour towards national defence should national independence be suddenly and overtly threatened.

Internationalism, that is to say the union of men of different nationalities in a common cause, is not an idea, as is sometimes believed, that has suddenly sprung up in the revolutionary soil of modern times. It has always existed. Whenever men have been moved by a great ideal, they have sought to gather to its support, in common faith, men of all nations. The greater the ideals the greater have been the efforts; and where they affect humanity most profoundly, as in face of the oppression of the unknown, they have most nearly succeeded in breaking down national barriers. The missionaries of the Christian religion, for instance—in obedience to the command which was at first confined "to the lost sheep of the house of Israel," but was ultimately extended "to all nations"—were internationalists, and the Roman Catholic Church has so far been the most successful of all international organisations in the Western world. With a common ritual, a common language, a common standard of conduct and morals, and an internationalised clerical hierarchy, it was well equipped to overcome those differences in character and in interests which have grouped mankind in nations rising and falling, ebbing and flowing in the struggle for the possession of the earth. Had these differences been artificial, as maintained by a school of thought which existed in all ages, and is not without its representatives to-day, they would surely have disappeared before so potent a force. And yet, as any text-book of history tells us, nations of the same religion warred against one another, and nations opposed in religion joined forces against a common foe.

National interests persisted and dominated all others. To go back no further than the century following the Reformation, when, if at any time, Roman Catholics might have been expected to unite

in defence of their religion, we find the aid of the armies of Protestant England welcomed by Roman Catholic nations on the Continent, and the great three-faced Cardinal in France, who suppressed Protestants within his own borders to ensure a united action, siding with German Protestants in the religious struggles of the Thirty Years' War in pursuance of a foreign policy which made for the national aggrandisement of France. Throughout this period, as in all others, it is seen that wherever a people has arrived at a consciousness of national unity the forces of interest and sentiment, inter-penetrating, produce a patriotism which is the dominating motive of their action.

. . . . .

The argument that the greater facilities for intercommunication which science has secured must tend to the unification of the human race is based on the postulate that material obstacles to intercourse are the chief cause of national divisions. But the Romans, with the most primitive means of transport, unified by force of arms a greater portion of Europe than any modern nation now possesses; and far distant self-governing peoples are to-day united by a common bond to Great Britain, while peoples close to her shore who were once her subjects are now merged in a foreign nation. And, further, every great discovery of science applied to facilitating means of communication establishes new complications and new interests for the nation that adopts them, thus creating fresh causes for rivalry with other nations. Even in the presence of an appalling national disaster, when a great ship, the embodiment of all the latest discoveries of science applied to international communication, sinks in the ocean, the rivalry of nations is at work, before the traces of death have been removed, seeking to make profit from disaster for the shipping lines in which each is individually interested.

In short, the efforts towards internationalism that have been made in all ages under the influence of great ideals show no more signs of achievement to-day than at any former period; and it may be repeated that it is within each nation itself that the hopes of the working classes must be realised, and that consequently the maintenance of national independence is the first condition to their consummation.

A MUSICAL BIRD OF PREY.

[This is the tale of a Siberian convict told to George Kennan by a well-known collector of Russian folk-songs—V. N. Hartveld, of St. Petersburg. Mr. Kennan repeats the story in the columns of "The Outlook." Prior to Mr. Hartveld's visit to Siberia, in 1908, nobody had ever made any attempt to collect the songs of penal servitude in that country. With great difficulty he succeeded in gaining the confidence of the convicts and inducing them to sing. They suspected some sort of trap to get them into further trouble. When he overcame their suspicions, he succeeded in getting some wonderful songs and melodies of great novelty and originality. One of them—the "Leg-Fetter March"—which he introduced into his concerts later, had such a poignant effect upon the Russian audiences that a law was passed by the Government forbidding any one to play or sing it in public. Even to hum it is now a penal offence. It was on Mr. Hartveld's tour collecting these songs that the following events occurred, during a visit to the East Siberian mine of Gorni Zerentin.]

The warden and I had been through nearly all the rooms in the large building, and had not been able to find a single prisoner who would sing, or who was willing to admit that he ever had sung. Finally we went to the kamera of the bez-srochni (the life-term convicts), where we found eighteen men, all murderers, and most of them men who had made homicide a profession or who at least had killed more than once. At the stern command of the guard, "Smeerno! Po mestám!" (Silence! Take your places!) they all sprang to their feet with a great clashing of chains, formed a semicircular line in front of the sleeping-platforms, and, with hands and arms held rigidly at their sides, stood at "attention."

"How do you do, boys?" said the warden, affably.

"We wish you health, your High Nobility!" shouted the prisoners, hoarsely, in unison, using the prescribed form of response to an official greeting.

"What do you say, boys, to singing a few songs for this gentleman? He has come from St. Petersburg, with the permission of the higher authorities, to study your music; and he will be very much obliged if you'll sing for him. How about it?"

Dead silence.

"Don't be suspicious, boys, just because we ask you to do something that is usually forbidden. It's all right, nothing will happen to you. This gentleman is not a chinovnik, or a revizor (investigating officer), he's a musician; and he wants to hear your songs, and write the tunes down on paper, so that he can compare them with the songs and tunes of the prostoi narod (common people) in Russia. He has already collected hundreds of songs, and he knows that you have some good ones. Don't be obstinate—sing for him."

Dead silence. The prisoners eyed us sullenly and suspiciously from under their brows, but did not open their lips.

"Semyonof," said the warden, addressing one of them directly, "you must know who the singers are in this kamera—tell us. We are not trying to trap anybody, or get anybody into trouble."

"We are birds of prey, your High Nobility," replied Semyonof. "Even when we are out of the cage we do not sing—we tear meat."

"It's of no use," said the warden, turning to me; "they won't sing—at least until they have talked it over among themselves. We'll try again later."

We were about to leave the kamera when an old convict with snow-white hair and beard and the face of a patriarch halted us by saying, "There's Klochkof, your High Nobility. He was bragging only a little while ago that he could sing, and he even used to fool with a balalaika."

As we afterward learned, the convict thus pointed out was not a favourite among his comrades, and they were quite ready to get him into trouble by betraying him.

"Good for Klochkof!" cried the warden. "He's a better man than any of you. Step out, Klochkof!"

The convict thus summoned came forward slowly, rolling a little from side to side as he lifted the heavy chain of his leg-fetters. At a distance of six or eight feet he stopped, raised his eyes from the floor, and looked steadily at the warden without the least sign of fear or embarrassment. He was still a young man—thirty-five years of age, perhaps—with a compact athletic figure, a strong but expressionless face, dark opaque eyes, and chestnut-brown hair, long on one side and cut short on the other from the forehead to the nape of the neck.

"The boys say you can sing, Klochkof," said the warden. "Is that so?"

"They're only making game of me, your High Nobility," replied the convict. "Long ago, when I worked in a factory, I used pay some attention to such things, but now——"

"Well, don't you do it now?"

A sudden flash of animation gave unwonted fire to the convict's dull eyes.

"What's the use of denying it?" he replied. "I know a few songs."

His companions exchanged glances significantly, as if to say, "Now he's in for it."

"When will you sing for me, Klochkof?" I asked.

"I can't sing without an accompaniment, your Honor. If I had a balalaika now—perhaps——"

"All right! I'll get a balalaika for you. When will you sing?"

"Whenever your Honor pleases."

"He can come to the office when we're ready," said the warden. "Let me know when you've looked up a balalaika, and I'll send for him again."

"Who is this Klochkof?" I asked, after we had left the kamera. "What's his history?"

"The devil only knows!" said the warden. "I can tell you more or less about the character of every other man in the prison; but I've never been able to make this one out. He is a quiet, orderly convict; obeys the rules, and gives us no trouble; but he seldom speaks, even to his fellow-prisoners."

"How did he become a convict?" I inquired.

"That involves another mystery," replied the warden. "We know what his crime was, but that's all we do know. In a peasant village of the province of Yaroslav he rushed into a church where a wedding was taking place, killed the bridegroom and the bride with two blows of a short-handled axe, and then quietly gave himself up. He refused to explain his act; attempted no justification of himself when he was tried; and made no plea for mercy when he was sentenced to penal servitude for life. He was silent then, and has been silent ever since. Take him all in all, he's a problematic character. I never before heard him say as much as he has said to-day."

On the following afternoon I succeeded in finding an old, much-used balalaika in the house of a ticket-of-leave convict of the Free Command, and the warden sent an armed guard to bring Klochkof to the office. In five minutes he appeared, walking clumsily and awkwardly in heavy fetters, whose looped-up chain clashed between his legs at every step. At sight of the balalaika in my hands he straightened himself a little, and a faint flush of colour came into his face.

"Here's your balalaika, Klochkof," I said. "We succeeded in finding one."

"Will your Honor please let me take it?" he asked.

"Certainly! Here," and stepping forward I put it into his hands. He took it carefully, pressed it against his body, and stroked it gently, as if he were caressing a pet animal.

"Well," I said expectantly, "are you going to sing for us now?"

"Why shouldn't I sing," he replied, "when I have a balaliaka? But it's years since I held one in my hands. Give me a little time for practice—three days, your Honor—in three days I'll learn to play it again, and then I'll sing for you."

I consulted the warden in a whisper and he agreed to let Klochkof have the instrument for three days in his kamera. Then, turning to the prisoner, he said: 'All right, Klochkof. We'll give you time for practice. Limber up your fingers and show us what you can do. In three days we'll send for you again."

"Grant me one more favour, your High Nobility!" said the prisoner imploringly. "I'm afraid that if I play in the kamera the boys will laugh at me and make fun of me. They may even do something to hurt the balalaika—break the strings perhaps or smash it altogether. Please put me into solitary confinement, your High Nobility. Then I can practise in peace."

"I can't do that," said the warden, frowning. "The solitary confinement cells are all occupied."

"Perhaps there's an empty kartser (dungeon) where you could put me," suggested Klochkof, diffidently.

"Well, you are a crank!" replied the warden, with a contemptuous laugh. "You're the first prisoner that has ever asked me, as a favour, to shut him up in a kartser. Why, you lunatic, you don't seem to realise what a kartser is. There's nothing there to sit on, and not a glimmer of light. You won't find it much fun to stand up or sit on a stone floor for three days in pitch darkness, and all alone."

"It's easier to play standing up," replied Klochkof, "and as for loneliness there'll be two of us—the balalaika and I."

"Have it your own way," said the warden.

After dinner on Sunday I went to the prison with my note-book and pencils, and the warden sent for the entombed balalaika-player. He was brought to a large empty room adjoining the office, where there was ample air space, and where a writing-table had been placed for me. The prisoner came in looking pale and worn; but not at all disheartened or depressed. His hair was in disorder; his long gray coat was soiled and rumpled; his eyes were half closed to exclude the unfamiliar light; and his person seemed to exhale a faint peculiar odour like that of a damp cellar; but, with these exceptions, he was unchanged. I thought I could see the afterglow of recent excitement or exaltation in his tired face, but his demeanour was quiet and self-possessed. The audience that awaited him consisted of two soldiers armed with rifles, two turnkeys with revolvers in their belts, the warden of the prison and myself. Holding the balalaika to his breast the prisoner bowed to us respectfully and said, "Shall I begin?"

"Whenever you are ready," I replied.

It happened to be a bright clear August day, and going to one of the windows where the sunlight fell upon him, Klochkof picked

out a plaintive melody on the strings of the balalaika and began to sing. His voice was a mellow tenor not extraordinary in volume or compass, but sweet and sympathetic. At first he did not greatly impress me—he seem to lack confidence and spirit—but when with a wonderfully brilliant balalaika accompaniment he began the popular Siberian exile song, "My Fate," he seemed suddenly to become inspired.

"The man is a born musician!" I said to myself. "He could teach phrasing to many of our best operatic tenors."

But the singing—wonderful as it seemed to me in that place—was surpassed by the extraordinary brilliancy of the accompaniment. The balalaika is a wretched musical instrument at best, but in Klochkof's hands it became a mandoline played by an Italian master. His technique was something marvellous.

When the gifted convict finished his last song, I grasped his hand, and, in my enthusiasm, thanked him almost effusively.

"Please get the warden to let me keep the balalaika a little longer," he whispered to me, while I was still holding his hand. "Persuade him to leave it with me a day or two more."

I made the desired request, but the warden declared it absolutely inadmissible. "It is against all rules," he assured me, "and I might have to answer for it to an inspector."

"Bring me the balalaika," he said to Klochkof.

Then there happened something that I still remember as astounding, tragic, and almost terrible. The quiet, submissive, undemonstrative convict suddenly became as fierce and menacing as a tigress about to be deprived of her young. His face lost every trace of colour, his eyes seemed to fill with blood and fire, and, holding the balalaika to his breast with one hand, he threw himself into a fighting attitude, and cried, hoarsely and fiercely: "I'll never give it up. You can't have it. I'll kill the first man that tries to get it!"

I was absolutely paralysed with amazement.

"Take the balalaika away from the prisoner," said the warden in a cold, stern voice.

The soldiers and turnkeys, with their hands on their weapons, sprang toward the defiant convict, who stood motionless, with murder in his eyes, breathing heavily and clasping the balalaika to his breast. Before they reached him he realised, even in his paroxysm of furious passion, that he could not successfully resist four armed men. Dropping the balalaika, he stood for an instant looking at it with an impression of wild grief and misery in his face, and then, throwing himself on the floor, burst into a storm of convulsive sobs.

The sobs and articulate cries of the prisoner finally became so wild and hysterical that the warden sent for the prison surgeon, but it was ten minutes before we could get the weeping and distraught man quiet. When at last he had recovered self-com-

mand, I thanked him again for singing, and told him that I should leave five roubles for him at the prison office.

"Oh, your Honor," he said through his tears, "I don't want money for that. Just let me take the balalaika once more—for a minute!"

I gave it to him. He stroked it caressingly, pressed his lips to it twice, and then surrendered it. As the guard were about to take him away, he turned again and said: "Please, your Honor, grant me one favour more. When you get back to Russia, you may find yourself some time in the province of Yaroslav. If you ever do, please go to the village church of Romanof-Borisoglebsk, light a candle before the portrait of the Holy Mother of God that hangs on the left side of the chancel, and have a mass said for the repose of the soul of—of—Marya Ivanovna!"

He spoke the name with a half-strangled sob, and seemed to be on the point of breaking down again; but in a moment he recovered self-control, and, bowing low to me, said: "Good-bye, your Honor. God grant you a safe return to your home!"

The guard threw open the door, the prisoner went out, and the clashing of his leg-fetter chain grew fainter and fainter as he marched down the corridor to the kamera of the bez-srochni. I never saw him again.

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THE WAR IN THE BALKANS.

By H. Quelch.

As International Socialists we of the "British Socialist" and of the British Socialist Party, generally, are entirely in favour of peace. In our view one of the greatest calamities that can possibly befall mankind is war. Our Party—the Red International, the international working-class Social-Democracy—is the one great world-wide peace party; and one of its chief objects is to "Seek peace and ensue it," and to establish international concord among all the peoples of the earth.

That being so, we cannot but deplore the outbreak of war between the smaller Balkan States and Turkey. In our judgment this war is not merely—as, generally speaking, all wars are—a crime against humanity; but it is, what is sometimes said to be worse than a crime, a hideous blunder.

Ardently as we desire peace, as affording, as a rule, the only conditions in which the various peoples can work out their own economic salvation, we are forced—however reluctantly—to admit that wars are some-

times inevitable and justifiable, and that there are circumstances in which the horrors of peace are worse than those of war. Great as is our abhorrence of war, we cannot but admit that a war waged by any people in defence of their national liberty is not only justifiable, but a duty. We stand by the "sacred right of insurrection" on the part of any people; and our sincere sympathy and approbation are always with a people "rightly struggling to be free." Moreover, we believe, with our friend Cunninghame Graham, that the Ark of the Covenant of human liberty is in the keeping of the smaller nations; that the great empire-States of to-day are huge liberty-destroying, oligarchical despotisms, the Frankenstein monsters created by the most sordid form of class domination the world has ever seen, that of international capitalism.

Holding these views we should, naturally, be entirely on the side of the Balkan States in this conflict, and should applaud them for their action if we were convinced that it represented a genuine movement for setting free any community from the rule of Turkey, or any other despotism.

In the circumstances, however, it is impossible to regard this present attack upon Turkey as anything more than the outcome of the sinister policy of the Great Powers, and notably Russia, to which policy Bulgaria, Servia, Greece and Montenegro have foolishly —although not, it is presumed, disinterestedly—lent themselves.

We hold no brief for Turkey, any more than for any other imperial Power, but as between Turkey and Russia we maintain that the latter is infinitely the worse. Turkey, as was pointed out years ago, is a decaying despotism; Russia is a growing one. Turkey is old-world, unprogressive, easy-going, tolerant alike as to the race and creed of all the peoples who come under her sway. Russia is rapacious, brutal, savage, repressive, crudely intolerant to all save the orthodox. At the same time Russia, brutal, scarcely civilised, as she is, is progressive and expansive. In no country in

the world, probably, has economic development proceeded so rapidly during the last few years as in Russia, and in the same period she has been reaching out after fresh territory in all directions. No defeat even, however crushing, appears to check the steady, relentless, never-hasting, never-resting extension of her devastating sway.

Russia has always been regarded by the international democracy—Socialist and other—as the worst and most dangerous enemy of human liberty and of democratic progress. The guiding principle of democratic and even Liberal policy was anti-Russian, until Gladstone's time. Gladstone, bewitched, it is alleged, by a sort of Russian Delilah in the person of Madame de Novikoff, discovered in Russia virtues of which she had never before been suspected. She was the great, powerful, stainless champion of civilisation, Christianity and liberty, and more especially of the Christian races in Eastern Europe, and her Czar was the incarnation of piety, kindness, and all the Christian graces—a perfect Bayard, "sans peur et sans reproche."

From that time onward it has been impossible, in Liberal eyes, for Russia to do any wrong. The "Black Hundreds"; the "Pogroms"; the Czar's battue of his loving subjects, who came, unarmed and chanting his praise, to beg for his merciful consideration in their misery and want; the brutal outrages upon men, women and children; the unspeakable horrors of the massacres of Kischineff, Moscow and innumerable towns and villages throughout Russia; the Siberian hell; the savage clandestine arrests and torture in prison of youths and maidens—all these horrors passed unnoticed by our good Liberals, or only called for the mildest sort of protest.

Then came the Revolution. The bonds of despotism had been strained to breaking point; and the reverse of the war with Japan gave the democratic forces in Russia their opportunity. Like fire through over-dry stubble swept the revolutionary movement—irresistible,

all-conquering, and triumphant. It was indeed a glorious victory, which inspired every lover of freedom throughout the world with hope and confidence. The Russian despotism was doomed. This was more than the handwriting on the wall. The autocracy was utterly defeated; it would soon be tumbled into the dust never to rise again.

So we all hoped and believed; and so it would have been, but England and France said "No!" True to the Russophil Gladstonian tradition, the Liberal Government, by the instrumentality of Sir Edward Grey, deliberately set out to rehabilitate Russia as a world Power. Through that wicked and sinister policy, therefore, supported by the moneyed interests in Western Europe, with their vast investments in Russian enterprises, the most cruel and monstrous despotism in the whole world has been rehabilitated. And the results of that rehabilitation during the few years that have elapsed since are too fresh in our memories to need recapitulation. The suppression of all that was democratic in the Duma, and the imprisonment, torture, and death of its Socialist members; renewed massacres; torture and prison horrors; the violation of the constitution of Finland, and the partition of Persia. Such are a few of the consequences—to say nothing of the dangerous situation created in Western Europe—of the Russophil policy of our Liberal Government.

And we are now witnessing another in this war in the Balkans. It cannot be doubted for a moment that the present outbreak is due to the intrigues of Russia, who stands chiefly to gain by the war, whatever its outcome. Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro and Greece are only catspaws to get Russia's chestnuts out of the fire, because the operation was a little too dangerous for her to perform herself.

The pretence that the war is being undertaken to ensure the autonomy of Macedonia is the merest piece of humbug. We are entirely at one with our comrades of the Radical wing of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party in their declaration that "the autonomy of

Macedonia would be no solution to the Balkan question. For an autonomous Macedonia would still be the same apple of discord for the rival Balkan States and dynasties and for European diplomacy as an enslaved Macedonia. Besides, the Powers would never consent to a real autonomy. A war in the Balkans would only be an opportunity for the policy of conquest of the Powers, especially for Russia's designs in the Balkans. Then the Russian secret convention with Bulgaria would come into force, according to which, in the case of a war between Bulgaria and Turkey, the Russian fleet is to occupy the Bulgarian harbours on the Black Sea, thus assuring to Russia the entrance into Southern Bulgaria, the shortest way to Constantinople. A war for the "autonomy" of Macedonia would, without attaining the real goal, totally exhaust Bulgaria, and then deliver it up to the tender mercies of the Russian despotism."

And thus the last state of Macedonia, as well as of Bulgaria, would be far worse than the first. She had far better resign herself to the rule of King Log—Turkey, than call in King Stork—Russia. It is quite true that there have been horrible massacres and outrages in Macedonia, Armenia, and the other Christian provinces of Turkey. But they bear no comparison with what has taken place in Russia. And there is this difference: In the one case, that of Turkey, they have been wantonly and deliberately provoked in order to justify revolt and intervention; in the other they have been wanton attacks upon inoffensive people. The Turk—brutally ferocious as he may be when provoked—is, as a rule, easy-going and tolerant, and not given to persecution. The outrages perpetrated upon Jews in Russia have been the result of religious fanaticism and intolerance, deliberately instigated by the authorities. The outrages perpetrated upon the Christian subjects of Turkey have been provoked by the arrogance, overbearing tyranny, and ruthless exploitation by these Christians of their unfortunate Moslem neighbours. Yet our Nonconformist Liberals here are

deaf and blind to the one, and furious with indignation and breathings of threatenings and slaughter against the other. "Turn the Turk, bag and baggage, out of Europe!" cried Gladstone. "I say, God damn the Sultan!" was the prayer of the saintly Dr. Parker. But no Liberal statesman ever suggests turning Russia bag and baggage out of the territories she has annexed and despoiled; nor does any Nonconformist divine pray to his God to damn the Czar. They are all for freeing Macedonia from the dominion of Turkey; but they could not move a finger to prevent Finland or Persia being brought under the sway of the far worse despotism of Russia.

Had the Powers earnestly desired peace and the autonomy of Macedonia they could have secured both long ago. But they—and especially Russia—want all that could be got by a war without fighting among themselves.

So they have egged on the Balkan States, and will step in and grab the plunder when the fight is over. Not Turkey, nor Bulgaria, nor Greece, nor Servia, nor Montenegro will be permitted to gain anything by the war. Any gain to be derived therefrom will be taken by Russia, or divided between her and Austria. John Bull, once more, will be fooled, and the Balkan States will have their trouble, and loss, and bloodshed, and suffering for their pains. Neither side to the actual conflict will be the gainer, and we heartily support the opposition of our Bulgarian comrades to the war, and endorse their view in favour of a union of all the Balkan peoples in a Federated Republic.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN GERMANY.

By JOHN C. KENNEDY.

These are stirring days in Europe. Scarcely a week passes without news of some great strike, some popular demonstration or some Socialist victory. The workers, down-trodden and exploited for generations, at last are realising their power, and are boldly attacking the citadels of tyranny and oppression. To be sure, strikes, demonstrations and Socialist victories are no new thing in Europe. But never before have the masses been so generally discontented, never before have they been so thoroughly organised, and never before have they been so intelligent and ready to march forward to victory.

ORGANISATIONS.

Probably the best organised section of this great international army of Labour is to be found in Germany. The German workers have been building up their political and economic and educational organisations patiently and persistently in the face of tremendous opposition, until to-day they have a well-balanced Labour movement which is a model for all the world.

POLITICAL.

On the political field the German workers are represented by the Socialist Party, which has 970,112 dues-paying members, including 130,371 women, and which polled in the last general election over 4,250,000 votes. On the economic field they are represented by the trade unions, which, altogether, have nearly 3,000,000 members. About 2,275,000 of these workers are in the

"Free" Trade Unions, which work hand in hand with the Socialist Party. These unions have magnificent Labour temples in most of the large cities, which are the headquarters for Labour and Socialist activities.

Co-operatives.

In addition to the Socialist Party and the trade unions, the German workers have built up a powerful co-operative movement, which already has a million and a quarter members and owns and operates over 3,500 stores. These co-operatives employ 20,000 workers under the best trade union conditions, and do a total annual business of over £20,000,000, and the productive side is well developed.

Press.

All of these organisations are fostered by the Socialist and Labour Press, which consists of 81 daily newspapers, scores of trade union journals, and dozens of weekly and monthly magazines devoted to various phases of the Socialist and Labour movement. Some of these printing plants of the Socialist and Labour press are amongst the finest in Europe. For instance, the plants of the Hamburg "Echo," the Berlin "Vorwaerts," and the "Metal Workers' Journal" of Stuttgart, have the most modern printing machinery in Germany, and employ hundreds of union printers under the best conditions.

Solidarity.

Perhaps the most striking phase of the German Labour movement is the way in which the different elements work together. The Socialist Party helps the trade unions and the unions help the Socialist Party. and both party and unions help the growth of co-operative societies. Yet no organisation attempts to dictate the policy of the others. The Socialist Party is expected to work out the tactics that will best meet the needs of the workers on the political field, while the trade unions are expected to work out the form of organisation that will best protect the workers on the

economic field. Within the party some of the members emphasise the ultimate aim—the complete abolition of the capitalist system of production and the substitution therefor of a Socialist co-operative system. Others emphasise the immediate demands, such as better working men's insurance, better factory legislation, and better housing for the working class. Within the trade unions, likewise, some members emphasise one type of an organisation and one sort of tactics. But, while in Germany, as in America, there are differences of opinion regarding tactics and methods of organisation, it is everywhere recognised that the political problems should be settled by the political organisation and the economic problems by the economic organisation. In this way the Germans have avoided much of the misunderstanding and friction which has arisen between the trade unions and the Socialist Party in America, where some of the members of each organisation feel that it is their special mission to criticise the methods and tactics of the other and to tell it how to run its affairs. Moreover, within the different organisations of Germany, where certainly the members do not hesitate to express their opinions as to policies and tactics, they very rarely indulge in attacks on personalities. They discuss the issues and principles at stake and consider them on their merits.

Education.

Another striking feature of the German Labour movement is the emphasis put upon education. There is no Labour movement in the world that is more thoroughly working-class in spirit and membership than the German Labour movement. But there is no Labour movement in the world, or any other kind of a movement, which has a higher respect for science, learning and culture. While the German workers cherish no illusions about being delivered from capitalism by one great leader, or a dozen great leaders, yet they recognise the importance of leadership, and give due weight to the opinions of able men. And it

makes no difference whether these men are men from their own ranks, like Bebel, Legien and Molkenbuhr, or whether they are men who have come to the Labour movement from other classes, like Marx and Engels, Lassalle and Liebknecht, Kautsky and Bernstein, Singer and Von Vollmar, Sudekum, Lindeman and David. Consequently there is no foolish attempt to divide the organisation into "proletarians" and "intellectuals." On the contrary, a continuous campaign of education is carried on through the press, the lecture bureau and special education organisations to make "intellectuals" of the whole working class.

Power.

Indeed, the great and lasting impression that one gets of the German working class is that it is demonstrating by its achievements its right and power to supplant the present ruling classes. It is building up the most perfect political and economic organisation of the masses that the world has ever seen; it is steadily raising the standard of living and the standard of education and culture among the mass of the people; it is producing a splendid self-reliant citizenship with strong character and high ideals. No one who has been on the ground can have the slightest doubt that the workers of Germany are going to win in their great struggle to establish an industrial and social democracy. They are going to win because they are practical idealists working in harmony with the laws of social evolution; because they combine dogged determination and courage with splendid self-control, and because they unite high-grade intelligence with thorough political and economic organisation.

WHO WILL DO THE DIRTY WORK UNDER SOCIALISM?

By W. C. P.

The everlasting query as to who will do the dirty work under Socialism, which is usually made by persons one would have credited with possessing enquiring minds and given to deep rather than to shallow thinking, is one more proof of the inability of our present system of elementary education to turn out citizens capable of realising, much less appreciating, the continuous economic changes and developments in which they live and have their being; they cannot see or reason beyond the day by day in which they live, or look into the future through the history of the past. Hence, most of their enquiries or objections in regard to the future state of Collectivism or Socialism are based upon assumptions of an almost childish type. It is assumed by these enquirers that Socialism will come like a thief in the night, and the community will not be prepared for it, overlooking the plain, every-day fact of the national and municipal developments in various industries shaping to that end, including methods of transit and means of recreation. They overlook the present facts of invention of machinery and the processes of manufacture which render personal contact with so-called dirty work by the individual unnecessary. The cleaning of the roads by the rotary broom; the increasing use of gas and electric stoves, tending to reduce soot and rendering the sweep superfluous; the use of oil in furnaces, abolishing coal and reducing stoking; the water-carriage system and

deodorization of sewage, doing away with cesspools; these and dozens of other inventions serve to indicate to any person of average intelligence that it is an assumption to infer there will be any great amount of dirty work to be done under a saner system than the present.

But what do our enquirers *mean* by dirty work? Do they mean such work as dirts the hands or clothes, or do they mean disagreeable work? If the former, and for some reason they usually illustrate such work as road sweeping or removal of refuse, then nearly all occupations which are productive and useful are dirty in some degree. Road making, building, engineering, or even shop-keeping, cannot be continued without dirtying the hands: the staple industry of agriculture necessitates a close acquaintance with Mother Earth. But why be dirt-shy? Water is the counteracting element, and it is cheap and plentiful. You can never dispense with productive industries, but a large portion of those of the clerical or non-productive type could be well dispensed with. No, the whole matter is not so much a question of who will do the dirty work, or even the disagreeable work, under any future system of society as it is a question of recognition of worth under this or any other system. It is because the men who do the dirty but most useful and necessary work for society to-day are looked down upon, and in many cases badly remunerated, whilst the frock-coated and high-hat and white-handed section are considered beyond their worth, that there is a desire to get into that section, and, strange to say, it is usually a member of that section who wants to know who is to do the dirty work, etc. My experience amongst the men who do much of the dirty work to-day is that they are contented to continue such work under any system, provided they are assured of a good living and easy hours of employment, and as my profession is one which I am oft-times informed is disagreeable and distasteful, although I do not find it so, I echo their sentiments. Even at the present time many

wealthy people voluntarily do a considerable amount of dirty work in their spare time. I have known a judge who did a lot of his own gardening, and in his old clothes and dirty, grimy hands could not be distinguished from his own gardeners, and a large number of retired people do similar work. And why not? It is healthy work; the death rate amongst the strong and healthy men who for years and years wade through the London sewers knee deep is extremely small, and I know of a few men who remove fish offal from the London fish shops who would not change their jobs for more cleanly occupations in the Municipal Depôts, chiefly because they are better remunerated.

If our enquirers' objections are to disagreeable occupations alone, then to my idea the matter is self-adjusting, seeing that under the existing system of capitalism the most, may I say disgusting? work is carried out voluntarily in this respect, that it is chosen, not necessarily for its remuneration, but by the desire of the person for it. It is purely a matter of personal opinion what constitutes disagreeable work or occupation. Some persons would include in that category attendance upon the human body in sickness and disease, especially if such disease is of a malignant character, yet we find men and women in plenty, refined and educated, choosing such an occupation before all others, although, in contradistinction to the workers at the other end of the social ladder, they are looked up to with considerable respect and esteem, due to the educational abilities their class origin has enabled them to secure, combined with the recognition by society of their occupation as an honourable profession.

So in the years to come under Socialism what disagreeable work is to be done will not want for volunteers to do it if the society of that period gives due recognition that such work is an honourable profession. The pick may even become mightier than the pen.

THE MONTH.

The Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party, held this year at Chemnitz, was, from the point of view of numbers represented, the largest and most successful ever held. Notwithstanding the jubilant anticipations of enemies and the forebodings of friends, there were less evidences of any division or rupture in the Party than has been the case for some years

There were no matters of moment to divide the Party into two camps—such as the question of voting the Budget, or that of Morocco. Conscious, therefore, of its strength and dignity, as the political expression and instrument of over four and a quarter millions of German workmen, the Congress settled down to the unexciting but essential work of putting the Party organisation into the best state of efficiency.

The principal sections of the Socialist International in Europe were represented at Chemnitz by fraternal delegates. The French sent Cachin and Rouanet; the Austrians, Stein and Seitz; the Russians, Axelrod and Trotsky; the Dutch (Marx Party) Wynkoop, while de Brouckere and Vandersmissen represented the Belgians, Branting the Swedes and Danes, and the British Socialist Party was represented by H. Quelch.

The British Labour Party showed their regard for the fitness of things, and their want of sympathy with the International Socialist movement, by giving the Congress the cold shoulder. In the meantime, however, they sent a deputation into the towns of South Germany to preach Christianity to the workpeople, and to be fêted by the bourgeoisie of Bavaria and Würtemberg.

The British Labour Party, of course, is out of its element in the International. It is avowedly not a Socialist organisation—indeed, it is not an organisation at all in the sense in which other bodies

affiliated to the Congress are organisations; and comes into none of the categories into which the various bodies affiliated to the Congress are divided.

It is very unfortunate for us that our German comrades, who set such a magnificent example of organisation, unity and discipline to the Party in other countries, should have insisted upon the admission of our Labour Party to the Congress. By so doing they fastened upon us in International matters an incubus which had already proved a troublesome enough drag upon the movement in domestic politics, and put a stumbling-block in the way of Socialist unity in this country.

The British Socialist Party is now seeking for independent affiliation to the International Congress and Bureau. That, however, even if agreed to, will not get rid of the difficulty, which can only be solved by the Labour Party conforming to the rules and conditions of the Congress, or leaving the International altogether.

At the present time there appears no likelihood of the Labour Party adopting the first of these two courses. Some of our friends appear to have hoped that the squabble between Liberals and Labourists over their seats meant a definite breach in the coalition and the adoption by the latter of a more Socialist and independent policy. They ignored the fact that at heart practically all our Parliamentary Labourists are Liberals in principle, idea, and conviction, and that, no matter how they may squabble over the right of one Party or the other to any particular seat, such a quarrel is essentially only one which could take place between allies, and in any event the Labourists must support the Liberal Government, because they have no principles, programme, or policy outside those of the Liberals.

Evidence of that has been afforded by the bye-elections, in which the only difference between the Labour candidate and the Liberal was that the latter was the more "advanced" of the two.

Now, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has, with cynical frankness, stated the terms on which he is willing for the alliance between Liberals and Labourists to continue and no further attack upon Liberal seats to be made. Those terms are that the Liberals should give the Labourists eighty seats. Then they will be satisfied and content for brotherly love to continue.

We see no reason why the Liberals should not give the Labourists eighty seats; they are good, "loyal," devoted supporters of the Government. On the other hand, there is no special reason why they should do so, and we don't for a moment suppose that they will. This, however, we think is beyond question: that, whatever the Liberals may or may not concede to the Labourists, they will be able always to count on their support, as long as there are any of them left.

The loss of the North Briton with all but one of its crew has called attention, in tragic fashion, to the murderous character of Mr. Lloyd George's Act in raising the load line. Over and over again we have condemned this shameful piece of bureaucratic law-making, done in the interest of plutocratic partisans. There was no man in the mercantile marine, no one employed in the shipyards round our coasts, who did not know the evil consequences which were bound to result from Mr. George's wanton raising of the load-line. But it needed some specific disaster in order to bring the matter home. There have been, we have no doubt, many lives lost through this one cause; but at last a court of inquiry has attributed to it the drowning of a whole ship's crew. We intend to keep hammering away at this subject until Mr. George's unwarrantable removal of one of the safeguards of life at sea has been reversed, and if the loss of the North Briton proves a determining factor to that end, the twenty men drowned in her will not have given their lives in vain.

The tide of popular feeling against the Insurance Act is still rising; but, although there are sporadic revolts against it here and there, the working class generally simply grumble and pay. Liberal apologists for the swindle are jubilant over the numbers who are being mulcted of their weekly contributions. But the test will come when the contributors become entitled to benefits. It is then that they will discover how they have been swindled. Even then, however, the swindlers hope to escape condemnation. They know that there is not likely to be more than one per cent. of the insured claiming benefit at any one time, and they count on the patience and submission of the ninety-nine under the suffering and injustice imposed upon the one.

It is much easier to prevent a swindle like the Insurance Act than it is to get rid of it once it becomes operative. That makes

the guilty responsibility of those representatives of the working class who failed to oppose it all the greater. They could have prevented it becoming law. They cannot get it repealed.

The special conference of Trade Unionists convened by the Parliamentary Committee to discuss the Insurance Commissioners' memorandum was rendered a farce by the action of the leaders having issued a manifesto urging the societies to accept the conditions laid down by the Commissioners.

The chief event of the month has been the revival of trouble in the Balkans. The Christians, pausing from the pleasure of hating one another, have turned once again on the Mohammedans; and, profiting by the entanglements of Turkey with Italy, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Servia, have once more made a bid for the freeing of their racial and religious brethren in Macedonia. Greece, too, proposes to figure in the struggle; though, we suspect, with little enthusiasm, after the severe and rapid trouncing she received at the hands of Turkey in 1897.

The Great Powers—six of them—have been urging reform on Turkey; and to two of their number—Russia and Austria—has been left the interesting task of persuading the little Slav States not to go too far. The success in the latter direction was not very marked; and it was hardly to be expected that it would be. Exactly who is going to profit by such a cruel and bloody struggle as may be expected, we must "wait and see," but we expect it will be Russia; though Austria may want a little more.

At home the most exciting event has been the bye-election at Midlothian. Since 1880, when, despite the fact that the electors were freeholders, and that the constituency was regarded as part of the estate of the Duke of Buccleuch, Mr. Gladstone wrested the seat from the Tories, Midlothian had been held by the Liberals, and always with a comfortable majority. On this occasion, however, Provost Brown entered the field as a Labour candidate, who polled 2,413 votes, and gave the seat to the Tory, the latter polling only 22 more votes than the Liberal. It is to be hoped that the loss of Midlothian will induce the Liberals to alter the present electoral system, and to introduce Proportional Representation.

A series of well-staged demonstrations were held in the Province of Ulster to protest against the Home Rule Bill, and a lengthy "Covenant" was signed amid much semi-military pomp by Sir Edward Carson and his followers. It is safe to say that if the same kind of performance had been perpetrated by Labour leaders or Socialist agitators they would have been quickly laid by the heels.

The Suffragists achieved another triumph over the Government by Mrs. Leigh, through the weapon of the hunger-strike, forcing them to release her. It would be interesting to see what would happen if male convicts, sentenced to a "long stretch," ventured on a hunger strike in order to obtain their release. We are inclined to think that the death rate among convicts would advance very rapidly before release would be entertained by the earthly powers that be.

The class war rages in America in a more bitter form than we have yet reached here, although our "rulers" show now and again that they will resort to the same methods when occasion serves. Still, the dockers' strike, the miners' strike, and the navvies' strike have not produced here such absolutely murderous repression and persecution as have been taking place recently in the States, notably in Lawrence, Mass. The arrest and incarceration of Ettor and Giovannitti has led to great indignation amongst the workers, and reprisals are threatened if these two men are victimised. On September 15 a fresh turn was given to the affair by the arrest of "Bill" Haywood, whom our readers will remember was over here a little while ago, and made himself a great favourite with all with whom he came in contact. Haywood spoke at an enormous meeting on Boston Common, and he threatened that if the capitalists convicted Ettor and Giovannitti there would be a revolution. Immediately on concluding his speech he was seized, put in a fast motor-car, and taken to the police-court. He was, however, allowed out on bail. On September 27 a general strike of the mill operatives in Lawrence took place, as a protest against the continued imprisonment of Ettor and Giovannitti.

On the same day came the news that "Mother" Jones also was arrested. She had gone to West Virginia, where some thousands of men are on strike, and where there has been practically a state of civil war. The companies placed their armed guards to cow the workers into submission, and this resulted in a virtual reign of terror. Battles are being fought, troops manœuvring and

marching against bands of men driven into actual insurrection. In parts of Louisiana martial law has been proclaimed, in San Diego the self-constituted Vigilantes walk the streets, privileged to knock down and torture any working man. In every part of the great "free" Republic Labour is restless, uneasy, resentful, and increasingly insistent in its demands.

The strike of 2,500 navvies at Rosyth is a remarkable instance of the hollowness of Liberal friendship for the workers. Here were the men engaged on a piece of work for the nation; working for a contractor, it is true, but on a Government job. The Government is supposed, by virtue of the Fair Wages Resolution, to see that trade union rates and conditions are paid and observed on any work done for it. Yet, when these men endeavoured to get the proper rate, the Government, instead of backing them and forcing the contractor to observe these conditions, send a man-of-war to the scene of the dispute to overawe the men, and put their Labour Exchange officials on to obtain blackleg labour. All because the men want a paltry sixpence per hour! We wonder how Mr. John Ward, M.P., the secretary of the Navvies' Union, likes it. He is a consistent supporter of the Liberal Government, and no one has attacked Socialists more bitterly than he. We wonder how he will square his support of the Liberals with their action against the members of his union. Incidentally, it does not show much gratitude on the part of the Liberal Government for John Ward's loyalty to them. But this is nothing new.

THE CONFEDERATION DU TRAVAIL (C.G.T) AND THE HAVRE CONGRESS.

The Havre Congress is a new proof of the vitality of the C.G.T., ; it is indestructible, and—this being more important—it proudly defends its independence, its dignity and its autonomy both against the Government of to-day and against those Revisionist courtiers, the Government of to-morrow. It declines to be absorbed into any other organisation, and will not be killed by caresses, which are as numerous as they are self-interested. It wishes to live its life, to act according to its will. It is a real pleasure to be at a Congress like that of Havre. The workers have shown the middle classes how they should act. Only one regrettable incident took place, which the Congress was wrong in not condemning, though it took place outside the Congress building, but it was done by one of its members.

After this, however, we think it our duty to tell our comrades of the C.G.T., according to our bad habit, all that we think of their conceptions and of their tactics. We do not consider the vigorous fighters of the C.G.T. to be spoiled and capricious children who must not be made angry by frank and hard words. We have no interest in flattering the proletariat organised in an economic sense in the C.G.T.

If the C.G.T. at Havre and elsewhere has given proofs of its vitality it is rather in spite of itself, in spite of its tactics and its conception. This is indeed the best proof of its indestructibility, that it can survive its faults and its conceptions, which are often faulty. Its faults would have been mortal for a weak and feeble organism.

Nearly all the leaders of the C.G.T. have spoken of the "Syndicalist crisis," of the stagnation of the C.G.T. The words "stagnant and fœtid marsh," invented by M. Briand and applied to the Parliamentary world which he adorns and knows so well, have even been used. All have deplored this certain crisis. But our friend, Victor Renard, alone has spoken of its significance, analysed its causes and proposed remedies. The members might have thought what they liked about his speech, but their first duty was to examine the whole problem in its exceptional gravity.

Did they do this? No. Griffuelhes, the chief speaker on this question, was content to chant an ode in honour of French revolu-

tionary Syndicalism, and even to call on other nations to kneel down before it, if they wished to have an empty treasure-chest and a depleted list of members. He compared the C.G.T. to a fair Sabine whom the Socialist Party wished to capture either by violence or by stratagem. And what is more serious, he became the prosecutor of the C.G.T. by declaring it to be illegal, heedless of the consequences of such an allegation.

Griffuelhes is mistaken. A federated organisation does not become illegal because a few theorists consider it to be a means of social transformation. He also sketched out a fantastic history of the C.G.T., which, according to him, is being developed against the Socialist Party. Everyone, including Griffuelhes, knows that the Party has always been, and is, the recruiting-sergeant of the C.G.T., that it defends it in and out of Parliament against its enemies, and to-morrow if the C.G.T. were threatened the Party would face the common enemy.

The enthusiastic and ardent speaker would perhaps have better defended his cause and ours if he had told us what the C.G.T. should do to prevent a crisis denounced by himself; that is the only interesting point in the debate. Our friend Renard showed what the crisis is, and we have been doing the same for the last five years. There is a contradiction in what the C.G.T. *is* and in what it *says it is*. It is a professional and reforming organism, as our friend G. Yvetot has solemnly said, and he is not only the "enfant terrible" of the C.G.T. but its most lucid and most courageous leader. Even when using violence, the C.G.T. still urges reforms. Its members are sound, passionate, furious, violent reformers; they wish to destroy everything, but in their action they are reformers and nothing but reformers. Here is one proof out of a thousand. In order to get the C.G.T. out of its stagnant state, to bring it into action, the Havre Congress has chosen to fight a battle in the coming struggle on the mildest reform, the question of a Saturday half-holiday, and the report has been entrusted to a Moderate—to Hamelin, of the Compositors' Union.

Why should the C.G.T. call itself revolutionary, illegal, and in favour of root and branch reforms? Does it need a lion's skin? On the contrary. You do not ask for a glass of water by letting off cannon. The means should be in accordance with the intended result. The Saturday half-holiday, like every other reform, can only be obtained by enrolling a large number of workers. If the C.G.T. proclaims that it is a terrible body, it will not get members. *It only frightens the workers.* The capitalists know its weakness, and as they understand arithmetic, they know that you cannot carry out a general strike or the social revolution if you only have £32 in hand while you have debts amounting to £68.

It is true that if the C.G.T. tells men what it really is, a reforming and professional organisation, it will risk losing its originality, a point insisted on by Klemezynski. But is there any jingo, how-

ever patriotic he may be, who insists on only fighting with French weapons? He would even use Prussian arms. The important thing is not to be original, but to get what you want.

What about the reformers in the Party? They are not ambitious, because they left Renard *alone* to speak for the Socialists, and yet it is said that they were the majority of the Congress.

The revolutionary Syndicalists would be foolish to bother about them; the only thing to be said in their favour is that, being experts in labels, the reformers do not attach much importance to the revolutionary label of the C.G.T., and are satisfied if it really is a reforming body. They are both right and wrong. On a question of fact they are in the right, but they are in the wrong on a question of principle. This we shall show some other time.

C. RAPPOPORT, in "Le Socialisme."

TO THE WISE—A BARGAIN.

By Charlotte Perkins Gilman.

Said the Slumchild to the Wise—
To the people of place and power
Who govern and guide the hour,
To the people who write and teach,
Ruling our thought and speech,
And all the Captains and Kings
Who command the making of things:—
"Give me the good ye know,
That I, the child, may grow!
Light for the whole day long,
Food that is pure and strong,
Housing and clothing fair,
Clear water and clean air,
Teaching from day to day,
And room—for a child to play!"

Then the Wise made answer cold:
"These things are not given, but sold.
They shall be yours to-day
If you can pay."

"Pay!" said the Child, "pay you?
What can I do?
Only in years' slow length
Shall I have strength.
I have not power nor skill,
Wisdom nor wit nor will—
What service weak and wild
Can you ask of a little child?"

But the Wise made answer cold :
" Goods must be bought and sold ;
You shall have nothing here
Without paying—paying dear ! "
And the Rulers turned away.
But the Child cried on them : " Stay !
Wait ! I will pay !

" For the foulness where I live,
Filth in return I give.
For the greed that withholds my right,
Greed that shall shake your might.
For the sins I live in and learn,
Plentiful sin I return.
For my lack in home and school,
Ignorance comes to rule.
From where I sicken and die,
Disease in your homes shall lie.
My all uncounted death
Shall choke your children's breath.
Degenerate—crippled—base—
I degrade the human race ;
And the people you have made—
These shall make you afraid !

" I ask no more. I take
The terms you make ;
And steadily, day by day,
I will pay."

THE SORROWS OF THE RICH.

It is a lamentable fact that whereas Socialists may justly claim to be revolutionists, with remedies for the ills that afflict all classes in the State, there is at least one direction for humanitarian energy which has hitherto been somewhat overlooked, and to which now one may be pardoned for claiming attention. The Social-Democrats for these many years past have been fighting for the claims of the underpaid and the poverty-stricken ; the worker has listened with calm eye to our revelation of his condition, and the undoubted truth that he is first robbed, then starved, and his character blackguarded afterwards ; and that this is done by his kind and loving master. He has then gone and voted that same master to rule over him and make the laws, thereby inviting a fresh dose of starvation, etc., which he has in due course fully received, and then he has gone away quietly and died on the Embankment without making any unnecessary fuss. Although the poor may have their troubles, it does not seem, in face of this, that they worry over them very much.

On the other hand, although the poor constitute the large majority, nevertheless there is the other class—the rich class—which has a just claim to our consideration. Do we not hold with certain rights of minorities? And do we not agree that Socialism is not for one class alone, but all? After all, may not even a soap king be a man and brother, and who are we that we should allow a miserable couple of millions to prevent us extending the glad eye of sympathy and friendship to the victim of an overplus of cash? I suggest that the trouble of the Socialist Party is that it has hitherto devoted too much time to the sorrows of the poor, and it might well change its tactics a little and conduct a campaign exposing the sufferings of the rich.

It is a patent fact that the rich are very unhappy. Our weekly journals and magazines are full of accounts of the arduous duties of Society hostesses and guests ; nearly all our plays and musical comedies successfully show the troubles of the well-to-do. If one ventures in a picture theatre one is bound to see films representing tragedies in high life, and the average popular novel deals with nothing else. The terrible revelations of a recent Princess, now reduced to living in a mere villa on the Italian lakes, will probably bring tears to many eyes during this season. And the more one

investigates the conditions under which the rich live, the more one feels astonished at Socialists for not taking up their cause.

The rich class as a whole are divided into groups at the head of which come the Royal group. It has been thought that the occupancy of the Throne of England is what is known as a soft job—an error too frequently indulged in by the vulgar ; on the contrary, it is a very laborious occupation involving much eating of elaborate dinners, attending a great many grand balls and other social functions, with very frequent extensive foreign tours. For such labour it is only right that a man should be well paid, yet what is the reward that our present beloved, gracious Majesty, George V., receives?—a beggarly £470,000 per annum. As our loyal Press has rightly pointed out, King George is one of the poorest paid monarchs in Europe, and with such a sum it would not be fair to expect him to support his mother or children. His mother is, therefore, granted £70,000. While his eldest son becomes owner of the Duchy of Cornwall bringing him £87,000 per year, his other sons will receive £10,000 a year on reaching twenty-one. Of course, he is not to be compelled to provide for his wife in case of death, as she would also receive £70,000 per annum from the State ; and moreover his sons would get another £15,000 a year on marriage, making £25,000 a year in all ; and his daughters receive a sum of £6,000. These sums cannot be called very generous considering the difficulties of providing for a family out of his own salary ; and with such a sum the King and his family cannot house themselves very comfortably, having to content themselves with only a few palaces. There was some talk a short time ago of their Majesties seriously requiring a new palace built for them, but for some strange reason this has not yet materialised. No reasonable person can maintain that four palaces is enough to house one family with decency and comfort, and we ought to unite in asking the taxpayers of this country, who are all so loyal to the Throne, to voluntarily pay a substantial increase of King's taxes ; and one feels that with such an item on our programme we should immediately obtain a great increase of that popularity which is the hall-mark of success. Take the case of that other unfortunate, Emperor William of Germany, whose grievous state is even worse than that of our own monarch. 'Tis true he gets £900,000 per annum, besides a private income from gifts and properties of almost incalculable dimensions ; but the responsibilities of His Majesty must be duly considered. The task of having to jump in and out of sometimes a dozen different military costumes in one day is an enormous strain on the constitution ; and his remuneration from all sources is wretchedly inadequate to keep up his forty-three or so palaces—in fact, the struggle to make both ends meet in such conditions was such that the Emperor was positively compelled to sell about half-a-dozen of his palaces, and he is now reduced to living in some thirty-eight or so. His travelling expenses are enormous, involving, as they do, the carrying about of a tremendous staff of

servants, including a portable railway station on the Royal train, that can be set up wherever His Majesty wishes to land. In spite of the Emperor's impoverished condition, we have the incredible refusal of the German Government to vote him a trifle of a million pounds for necessary repairs to Berlin Palace, and neither have they, in spite of the greatly increased cost of living in Germany yet increased his Civil List; and it is doubtless owing to these shameful circumstances preying on the mind of William the Second that he is never known to smile. In face of this, would it be too much to ask the loyal British taxpayers, while they are increasing our own George's salary, also to hand a little over to Willie? especially as he is member of the same Royal Family, and always receives a great welcome from our populace when he deigns to visit these shores.

It is a great mistake to suppose that kings are happy; the same sad tale of pecuniary distress might be told of every European monarch. There was, for instance, the late King Leopold of Belgium: a worthy man, a devout Christian and stern upholder of the family life; gifted, so our newspapers informed us, with an almost supernormal talent for business. Generous in heart and sentiment as Leopold was, he was naturally a lover of good company, especially of the female sex, and his income was quite insufficient to entertain his guests in a manner worthy of a gentleman. So, practically by stress of economic circumstances, he was driven into the rubber business, in which he was eminently successful, not only making large fortunes but also laying the foundations of the rubber boom in Europe, which has been a gold mine to many. Yet how has Leopold been treated? Merely because the exigencies of business involved the cutting to pieces of some nine millions of heathen, including also the torturing, maiming, and slaughtering of thousands of women and babies, his late Majesty was subject to much carping criticism, one well-known Tory firm of publishers going so far as to issue a journal in which he was described as the worst man in Europe. But if capital is the source of wealth and the capitalist is necessary to our existence, then it must be granted that Leopold was a perfect doyen of capitalists, uniformly successful in almost every scheme he undertook; the ingratitude of the Tory firm in question, enthusiastic defender of the capitalist as it is, is inexplicable.

However, in spite of all the toil and effort of Leopold, he died comparatively poor; and on top of his business worries he lived a sad life, much involved in domestic troubles with ungrateful and unruly children. So it is with all monarchs. There is Manuel, whose people were mean enough to revolt, all because of a pretty little romance with a very charming actress, and who have now been shabby enough to stop his pocket-money. There is Alfonso, who cannot be sure of his job from one day to another; and also the Czar, whose life is one long, sustained struggle against his enemies. "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," as the poet hath it.

Next in order of precedence of our rich class come that worthy body of men, the Clergy. The poverty of the clergy is a common and heart-rending cry in these days; and it must be remembered the conditions in their case are aggravated. They have to struggle through this vale of tears upon miserably inadequate stipends, none the less that those stipends are enough to earn them the description of "men of wealth." Now these Bishops do earnestly and truly believe in a certain revelation which assures them that it will be easier for a camel to enter a needle's eye than for rich men to enter heaven. This is mere metaphorical language meaning that it will be a tough job to get in at the pearly gate, and if they cannot get in there, there is only one other place for them, and the intensity of the atmosphere of that locality can only be realised from the description of the sufferings of the rich man Dives, who moaned for a drop of water to cool his tongue: "for I am tortured in this flame."

If such happened to Dives, what then will happen to Canterbury with his fifteen thousand per annum, or London with his ten thousand, or Durham, Winchester, Bath, Gloster, Oxford, and Bangor with their seven thousand to four thousand two hundred respectively; not to mention all the numerous pillars of the Church who die leaving large fortunes almost every week? How hard it is, then, for these men to face the prospect of future punishment, when, as they themselves have assured us, their large incomes leave them quite poor men! Has not the Bishop of London himself assured us that for all his ten thousand it is a mistake to call him a rich man? the palaces, servants, carriages, gardeners, and so on, he has to keep going, and the guests he has to entertain, really make it difficult for him to make both ends meet. In addition to all this the clergy are faced with a steady, and now alarming, decline of Church attendance, which may ultimately mean that most of them will have to eke out a miserable existence on four or five pounds a week.

In face of all this, then, how nobly disinterested is the conduct of men like the Bishop of London and Father Vaughan, who, in spite of their poverty, have sacrificed themselves to devote their lives to the advancement of morals among the people, and, in order to devote all their energies to the encouragement of family life and the birth-rate among the people, have steadily refused to indulge in the luxury of wives and families for themselves.

The case of the clergy, both "Non-Con." and High Church, is a hard one, dear comrades. Why should we not suggest to the loyal taxpayer that while he is about it he might also volunteer an additional five shillings in the pound for the distressed clergy?

Although it may seem somewhat of a descent to refer to the Yankee millionaire after our cultured and high-minded clerics, nevertheless we are convinced that they are next in order of precedence. Here again we find the old fallacy that wealth means happiness exploded. These unfortunate gentlemen assure us them-

selves that when, after years of unremitting honest toil, they succeed in establishing an apparently limitless flow of income, coming from some mysterious source, always increasing, and never stopping, the final result is that they are too often not nearly so happy as the humblest of their workpeople.

One of the Rothschilds, for instance, whose millions could make or unmake monarchs or nations, could only digest a thin soda and bread and milk diet. Mr. Rockefeller, we have it on the best authority, has not enjoyed a square meal for many years. That pious gentleman, Mr. Pierpont Morgan, whom we delight to see is financing another campaign on behalf of the Christian religion, has suffered for years with a bulbous nose; even the first physicians in the world have hitherto failed to cure him, and the sight of an amateur photographer goads him to madness. As for the domestic troubles which afflict the unfortunate millionaire, we have them revealed in such cases as that of Thaw and the Gould scandals, and many others. In fact, as no less an authority than Mr. Carnegie assured us in a speech when he told his workgirls to be contented in that station of life to which it had pleased an inscrutable Providence to call them—of all the millionaires he had known, hardly one was a happy man.

Then we have the tribulations of the old and fast decaying British nobility. Foreign counts have been at a discount for many years, and now all our fine old Dukes and Earls and Barons are going the same downward road—democracy rising on the one hand, on the other increase of taxation and expenses, growing disrespect among the peasantry, and Lord knows what else, until the wail of the aristocrat is heard in the land. At the tail end of these comes the "Smart Set," an unfortunate crowd of people who find life so tedious and depressing that they are at their wits' end to make life tolerable. Mr. F. Townsend Martin, who has had special opportunities of studying the Smart Set, informs the worker that it is much worse to be bored to death than worked to death. We wonder? However, a constant succession of good dinners becomes at last wearisome to the eye and palate, and they are driven to eat only that food which has the merit of being out of season, or else to the serving up of freak dinners. Thus was organised in London a Gondola dinner at enormous expense, with Caruso and other bright stars to warble sweet melody to aid digestion. There was also a North Pole dinner, with room and table all arrayed to represent the Arctic. Others have had dinners with each guest sitting on horse-back; another with the banqueting hall disguised as a farmyard (minus the usual farmyard smells, of course), or else we have the dinner arranged inside a huge dummy hen's egg, while the "stunts" organised by the late Mr. Stanford White, of U.S.A., will remain immortal in history for the amount of real artistic genius expended upon them. The most striking thing of this kind probably was Mr. Vanderbilt's coaching meet dinner, with its solid silver model of Hyde Park Corner, and of

which the price per head for each guest was at the very least a hundred and sixty pounds. Such tricks as those of the actress who always engages a whole suite of rooms and a special staff of servants for her dog may perhaps be looked over as minor efforts; but the whole subject of the sufferings of this class is one that calls for our most serious consideration. At time of writing, we hear that the very latest thing in smart society is for each guest to bring a penny toy for entertainment after dinner, and we believe that the inventor of this brilliant method of brightening the lives of the classes will be rewarded with a position in the Cabinet—and deservedly.

However, we will pursue the sad tale no further. If our efforts on behalf of the poor meet with little response, perhaps we shall do better by appealing for the rich. We must point out to these sufferers how Socialism, and Socialism alone, can help them. It is obvious that their sorrows are entirely caused by their having an unwieldy surplus of wealth; with the advent of Social-Democracy, this wealth would be diverted into other channels, would cease to flow into their pockets at such high pressure, and would achieve the two-fold beneficence of lightening their cares and their cash boxes at the same time. If we put it to them in this way, I think we cannot fail to secure many enthusiastic converts from the rich class, and materially help our propaganda accordingly.

JULIUS.

TARIFF IDEAS OF ROOSEVELT AND WILSON.

Those puzzled by doubts about the personal tariff planks of Mr. Taft's two opponents are now finding more or less light on the subject in their recent campaign speeches. The newspapers had been complaining of a lack of definiteness on the part of these gentlemen. The Philadelphia "Public Ledger" (Ind. Dem.) calls the Colonel "vague and uncertain" on the tariff, while the New York "Tribune" (Rep.) declares that the more the Governor talks about the tariff "the more evident it becomes that he is either incapable of dealing plainly with the public on current issues or artfully avoids doing so." The Boston "Herald" (Ind.) and New York "Journal of Commerce" refer impartially to the "vagueness" and indefiniteness of both the Democratic and Progressive candidates, and their hiding of their tariff policies in "clouds of meaningless words." But in Colonel Roosevelt's New England speeches, and the recent addresses of Woodrow Wilson, we find an iteration of certain statements which might be taken as declarations of tariff faith. In a word, Governor Wilson believes our "exaggerated protective tariff" works an injustice to the American consumer, is provincial, and keeps our country from freely participating in the world's commerce; the ex-President is an avowed Protectionist, but wants some schedules reduced, revision to be brought about through "a tariff commission, not a little dinky board," and all tariff benefits to be shared by the workers. The later utterances of the Governor seem to the Washington "Post" (Ind.) to smack rather strongly of free trade, and they are roundly denounced as such by the New York "Press" (Ind. Rep.) and "Evening Mail" (Prog.). But an explanation of his views before an audience of New Jersey farmers pleased many Democratic papers, the Brooklyn "Eagle" finding "the broadest statesmanship" in his words, and the Nashville "Banner" discovering therein "the real truth and logic of the situation." After reminding his hearers that while they "were feeding the world, Congress was feeding the trusts," the Governor said:—

"The trouble with the business of the United States under the tariff is that men think they can't make money without the assistance of the Government. As long as you allow them to think that, then every mother's son of us is tied to the apron-strings of the

old grandmother sitting in the Capitol at Washington. Now, for my part I am free, and twenty-one, and I don't want any assistance of the Government to enable me to make a living.

"Legitimate business has nothing to fear so long as it will stand on its own bottom. But business has everything to fear if all it has under it is the prop of a tax which everybody is obliged to pay in order that business may prosper. . . . .

"If prosperity is not to be checked in this country we must broaden our borders and make conquest of the markets of the world. That is the reason that America is so deeply interested in the question of the merchant marine, and that is also the reason why America is so much interested in breaking down, wherever it is possible without danger, that dam against which all the tides of our prosperity have banked up—that great dam that runs around all our coasts, and which we call the protective tariff. I would prefer to call it the restrictive tariff. I would prefer to call it the tariff which holds us back. I would prefer to call it the tariff that hems us in, the tariff that chokes us, the tariff that smothers us, because the great unmatched energy of America is now waiting for a field greater than America itself in which to prove that Americans can take care of themselves."

While Colonel Roosevelt insists that "we are engaged in beginning the great work of social readjustment and industrial reform," and that "this talk of the tariff is simply a red herring across the trail to distract the attention of the people from the real needs of the situation and the real issues involved," he paid more than his wonted attention to the subject during his recent New England campaigning trip. Speaking at Providence he expounded the Progressive tariff gospel at some length, saying in part :—

"We intend to work for prosperity ; but we wish to see prosperity cast around. We stand for a protective tariff, but we wish to see the benefits of the protective tariff get into the pay-envelope of the wage-worker. Instead of decreasing, we wish to increase the amount of the prize money that is rightfully due to those who work hard in industry ; but we stand for a more equitable division of the prize-money. . . . .

"The Republican proposal is a tariff for privilege in industry. The Democratic proposal is a tariff for the destruction of industry. The Progressive proposal is a tariff in the interest of labour in industry. . . . .

"We propose to reduce the various schedules as to which the duty is undoubtedly too high. We propose to deal with the tariff, schedule by schedule, in accordance with the reports of a non-partisan commission of experts who shall make their reports not on the theory of being 'good' to anybody, but with the theory of doing justice primarily to the American wage-worker and the American consumer."

Before another audience of farmers, this time in Pennsylvania, Governor Wilson remarked upon the Roosevelt "prize-money"

phrase that "those who capture prizes and get prize-money are usually freebooters," and added :—

"Now, I am not going to stop to argue that question, because that is not a farmers' question, what becomes of the prize-money, but it is a farmers' question whose goods are captured and who supplies the prize-money, and I have a violent suspicion that you yourselves supply a great deal of it. . . . .

"The American farmer never has been protected, for the very good reason that he never needed to be protected, and his grains have sold at prices established by the prices which his produce commanded in foreign markets. That is an economic fact. Very well, then, your prices are not established by protection. They are established by your abundance which you ship to foreign countries, and in the meantime everything that you use on the farm, everything that you wear, and a great deal of what you eat, but do not yourselves produce, including meats, bears a heavy duty, which brings about the interesting result that you are paying for the wealth of the United States and getting nothing, or equivalent to it, so far as the tariff is concerned."

This gives the New York "Tribune" an opportunity to show its readers what a dangerous "free trader" the Democratic candidate is :—

"Mr. Wilson says that he is firmly against all class legislation. If that is so, he should want to have the things used by the artisan, the factory hand, and the railroad employee put on the free list as well as those used by the farmer. No politician who proposes to make imports free solely because they are to be used by farmers can logically refuse to make imports free because they are to be used by other classes of workers. . . . .

"The Democratic candidate would make a more impressive figure if he should say frankly that he believes in throwing down all barriers against free trade. . . . . We don't think that the Governor will find a very hearty welcome from the farmers if he tells them what his purpose really is—if he acknowledges that his chief reliance for reducing the cost of living is to check domestic industry, increase non-employment, force down wages, and bring in lower prices by reducing the general purchasing power of the community."

Colonel Roosevelt also attacks the Wilsonian "free-trade" principles, and reasserts his belief in Protection, but explains :—

"I wish to see various duties revised downward. What I am especially anxious to see is the creation of a Government commission similar to that in Germany, which will enable us to examine the effect of any particular duty ; first, as to how it affects the consumer.

"I am delighted to have a duty imposed equal to what is necessary in order that the industry may live. But I am not contented if that duty stays in the front office. I want to see it get

into the pay-envelope, and if a reasonable share of the profit does not get into the pay-envelope then I am in favour of taking the duty off. Now that is a perfectly clear and explicable position."

A further elucidation of Governor Wilson's tariff principles, accompanied by a gentle thrust at the Progressive platform and candidate, came in the Governor's Buffalo Labour Day speech. To quote him in part :—

"The predictions of the leaders of the new party are as alarming as the predictions of the veriest standpatter. There is the stimulating breath of hope in every part of the platform of the new party except that which touches the tariff and the trusts. . . . .

"It may be interpreted in the light of some interesting things Mr. Roosevelt has recently said. Mr. Roosevelt declares his devoted adherence to the principle of protection. He declares that he is not troubled by the fact that a very large amount of money is taken out of the pocket of the general taxpayer and put into the pocket of particular classes of protected manufacturers, but that his concern is that so little of this money gets into the pockets of the employees.

"I have searched his programme very thoroughly for an indication of what he expects to do in order to see to it that a larger proportion of this 'prize'-money gets into the pay-envelope, and I have found only one suggestion. There is a plank in the programme which speaks of establishing a minimum, or living, wage for women workers, and I suppose that we may assume that the principle is not in the long run meant to be confined in his application to women only. Perhaps we are justified in assuming that the third party looks forward to the general establishment by law of a minimum wage."

But a minimum wage established by law, we are warned, would reduce all wages nearly to the level of that minimum, would make successful strikes almost impossible, in connection with the Progressive scheme for the regulation of business would set up all employers as "wards and protégés" of the Government, and would tremendously strengthen that "very partnership between big business and the Government" which "most of us are fighting" to break up.

—"Literary Digest" (New York).

DYNAMITE IN THE LAWRENCE STRIKE.

Whether it is credible that William M. Wood, head of the $75,000,000 American Woollen Company, and described as "the most important man in the woollen industry in the world," could have conspired to "plant" and discover dynamite in Lawrence mill-workers' homes for the purpose of turning public sentiment against the textile strikers, is a question that most of the editors can only regard as "seemingly improbable." Without declaring their sympathies, they print the news that Wood, with Fred. E. Atteaux, a dye and colour manufacturer, and Dennis J. Collins, a dog fancier, have been indicted, and have pleaded not guilty, and that the principal witness for the prosecution supposedly is John J. Breen, an undertaker, and a member of the school committee, who has been reported to be willing to confess that he was hired to distribute dynamite. While the press in general go little further than this, two newspapers are conspicuous as exceptions to the rule—the Brooklyn "Eagle" for declaring that "it seems more likely that class feeling has become so bitter over the Lawrence strike that the Labour men have been able to secure an indictment on insufficient evidence," and the Philadelphia "Record" for the view, rather surprising in contrast, that—

"The suspicion that the manufacturers forced the strike in order to discourage 'humane legislation' is strongly supported, and makes it easy to entertain the suspicion that they tried to get strikers falsely condemned for using explosives."

Though a dispatch to the New York "Times" says that the indictments are believed to have been based on the testimony before the grand jury of a mill builder who is said to have procured the dynamite, and "who killed himself because of worry over the case," the connection of Wood and Atteaux with the charges appears to be rather vaguely defined. Collins is accused of transporting the sticks, and Breen of "planting" them. Mr. Wood answers for himself in a statement:—

"Of course, I am greatly surprised by the action of the grand jury. I cannot conceive what information could have been presented to the jurors which in any way connected me with the so-called dynamite plot.

"I certainly had no connection with it, and this fact will be fully established at the proper time to the full satisfaction of the public and even the District Attorney.

"Beyond this I have nothing to say."

While there is hesitation about judging the merits of the case on early evidence, the sort of crime that is alleged is not described in doubtful terms. Even a journal ordinarily so temperate as the New York "Evening Post" is heard saying:—

"In regard to the nature of that deed it is not necessary to suspend judgment. It was not only a crime, but a peculiarly shocking and abhorrent one. To attempt to make it appear that the Lawrence strikers were preparing to blow up the mills and kill innocent people by dynamite explosions is an offence on the part of capitalism which pales the worst acts ever committed by labour unions. It is, indeed, so despicable that any man proved guilty of it should not only receive the extreme penalty of the law, but should be regarded for the rest of his life as a moral outcast."

Two journals, the "Evening Post" one of them, hold the opinion that the crime was committed, but choose to wait to discover who was guilty of it. The "Iron Age" goes a little further, and declares the case to be "an apparently authenticated instance" of "frame-up," such as often has been charged by strikers before. This editor declares:—

"It was a dastardly piece of work, and those concerned in it, whoever they are, should receive the extreme penalty of the law. They have betrayed the cause of employers generally, by supplying a basis on which hereafter allegations by strikers against unscrupulous or lawless acts of employers will be received with credence by a disinterested public. It is to be hoped that when the full details of this conspiracy against society shall have been laid bare it will be found to have included a very few men, who devised the scheme without the knowledge of the other Lawrence employers. It is inconceivable that the Lawrence mill-owners as a body would countenance such an act of scoundrelism."

Without taking any such decided stand on the present issue, some of the editors find occasion to remark on other acts of the mill men. The New York "Sun," as one instance, thinks that the conspiracy charge would seem incredible "were it not for the fact that the Lawrence strike afforded a series of incomprehensible incidents," for example:—

"The strikers went out because their pay was cut down when their hours of labour were decreased through the operation of a statute the effect of which they had never understood. In the subsequent struggle the amount of blood shed was remarkably small in view of the numerous incidents in which serious rioting seemed unavoidable. Finally, the demonstrations culminated in the unprecedented action of the authorities in refusing to allow children to leave the city, a refusal that instantly swung public sympathy away from the mill-owners and solidified it behind the strikers, with the result that they won practically all they were fighting for.

"It was obvious, then, that the mill-owners were most unintelligently advised in the controversy. Now they must face the

charge of criminal misconduct. May they be pronounced innocent, for their muddle-headedness is a sufficient burden for them to bear."

One of the surprises in the news is that Clarence S. Darrow is reported to have counselled tolerance toward Wood. Mr. Darrow is quoted as saying :—

"I have no desire to see Mr. Wood punished. I know that he, like the McNamaras, and like hundreds of other men on both sides, has been caught in a great machine, and that such as are guilty are guilty of social crimes only. In this great conflict the individual is not to be considered."

"Literary Digest" (New York).

WORK AND WAGES AT LAWRENCE.

The following extracts from the report on the Lawrence strike, presented to the American Senate last July, will enable our readers to better understand the position in Lawrence. Three-fourths of the 85,892 inhabitants of Lawrence, we learn, are directly dependent upon the mills there. The full-time earnings of more than 7,000 woollen-mill employees were found by the Commissioner of Labour to be less than $7 a week. In order to obtain the bare necessities of life, the normal family of five had to supply two wage-earners. Massachusetts law forbids the employment of children under fourteen, hence many mothers of younger children must arrange for the care of their little ones in the country or with neighbouring families while they work. It is no wonder, declares the "Tribune," "that a slight cut in the wages of people living like these, just out of the reach of starvation, caused a bitter and angry contest."

"The actual economic condition of the families of the workers of the textile mills of Lawrence cannot be easily pictured by a mere statement of individual earnings. But it is obvious from the figures that the full earnings of a large number of adult employees are entirely inadequate to maintain a family. Thus, the full-time earnings of 7,275 employees (about one-third of the 21,922 operatives covered in this investigation) are less than $7 a week. Of these 7,275 who earn less than $7 a week, 5,294 were over eighteen years of age, and 36 per cent. of these were males.

"The average wage for the entire 21,922, or one-third of the total number of people in Lawrence fourteen years of age or over, was 16 cents an hour. Approximately one-fourth—23.3 per cent.—earned less than 12 cents an hour, and about one-fifth—20.4 per cent.—earned 20 cents an hour or over. . . .

"The normal family of five, unless the father is employed in one of the comparatively few better-paying occupations, is compelled by necessity to supply two wage-earners in order to obtain the necessities of life. If the father has not at least one child old

enough to work, it becomes necessary for the wife to enter the mill to supplement the earnings of the husband in order to maintain the family.

"Where, as is often the case, the father and mother and three or more children are at work and contribute to a common fund, the family can live in comfort and lay aside weekly savings. But the condition of the head of the family in one of the poorer-paid occupations, with children so young as to necessitate the mother remaining at home to care for them, is one of extreme hardship.

"Necessity forces a large number of wives with small children to enter the mills. In some of these instances the children are taken to the country on Sunday afternoons and left there until the following Saturday afternoon, when they are brought home to stay during the holiday. The usual practice, however, is to take the children to some neighbouring family before work starts in the morning and leave them for the day. For this care from $1 to $2 a week is paid.

"Among 188 households where inquiries were made the husband was the sole wage-earner in twenty instances. The lowest earnings for these twenty families was $5.10 per full week, and the family consisted of a husband, a wife, and three children. The largest family among these twenty consisted of a husband, wife, and five children, the husband earning $11.09 per full week."

The New York "Call" says that Lawrence is—

"An industrial blot on the map, a pestiferous industrial city, a place where human beings are crushed and starved to produce vast wealth for the mill-owners, a city of hunger and destitution, of child labour, of woman labour, a city where mothers must desert their newly born babies to go into the mills in order to help the 'head of the family,' the father, earn enough to support the family."

EVENTS OF SEPTEMBER.

AT HOME.

2—Trades Union Congress opened at Newport; Will Thorne, M.P., as President, delivered Socialist address.

4—British Association meeting opened at Dundee; Professor Schäfer on the origin and nature of life.

Trades Union Congress decided not to discuss Secular Education.

Vacation Court made order permitting the "Prudential" to make agreements with approved societies under the Insurance Act.

Collision in the Piccadilly "Tube."

5—Trades Union Congress rejected compulsory arbitration, and denounced the insurance companies' methods.

6—Trades Union Congress declared in favour of working-class political action by 1,693,000 votes to 48,000.

9—Cotton trade unrest.

10—Bye-election in Mid-Lothian. Result (declared next day): Hope (Unionist), 6,021; Shaw (Liberal), 5,989; Brown (Labour), 2,413; loss of Government seat.

12—Mr. Churchill, at Dundee, outlined system of federal government for United Kingdom.

Trade-union leaders urged societies to accept Commissioners' Memorandum.

14—Fierce faction fight at Belfast football match.

16—Army manœuvres commenced.

17—Railway disaster at Ditton Junction (L. & N.W.): 15 killed, 40 injured.

18—Series of Ulster demonstrations against Home Rule started at Enniskillen.

20—Mrs. Leigh (sentenced to five years' penal servitude for attempt to fire a Dublin theatre) released on licence.

Engineers' apprentices struck at Manchester.

21—Mr. Lloyd George at Llanystumdwy. Suffragette interrupters fiercely assaulted.

23—Strike of 2,300 navvies at Rosyth.

M. Sazonoff, Russian Foreign Minister, arrived at Balmoral Castle.

25—Municipal Tramways Association Conference opened at West Ham.

26—Chinese Loan prospectus issued in London.

27—National Society of "Free Workers" formed at Bradford.

28—"Ulster Day": Sir Edward Carson and others sign "Covenant" to resist Home Rule.

ABROAD.

3—Kaiser Wilhelm arrived at Zurich for the Swiss manœuvres.
Turkish police arrested Sheikh Shawish for conspiracy against Egyptian rulers.
Troubles reported in the Balkans.
Explosion in French coal mine near Calais: many lives lost.
4—Woman Suffrage defeated in Ohio.
6—Garros, French airman, reached highest flight on record—16,405 feet.
7—German Socialist Deputies presented petition to Chancellor on high prices of food.
8—Egyptian Court of Cassation rejected appeal of three natives convicted of conspiracy.
9—Chinese loan negotiations (£10,000,000) announced.
Floods reported in China: 30,000 lives lost.
10—Congress on Labour legislation at Zurich.
Fighting on the Turko-Bulgarian frontier.
13—Funeral of the late Mikado; suicide of General Nogi and his wife.
14—First sod turned of new Trans-Australian Railway.
Demonstration in Union Square, New York, against imprisonment of Ettor and Giovannitti.
15—German Socialist Congress opened at Chemnitz; H. Quelch presented greetings from British Socialist Party.
17—Socialists demonstrated for Universal Suffrage at opening of Dutch States-General.
Uproar in Hungarian Chamber: Opposition deputies expelled wholesale.
Alleged important battle at Derna (Tripoli).
18—Rioting in Buda-Pesth.
Confédération Générale du Travail at Havre discussed relations with Socialist Party.
24—Death of Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, Germany's Ambassador to England.
Emperor Joseph and Count Berchtold made important declarations on Balkan trouble.
Great typhoon in China.
Fighting in Samos.
25—Sir John Jordan, British Minister, expressed to Pekin Government disapproval of proposed £10,000,000 loan in London.
27—General strike at Lawrence, Mass.
28—Herren Borchardt and Leinert, Prussian deputies, fined for resisting expulsion from Diet.
30—Mobilisation order in Servia and Bulgaria.

THE REVIEWS.

THE DISMEMBERMENT OF CHINA.

Writing on the above in this month's "Nineteenth Century," Dr. Dillon says:—

One looks in vain for any authority that can make itself felt in China. When the only investments which the Executive possesses —the army and the police—turn against their would-be employer, and the one strong man in the Republic resembles an architect without masons, bricklayers, or hodmen, anarchy is the only word that connotes the resulting reality. Even the Advisory Council left to its own resources is less real than the shadow of smoke. Dr. Morrison, indeed, writes of it as though it were a puissant factor in the development of the nation. But here again facts militate against this hope-born view. This assembly was recently in favour of impeaching the Vice-President of the Republic, Li Yuang Hung, who is Yuan Shi Kai's right-hand man, for carrying out the judicial murder of the two Generals. An ultimatum, however, was sent to certain prominent members of the body, whereupon its zeal for justice cooled down. The Advisory Council may be described as a noun of multitude which signifies many but not much.

All this wrangling about chaos and ruin, however, does not go to the heart of the matter. The crux of the question lies in what foreigners think or say they think. Even a little touch of "chaos," for instance, would suffice to yield a pretext for foreign intervention; while the rumours spread of it may yet be the upshot of the wrong-headed policy of the present provisional Government. That province should differ widely from province, or North from South, is nothing new. China has always been a sort of federal State, and for this reason the Republic was acquiesced in throughout the South. Its advent might not have aroused such strong opposition in the four Northern provinces had it not been imposed upon them by force. Still, this dislike need not necessarily lead to civil war between the North and the South.

Neither are the military mutinies quite so terrible as they appear. For the causes of the evil are transient. It became necessary to enlist a large body of men—550,000 in lieu of 250,000—on the spur of the moment, a large percentage of ne'er-do-wells donned the

uniform, and their one care is regular and high pay. They are casual soldiers, who lack discipline as their regiments lack traditions. During the troubles of Tientsin and Pekin a trustworthy witness beheld a number of these warriors putting out the fires and helping the terrified citizens in one place, while, hard by, other military detachments were plundering the people and gutting their dwellings. "Volleys were fired in the narrow streets merely to frighten the inhabitants and force them to abandon their property to the soldiery." Scenes of this character are, of course, discouraging; but, on the other hand, China's recuperative forces are, I believe, marvellous. Even now whole provinces are quiet and leading a normal life. If China were left in peace for some years to work out her own salvation under administrators of integrity, will-power, and talents, she might yet take her place among the progressive Powers of the world. The postulates, however, are many, and imply changes which the optimism of her rulers renders improbable.

THE FRIENDS AND FOES OF EUGENICS.

Montague Crackanthorpe, K.C., J.P., D.C.L., contributes an interesting article on the above subject to the October "Fortnightly Review." He says:—

The Socialists do not conceal their hostility to Eugenics, or the footing on which that hostility rests. Believing, as they do, that all men should, and might be, made equal in respect both of status and means, they see in the theory of heredity a most embarrassing factor. Accordingly, they assign to it a back seat, and would, if they could, get rid of it altogether. For the regeneration of mankind they rely exclusively on "improved surroundings." Wrote recently one who, if not a professed Socialist, is obviously in warm sympathy with Socialism: "Give the industrial community houses worth living in, work worth executing, adequate remuneration, appreciable leisure, enjoyable recreation and reliable employment, and the habitual drunkard, the criminal, the tramp, and the feeble-minded will become as extinct as the dodo." How delightfully simple this sounds, and how impossible it is! What complete ignorance of human nature, its temptations and weaknesses it shows! "Work worth executing." But if there is to be no struggle for life, no incentive to exertion, who is going to make and repair our drains, stoke our ship-fires, or open up and unload our mines? "Appreciable leisure and enjoyable recreation." Is it not the fact that to many persons "leisure" simply spells "listlessness," and that not a few find in brutalising forms of sport their keenest recreation? Much depends on innate character, which varies greatly, not only as between strangers in blood, but as between members of the same family. This latter fact every

observant mother knows, although, never perhaps having heard of the laws of heredity, she does not know the reason for it. Much, too, depends on the opportunities afforded for developing innate character, but opportunity alone is not enough. You cannot gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles. You must first change the nature of the plant or tree, and this you cannot do by merely "improving the surroundings."

It is somteimes objected against Eugenics (not by Socialists only) that to aim at improving the stock is to "play Providence to man." The answer is that the entire course of civilisation may with as much truth be so described. Besides, the objection is now out of date and outworn. Let me give the illustration of Benjamin Franklin. It is recorded that when crossing the ocean in a terrific storm a flash of lightning suddenly discovered to him the close proximity of another ship just in time to avoid a collision. This flash, although he knew more about its cause than any of his contemporaries, made a tremendous impression on him. He regarded it as "providential"—i.e., as a special interference of the Deity in his favour. This happened about the middle of the eighteenth century. At the present day, ocean-going vessels are, as everyone knows, equipped with the Marconi apparatus, and when pursuing the same sea-route can be in communication with each other during the entire voyage. Wireless messages pass and repass, but no one regards these as "providential." Rather are they looked on as only a fresh example of the wild forces of nature harnessed and driven by man.

Consider, also the general bearing towards the disastrous weather experienced during the disappointing summer of this year. Continued rain, at a season when crops should be ripening for harvest, would formerly have been interpreted as a sign of some displeasure, to be appeased only by setting apart a day of public humiliation. Yet no suggestion of appointing such a day was, I believe, made in any quarter. Even the less potent charm of the "prayer for fine weather" was not generally resorted to. Further, more than one of our newspapers apostrophised the month of August in fierce "journalese" as if that luckless cycle of time had been a personal enemy inflicting for its own pleasure damage on the agriculturists and dismay on the holiday-makers. Yet no one pronounced these tirades to be impious, nor was anyone a penny the worse for them. What does all this show? Does it show that we are becoming more irreligious, more given over to materialism? Nothing of the kind. All it shows is this: that the "sphere of influence" of Particular, or Special, Providence steadily contracts as Science expands, its place being taken by the loftier and more abstract conception of the unity and majesty of Nature as a whole. This conception leads us onward and upward to the correlative conception of an "Universal Providence" with whom we are privileged to co-operate in this sense, that whilst He wills the end we search out and apply the means. Acting on this inspiring idea of

co-operation with a Divine Power, Eugenic inquirers "search out" the best methods of race-improvement, and strive to create an enlightened public opinion which shall "apply" the results they obtain.

It is further charged against Eugenics that it favours "breeding for points" in man, just as pigs and poultry are "bred for points." This charge is groundless. Where in authorised Eugenic literature is any such statement to be found? True, Francis Galton, the founder of Eugenics, set up a standard of "civic worth" as a thing to be aimed at. But he never supposed it could be "bred for"—i.e., born ready-made, as Athené, according to Greek mythology, sprung fully armed from the head of Zeus. Besides, "civic worth" is not a point, it embraces an entire character. With equal reason it might be averred that because Christianity inculcates the practice of several virtues making up a complete whole, it is a "religion of points."

Before parting with the Socialists, I sum up by affirming that their hostility to Eugenics is traceable to two sources. First, they refuse—although repeatedly reminded of the fact—to recognise that it lays great stress on environment, whilst holding that in the composition of humanity heredity is the more powerful factor. Secondly, in their zeal for drastic economic reforms Socialists turn a deaf ear to all biological teaching, although biology throws a flood of light both on man's past and on his future.

CAUSES OF THE RISE OF PRICES.

Says Mr. J. A. Hobson, in the current "Contemporary Review":—

The rise of prices, which began about 1895, and has now been advancing more rapidly during the last few years, is claiming everywhere the close attention of statesmen, economists, and publicists. In every advanced industrial country it is stirring deep discontent among the wage-earners, who find the price of foods rising faster than their money-wages, while the rise in interest and the shrinkage in value of older securities which accompany it are producing grave disturbances in the financial arrangements of the business classes. Accustomed for a whole generation to a gradual and fairly regular decline in prices which gave to every possessor of a sovereign an increased command over commodities, persons of narrow means have not unnaturally felt alarm at so persistent and so unaccountable a reversal of conditions favourable to their situation, the permanence of which they had come to look upon almost as a natural law.

Not only in this country, but in every other country where reliable statistical evidence is available, prices have been rising. In Germany, France, the United States, and Canada the increase

has been somewhat greater than in Great Britain, owing doubtless to the pressure of a protective tariff in addition to the play of the wider forces at work. What are these forces, operative alike in the old and the new world, in manufacturing and agricultural countries, in densely and in sparsely peopled lands, in monarchies and in democracies? For the markets in which the conspicuous rises of price have been taking place are those world-markets in which are gathered the common stores of foods and materials of manufacture required to sustain the populations and the industries of all those civilised nations which are in commercial intercourse.

It is, therefore, a matter of the first importance to ascertain the cause or causes of the rise of prices. But in this problem the first thing to avoid is the snare of excessive simplicity. The intricacy of world-commerce and finance is so great that we may feel tolerably sure that no single and quite obvious occurrence can furnish a sufficient explanation of any important effect. Now, the preliminary discussion of the rise of prices has suffered from a failure to bear in mind this precaution. Politicians, business men, even economists who ought to have known better, have, in many instances, committed themselves confidently to the view that the sole or main source of the rise of prices has been the increased output of gold which has taken place. . . . . This view is the more plausible, in that no one can possibly deny that an increased output of gold must have some effect in raising prices.

When we . . . . are informed that twenty years' production at the present rate would double the gold supply for the world, we seem to have within our reach a quite sufficient explanation of the rise of prices. It is only when we consider more accurately what is meant by the supply of money, and how far and in what manner the output of gold affects the aggregate supply, that we are able to correct this first impression. In reckoning the influence of the gold supply of any year upon prices we have to ask how much it adds to the total purchasing power exercised during that year. Now, a large proportion of the new gold does not function as money. It goes into the industrial arts. Another large proportion is hoarded. During recent years India and Egypt in particular have been absorbing immense quantities for this purpose. Adding to these uses a large amount of the gold which has gone into reserves in Japan, South America, and Mexico, the Director of the Mint at Washington has recently estimated that nearly half the aggregate output from the mines is " not directly effective upon world prices." Indeed, were we to suppose that as much as fifty million pounds' worth of new gold in any single year were directly operative upon prices, in the sense that the mine-owners and miners got it coined and used the coins or the equivalent bank-credit in making purchases, the influence upon world-prices would be inconsiderable. For the aggregate of " money " operative on prices in any year consists of the total amount expended by all buyers, or, in other words, by the aggregate gross incomes of all businesses and private

individuals, supplemented by any additions of credit to their bank accounts. Now, the aggregate of "money" thus expended in this country alone would amount to a good many thousands of millions, and when we consider how vast would be the sum for the whole industrial world, we can recognise how trifling an addition the £50,000,000 of gold would make to it. It would raise general prices by some small fraction of 1 per cent., that is all. The effect would not be cumulative, as it is sometimes contended; for when the first effect of the £50,000,000 had once been exercised in producing a trifling rise of world-prices, the higher price-level would absorb the enhanced stock of money in conducting the same volume of transactions as before at the raised level of prices.

CONVENTS IN ENGLAND: A PLEA FOR STATE INSPECTION.

Elizabeth Sloan Chesser has a very informative article on the above in this month's "Nineteenth Century and After." She advocates inspection on humanitarian and health grounds and on moral principles, and concludes as follows:—

It may be said that the Superiors of convents are good women, who would not take advantage of their unrestricted authority. But the very essence of their religion is to ignore physical suffering if spiritual benefit may be attained, to aim at the enrichment of their Order and the good of the community at the expense of the individual. Further, in all such communities, even when the majority are women of fine character, there are necessarily some of lower type in whose hands undisputed authority is a dangerous weapon. What is to prevent sweating under such circumstances? Who is to safeguard the interests of the young girls engaged in needlework, and to undertake that permanent damage to their eyesight will not result from sitting hour after hour making the fine garments and exquisite laces which can be so cheaply bought from the convents in this country? Some of these convents are insanitary, with insufficient bathroom and lavatory accommodation. The sleeping accommodation and the bedding would not be permitted to exist in our workhouses and prisons, and the health of the girls and the orphan children suffers as a result. Many of the children are tuberculous, but no steps are taken to isolate and properly treat even the worst and most infectious cases. Anæmia and malnutrition are also prevalent in consequence of the sedentary life, the insufficient food, and the lack of fresh air which exist in a large number of places. In 1902 an inquiry was made concerning an English convent by the Local Government Board, and it was found that of 212 Poor Law children sent to the convent only 49 were free from ophthalmic disease, and nearly all were suffering from malnutrition, from body sores, and verminous heads, as a

result of neglect. The matter was put right; but that such a condition of affairs is even possible offers forcible illustration of the need for strict inspection of these places, so that steps may be taken to prevent children of ten and twelve years spending hours daily at eye-destroying tasks, and at work such as washing and scrubbing which is beyond their strength.

The best way to ensure adequate protection of the convent, and the nun as well, is by efficient and well-regulated inspection of all such institutions. The only inspection of convents at present existing relates to convent laundries, and as the law provides that no inspector can examine an inmate of a convent laundry save in the presence of the Superior or the priest, it is an inspection not worthy the name.

Inspection of convents ought not to be a party question. Many votes depend on the maintenance of secrecy, but the tactics of party should not be allowed to retard this humane reform which is so urgently needed at the present time.

FRANCE'S SERBONIAN BOG.

In the "Foreign Affairs" section of the current "Contemporary Review," Mr. E. J. Dillon writes under the above heading:—

France's Moorish venture seems destined to cut deeper into the destinies of Europe than the average newspaper reader imagines. If not precisely a Nessus shirt for the Republic, the new acquisition is a boon to which a heavy curse is seemingly attached. For years past I have been pointing out those less superficial aspects of the whole problem which are only now moving slowly into view. And for years to come we shall probably be spectators of a series of experiments in Morocco which may redound to the credit of individual military men or administrators, but will handicap the French nation politically to an extent which circumstances may suddenly render dangerous. For this reason, perhaps, no element among the constituents of the present political situation deserves to be more carefully allowed for in one's calculations than France's entanglement in Morocco. From the peace-lover's point of view, it is a disaster. Already one descries ominous signs that turn one's thoughts towards contingencies which the friends of France cannot contemplate without pain.

France's conception of the task which she mentally set herself under M. Delcassé's lead was radically wrong; for it was based on the tacit assumption that what was true of Algeria might be predicted of Morocco. That is the only explanation one can suggest of the tactics, administrative and political, which have been pursued there ever since, of the childish expectations of grandiose results from toying with Sultans, and of dangers created by the

grudging way in which troops were despatched, and the unwisdom with which they were chosen.

Morocco differs from the other African possessions of the Republic ethnically, geographically, and politically. It is an aggregate of fierce tribes who are seldom happy unless fighting—a sort of ethnical hedgehog that shows its prickles when touched. The separate States of the Sultanate were never fused in one nation, nay, each tribe has often been divided by intestine feuds; for instance, the Riff not only maintained its independence, but the Kabyles who inhabit it were often split into two parties which warred against each other. Algeria, on the other hand, was a homogeneous country. A single key, so to say, opened all its gates, whereas in Morocco there are numerous gates, and each one needs a separate key. One has to tackle the population tribe by tribe and district by district. You may beat the men of Tafilet or Abda, but the people of Dukalla and Mogadir are not awed by those defeats. Politically, you can work no marvels by diplomatic legerdemain. Even as Moslems the inhabitants are sharply divided. For, though they all believe in the Prophet, each set has its own little tabernacles, as it were. Mulay Hiba's Blue Men, for example, are separated by an abyss from the sectarians who gather round Mulay Idris and anathematise their rivals.

. . . . . .

Morocco is a Heavy Drag on France.

This colonial enterprise is certain to immobilise more troops, to absorb more money, and to exhaust more energy than the Republic can afford to devote to Africa at the present moment of political flux. It is of almost vital interest to France that she should have her hands free and all her weapons ready for use instead of being kept on the coast of Africa doing battle with the hardy, dauntless enemy. The struggle in Morocco will in most respects be fiercer than it was in Algeria. The Arabs and the Berbers are born soldiers. The first money a lad spends there is on a rifle and cartridges. Every man, one may say, is a warrior. The natives against whom France was pitted in Algeria were armed with primitive weapons which put them at a great disadvantage as against their foes, whereas the bulk of Arabs and Berbers are provided with Mauser and other up-to-date magazine rifles, and are consequently redoubtable and redoubted. For the Moor is a good shot. The regular army, therefore, can count only upon the superiority which artillery gives whenever it can be employed. But one must bear in mind that the transport of guns across the country is a difficult feat.

BRITISH MUSEUM 22 OCT 12

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Vickers, Angel Court, Strand
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Meaton, West Ham Lane
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Wilson, Romford Road
Smith, Green Street, Romford Road
Harrington, Green Street, Romford Road

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Manners, Fetter Lane
Kelly, Southampton Buildings
Robbins, Red Lion Street
Canrow, Red Lion Street
Vernon, Lamb's Conduit Street
Sinclair, Lamb's Conduit Street
King, Lamb's Conduit Street
Harrison, Gray's Inn Road
Doole, Gray's Inn Road
Bookstall, Euston Road
Allwood, Francis Street
Petherier, Gt. Charlotte Street
Flugmann, Rathbone Place
Johnson, Cleveland Street
Randell, High Holborn

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Perks, St. Martin's Lane
West, Sherwood Street, Regent Street
Bewick, Air Street, Regent Street
Brommell, Gt. Windmill Street
Stauffer, Wardour Street
Willis, Foubert's Place
Alscot, Gt. Marylebone Street
Noble, Gt. Marylebone Street
Whitehouse, Marylebone Lane
Bouchier, South Street, Marylebone
Stockley, Paddington Street
Welch, Seymour Street
Smith, Gt. Chapel Street
Varley, High Street, Bloomsbury
Varley, Charing Cross Road
Henderson's, 66, Charing Cross Road
East, High Street, Bloomsbury
McKenzie, Endell Street
Samuels, 175, Strand

South-West.

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Dearman, Regency Street
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Stone, 510, King's Road, Chelsea
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Huggett, 370, King's Road, Chelsea
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THE
BRITISH SOCIALIST.

Vol. I., No. 11. NOVEMBER 15, 1912.

NATIONALITIES AND INDIVIDUALS.

By E. Belfort Bax.

In an article ostensibly on the Ulster question Quelch discusses, in the September number of the "British Socialist," once more the well-worn question of whether Internationalism involves an attitude of anti-nationalism or anti-patriotism. In the course of this discussion he draws a parallel between national autonomy and individual liberty, but this parallel is rather invalidated by the writer's own admission that whereas "there is no difficulty in determining what is an individual, and little in deciding what rights and liberties pertain to the individual human being in society, it is by no means so easy to determine what does, or should, constitute the national unit, or what are the limits of its autonomy." Here, indeed, is precisely the "rub" in this matter of nationalism or patriotism. Am I, as an Englishman, while feeling patriotically as regards England and her forty counties, to be allowed to regard Ireland or Scotland or Wales as outside "the sphere of influence" of my patriotic sentiments? If not, if the whole of Great Britain is

to be regarded as my patriotic unit, how about the colonies, the bulk of whose inhabitants are Englishmen, or at least Britons? Once we include the colonies it is scarcely possible to stop before the whole British Empire in its entirety logically clamours for the support of our patriotism. But in this case our patriotism would necessarily take on an imperialistic hue which, as Quelch is careful to inform us, indicates the spurious article. On the other hand, if patriotism, as such, is to be limited to England, excluding Wales and Scotland, surely the Northumbrian, the Yorkshireman, or the man of the Midlands, might make out a case based on racial, traditional and other differences, for claiming, if not each of them a local and separate patriotism of its own, at least a patriotism collectively as against the southern portion of the island.

It is a sectional patriotism of this sort which so vehemently animates the manly breasts of the Ulster folk at the present time. It is with them a case of Ulster right or wrong, just as with the conventional British patriot it is Britain right or wrong. The rights of the rest of Ireland no more concern the Ulster patriot (or, rather, the man of the four Protestant counties of Ulster), than the rights of the rest of Europe, of "the bloody foreigner," concern the British patriot when on the rampage. It would seem, then, that on analysis the conception of patriotism becomes rather elusive as regards its definition, and from this point of view it must be admitted that the anti-patriots are justified of their contempt for a sentiment (only too apt to take on a bloodthirsty character) which is based on such an amorphous concept as that referred to.

Nevertheless, it is not to be denied that Socialists and Democrats generally are often moved with sympathy and admiration for a people struggling to maintain their national integrity against an invader or oppressor. But let us look a little more closely at the actual cases which excite this admiration and sympathy amongst Socialists and Democrats. If we do so we shall mostly find that the national defence in question in-

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volves an economic side, that there is an economic motive behind it, or else that the individual nation has been in the past, or is in danger of being, oppressed by the attacking Power. For example, in the case of the Irish patriotic movement it was the land question, the struggle of the peasant to secure his plot against the rapacious ground landlord who was backed by the British power as represented by Dublin Castle, which formed the backbone of the Irish movement for Home Rule or for Irish independence. Then, again, take the case of the Boers; the substance behind their heroic resistance to Britain in the South African war was the fact that the Boer nation of peasant farmers were fighting against the domination of themselves and their territory by the advanced forms of modern capitalism. They felt that the conquest by Britain meant the beginning of the end of the life of rough plenty and independence they had hitherto been leading on their native veldt.

And so it is with all wars waged by the modern capitalistic States against weak and capitalistically backward peoples—be they civilised, barbaric, or savage. In all these cases the sting of the conflict lies in the economic change incorporated in, and typified by, the forces of the invader. Hence the sympathy of all just men for these victims of capitalist aggression. The Socialist knows that though the shibboleth of the resisters may be the old catch-words of patriotism, yet they do but cover this other content. On the other hand, the present struggle in the Balkans will leave many of us cold as regards taking sides. While we should all gladly see an end of the Turkish oppression in Macedonia, "such as it is and what there is of it," yet we cannot be unmindful of the fact that the complete destruction of the Turkish power in the Balkan peninsular means the opening up of the whole country, and its peoples, sooner or later, and probably sooner rather than later, to the exploitation by the great industry, commerce, and finance of Western capitalism. It is impossible,

therefore, for the consistent and far-seeing Socialist to be very enthusiastic for the success of the Balkan arms against the Ottoman forces, and this notwithstanding that he may willingly recognise that intrinsically the rule of the Turk in Europe has no ethico-political justification. What the incursion of modern capitalism into old agricultural societies means we can everywhere see where such societies come under the sway of one of the great Powers. In Egypt, for example, the factory system, with all its horrors, is rapidly making headway on the banks of the Nile. Such would inevitably be the case in the Balkan peninsula once it is finally and inevitably quit of Turkish rule and has become under the sphere of influence, if not into the actual possession of, one or more of the great Western Powers. Against this contingency the Ottoman domination, retrograde though it may be, is some sort of bulwark.

Hence, it is plain that Socialist sympathies in the matter of national struggles are mainly aroused by the efforts of a small and generally backward people economically to resist the oppression or invasion of a big capitalistic Power—the aim of such Power being to enable the weaker people and their country to be exploited by the industrial, commercial, and financial individuals and syndicates in whose interests it is itself run!

A struggle between two big Powers themselves, say France and Germany, or England and Germany, would, from the standpoint of intrinsic Socialist sympathies, probably be, in itself, a matter of indifference seeing that all three Powers alike are capitalistic, such sympathy as would be evoked among Socialists and Democrats being determined by the question of expediency, the democratic and progressive Power being, of course, preferred to the more reactionary. In a word, the element of vicarious patriotism, or race preference, as such does not enter into the attitude of Socialists in their sympathies and antipathies as regards international struggles, but rather

the relative economic position of the parties and the social and economic issues involved. It is, therefore, obvious, I think, that on analysis, the unit of patriotism discloses itself as a purely artificial product. There is no intrinsic reason which determines this unit constituting the object of patriotic sentiment; but the sentiment itself, once attached to a certain unit, becomes at once a ready instrument for hocussing the people on behalf of the governing classes of all countries, since the average man who lives on traditional catchwords is always ready to respond to the call of "patriotism."

THE ANNALS OF THE POOR

By A. A. Watts.

The Forty-first Annual Report of the Local Government Board (1911-12) has recently been published, and Part I., dealing more particularly with the Administration of the Poor Law, the Unemployed Workmen Act, and the Old Age Pensions Act, contains, as usual, a mass of information and statistics relating to these branches of the administrative work of the nation; the main part of it being in relation to tho Poor Law. I must again complain that the Report is published so many months after the dates to which the figures refer. The returns furnished by the various Poor Law officials are sent immediately after the date is passed, and surely the Government printing office need not be such a great while in producing it. Also, it is bewildering to find that some of the information is brought up to March, 1911, some up to January 1, 1912, and yet other up to Lady-Day, 1912. One date for all would be much better.

There is no doubt that whatever may be the case with other National Departments, the Local Government Board is very well pleased with itself. One can almost imagine the President, the Secretary, and the Chief Inspector, with their hands folded on their well-filled stomachs, a self-sacrificing smile on their faces, submitting their Annual Report with a chorus of: "We are sure you will find it quite all right." Such a thought rises instantly to one's mind on the paragraph headed "Administration of Relief." Readers will remember that the draft of a new Relief Regulation Order was published, and at once aroused a storm of opposition and criticism for the harshness of its pro-

visions and the "tightening" influence it would have on the administration of out-relief. This agitation had its effect, and when the Order was issued to come into force many of its objectionable features had been removed or modified.

This is how the complacent L.G.B. refer to the matter: "We received a number of suggestions and criticisms of the draft Order by boards of guardians, the Poor Law Unions Association, and others, and after carefully considering these suggestions and criticisms, which were reviewed by a Departmental Committee, we issued . . . . . a general order." They then refer to the "case-paper system," and hope "that this system will prove as efficacious generally as it has been found to be in certain unions where it has already been voluntarily adopted, in securing to the guardians a complete knowledge of the circumstances of every applicant for relief, and for the applicant, in every case, relief which will be adequate and also appropriate in form."

The "case-paper system" may commend itself to the official mind, and to the Guardians who wish to find some reason for refusing relief to applicants. The last portion of the sentence just quoted is pure hypocrisy; it is not worked to give adequate relief—just the contrary. Briefly, the case-paper is a foolscap sheet, or sheets, containing everything possible about anyone applying for relief. When the application is first made a vast number of questions are asked, and the answers recorded and verified. From that moment everything occurring in connection with the poor wretch is written down, additional sheets being attached as necessary. Thus, from first coming to the Poor Law, a complete "history" of every "case" is kept. Anything the applicant did five or ten years ago, there it is against him—generally against. The sequel comes something like this: "Well, of course, we cannot give out-relief in this case," or, "This is not a case for out-relief." The Relieving Officer or Clerk to the Guardians joins in impressively: "This is not a case in which the

Guardians ought to give out-relief." And so a "House Order" is made, and the starving applicant is told that the Board *cannot* (the liars!) relieve except "inside"; he (or she) can go into the House.

The Report says: "The Departmental Committee is now engaged in the codification of other Orders issued by us and our predecessors in regard to the administration of relief." Socialists all over the country will have to watch this "legislation by Order." There is to be no break-up of the Poor Law under Mr. John Burns; rather is it to be more firmly rivetted on to the country, and by means of "codification" here, and patching-up there, stereotyped and fastened more firmly round our necks. Since the Report was written this precious Departmental Committee has issued the draft of another Order, as foreshadowed; and Mr. J. Theodore Dodd and Mr. Lansbury have already pointed out some of its evils and protested against it coming into force until Boards of Guardians and everyone concerned have had an opportunity of studying it and of offering suggestions.

In the following information extracted from the Report we have as far as possible left out the offensive words "pauper" and "pauperism."

We learn that the total number of poor persons chargeable on January 1, 1912, was 801,881, a decrease as compared with January 1, 1911, of 89,926. This decrease is due to the fact that a number of persons were no longer disqualified from becoming old age pensioners by reason of having received poor law relief at some time since 1908.

Notwithstanding the old age pensions, there were a considerable number of persons over the age of 70 years who were still in receipt of relief on January 1 of this year. They were:—

	July 1, 1911.	July 1, 1912.
Indoor ...	48,519 ...	49,328
Outdoor ...	8,420 ...	9,530
	56,939	58,858

Whilst a large number of the indoor are undoubtedly persons incapable of looking after themselves or of getting about, and are what are called "institutional" cases, yet it is a fact that a considerable portion of them stay inside owing to the inadequacy of the old age pensions.

As showing the effect of the pensions, the following were the total numbers of aged people under the Poor Law at each date as follows:—

January 1, 1910	195,944
July 1, 1910	186,984
January 1, 1911	148,439
July 1, 1911	56,939
January 1, 1912	58,858

The number of old age pensioners in England and Wales on March 29 this year was 642,524, and in the United Kingdom 942,160—of these 351,397 were men and 590,763 women.

The rate of pauperism on January 1, 1912, was 22.2 per 1,000, as compared with 24.9 on January 1, 1911. The decrease seems to be in outdoor relief, the indoor remaining fairly steady. The following give the *mean* number at Lady-Day, except insane and casual:—

Year.	Indoor.		Outdoor.	
	Mean Number.	Rate per 1,000.	Mean Number.	Rate per 1,000.
1905	239,894	7.1	542,891	16.1
1906	247,758	7.3	545,141	16.0
1907	250,544	7.3	537,448	15.6
1908	255,958	7.4	535,452	15.4
1909	267,130	7.6	546,302	15.6
1910	275,075	7.8	534,933	15.1
1911	275,070	7.7	503,181	14.1
1912	267,426	7.4	403,552	11.2

The total cost of Poor Law relief for the year ended March, 1911, was £15,023,130, £3,835,732 of this

amount being for London. The total expenditure is on the increase, the figures showing a steady rise year by year. For the last five years they are :—

	£
1907	13,957,224
1908	14,308,426
1909	14,717,098
1910	14,849,584
1911	15,023,130

This notwithstanding the reduction owing to a number of old age pensioners going off Poor Law relief.

Hardly half of the amount expended on relief goes direct to the poor themselves. From a table giving details of the different items of expenditure we extract the following :—

	£
In-maintenance	3,600,327
Out-relief	3,300,319
Salaries and Superannuations to Union Officials, etc.	2,822,626
Loan charges, principal and interest ...	1,209,961
Furniture, etc.	1,170,038
Salaries of medical officers and other medical purposes	1,016,492
Other expenses connected with Relief...	1,044,016

The average annual cost per head of poor persons of all classes together, and of indoor and outdoor separately, is :—

Average cost per head of poor persons relieved.	In London.	Outside London.	In England and Wales as a whole.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
All classes taken together ...	27 4 8½	14 18 10½	16 17 9¾
Indoor only ...	35 12 4¼	25 10 3¾	28 6 6¼
Outdoor only ...	8 12 9½	7 3 6½	7 5 11¾

The net totals of the two kinds of relief are :—

	£
Indoor relief expenditure	7,744,114
Outdoor relief expenditure ...	3,702,622

The number of children in receipt of relief on January 1, 1912, other than insane or casual, was 251,837. Of these 70,698 were in institutions, the remainder being on out-relief. We give all praise to the L.G.B. for its efforts to get the children removed from the workhouses, and hope they will follow up those Boards who move slowly, or not at all. There are still 22,709 in the workhouses and infirmaries.

The difference between summer and winter relief is shown as follows:—

	July 1, 1911.	January 1, 1912.
Indoor	263,837 ...	289,075
Outdoor ...	399,914 ...	416,970
	663,751	706,045

The number of able-bodied receiving relief was:—

	July 1, 1911.	January 1, 1912.
Indoor	46,521 ...	55,247
Outdoor ...	67,347 ...	71,319
	113,868	126,566

It is a shocking reflection on our boasted civilisation that there were in the year 1910, 111 deaths from starvation or accelerated by privation; of these 42 occurred in London—the wealthiest city in the world—and 69 in the provinces.

In the statistics relating to lunatics, we find there is a persistent increase every year, although the percentage to the population is not given. The figures are from 1888, and every year since without exception the number has risen. We give the totals from 1905:—

Year.	Total No. of Lunatics.
1905	109,100
1906	111,079
1907	112,943
1908	114,818
1909	117,157
1910	118,789
1911	120,968
1912	123,149

The present writer, in his capacity as Guardian, has visited several lunatic asylums. They are often fine large buildings, standing in extensive grounds, everything kept very clean, and the inmates get regular meals, decent clothing, regular bathing, and attendants to look after them. I am inclined to think it is the workers *outside* who are mad, not the so-called insane within the asylums. It surely cannot be a proof of sanity to toil, and starve, to live in dirty surroundings, to carry on a perpetual struggle for existence, and all the time feed and clothe a number of idlers in the best possible way, regard them as superior beings, and be possessed of the idea that we cannot do without them! Surely that is madness if anything is.

I will conclude with a few extracts from the reports of the Board's Inspectors:—

"Another very satisfactory fact in regard to this class of persons [tramps] is the very large reduction in the numbers relieved in the wards of the various unions . . . . The reduction in the number of tramps, and decrease of crime by them, is without doubt largely due to the 'bread station and way ticket system,' re-introduced from January 1, 1911, by the joint vagrancy committee for the counties of Berks, Bucks, and Oxon, ..."

"The outbreak of infantile paralysis this year has been the cause of the attention of many district councils in Devonshire being drawn to bad local housing conditions, and cases of diphtheria and enteric fever have revealed glaring intances of overcrowding and neglect of proper sanitation.

"Not only has there been avoidable mortality in the case at least of the two last-mentioned diseases, and presumably prejudice to the health of survivors, but the poor rate has had to pay in expert nursing and maintenance for what was saved to the sanitary rate by not providing proper drainage arrangements.

"Without improved housing and sanitation there seems little prospect of much further diminution in the bodily and mental unfitness to which so large a pro-

portion of pauperism is due, and even from the material point of view of the ratepayer there seems a case for expenditure in this direction."

"One of the effects of the Old Age Pensions Act has been to induce Guardians to increase the scales of relief to the more elderly recipients of out-relief, so as to approximate it to the amount received by the old age pensioners." (Here is proof that it *is* very low!)

"In the coal trade there have been many dangerous moments, and the year ended in great anxiety. But in spite of the clouds the year has been a fairly good one for the coal owners, and the output in South Yorkshire will probably exceed that of last year."

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC THEORY.

By C. TERRY.

The events of the last two years, both in the industrial and political field; the increased economic activity of the trade unions; the results of bye-elections; the question of the training of the youth of our party; the Conference recommendation of our taking more active interest in the immediate affairs of the organised workers; the failure of the Labour Party; the rise of Syndicalism; the appearance of disgust with political action; the demand for rapid transit to our goal; the ever-increasing applications by working-class organisations for our services, our instruction and our active guidance; the advent of active or crude material in the form of new members, consequent upon the formation of the B.S.P.; the need more than ever for a class-conscious revolutionary party on the floor of the House of Commons, in close contact with a more and more solidifying trade union movement—viz., one party, inside the "House" and outside; the disgusting petty tyrannies of the "Great Liberal Progressive Party"; the attempt to buy off the up-to-recently energetic advocates of the working class—call for a restatement of our theoretical position as the British section of the International Social-Democracy.

Conscious of its great mission for the future, but always with warm heart and cool, clear head, the Socialist Party has been compelled to discuss the great question of the transition from the capitalist world of wage-slavery to the world of labour in comradeship. As a result the party comes into the possession of an almost inexhaustible literature of scientific works on

this question. A noble literature, in large measure springing from the pens of men who look out upon the world-drama from the mountain-tops of science. Let us first estimate the man who, at the time when the German Labour movement was just awakening, in the sixties of the last century, furnished weapons for the Social-Democracy, the great-souled agitator, Ferdinand Lassalle.

It was to the rumbling accompaniment of weapons clashing in the struggle between the masses and the classes, according to Lassalle, that the ancient, the mediæval and the modern business organisations of society succeeded each other. In all these phases of social evolution, the State has always been a State of the ruling class, a slave-holders' State, a land-owners' State, a capital-owners' State. But the instrument of rule of the hitherto exploiting classes seemed suddenly in the nineteenth century about to be shattered. Those who had been oppressed climbed into the lap of time and demanded the rights of man to the kingdom of culture which rested upon their labour. In this century there appeared a question that is somewhat novel in the history of the world: The Labour Question. The hot breath of the oncoming working-class reached the faces of their exploiters over the barricades of the revolution of 1848. In Paris they called a working man to the Provisional Government. They proclaimed universal suffrage and declared the purpose of the State to be the betterment of the condition of the working classes. Lassalle grasped the situation clearly, and called to the workers to save themselves from a social condition which has made their humanity a commodity. The great power which was to rescue them from the hardships and anxieties of capitalistic society was the State built upon universal suffrage. The Marxians relied more exclusively upon the economic development. The theory runs thus: Marx deprecates superstitious belief in the State. The State rests upon borrowed powers, borrowed from the ruling classes of the time, whose tool it has to be, but the economic development

proceeds in spite of theories. The creative economic powers disturb the capitalistic order and the State organisations. The gigantic steam-driven factory machines produce abundantly while the produce cannot be consumed by society.

Socialism does not come into being by a preconceived plan but through the breaking up of the old order. In the process of assembling combined capitals, the material factor—the machines—increases entirely out of proportion to the personal factor—the workers. The part played by living labour is ever narrower and narrower. The industrial reserve army appears. Capital throws out of employment the source of its own riches. The perfected technical means of production create at once surplus product and surplus people. The contradiction between the powers of production and the means of consumption drives towards a social catastrophe.

With the ever-decreasing number of great capitalists grows the exploitation, but also the mutiny of the ever-growing working class, educated and organised by the very mechanism of the capitalist process itself. The great industries based upon associated labour are now in existence, but are not operated in the interest of the socially-organised working class. In the measure which modern industrial progress develops, the power of the State takes on more and more the character of a public force for the oppression of the working class; that makes of the public powers an instrument for class rule. The transition period between Capitalism and Socialism is the Social Revolution: this time cannot be anything else but the dictatorship of the working class. Engels says, "in this way or that," with or without trusts, the official representative of society must finally take over the management of production. The necessity appears first in the great means of commerce, the postal service, the telegraphs, the railroads, etc. Whatever its form, the modern State is essentially a capitalistic machine. The condition of capitalism is not abolished, it is only

driven more towards the extremities, *but at the extremity it falls.* Possession by the State is not the solution of the conflict, but it conceals within itself the formal means, the lever, of the solution. The capitalist mode of production transforms the greater part of the population more and more into proletarians; it creates that power which is compelled to accomplish this revolution under penalty of destruction. In that it tends to transform the great socialised means of production into State property, it shows the way itself to the accomplishment of this revolution.

Engels lived to declare that in his opinion the day had gone by for street fighting and barricades. In spite of the bad use made of the franchise in some countries, the German working-class had made of it a weapon of deliverance. Even if it is only a measure for ascertaining the strength of the proletariat, and has been conceded by the capitalists, the franchise is of great value; it is a Socialist means of effective propaganda. A new plan of battle for the working class came into effective operation with the successful use of the vote. It was found that the form of the State in which the rule of the capitalists had organised itself afforded a means whereby the working-class could grasp the same governmental power, and so it comes to pass that the capitalists fear more the legal action of the working-class than their illegal action, and were more concerned with the result of an election than those of a revolt.

The conditions of the struggle have changed. In all countries elections go merrily forward. Already in Germany we can see the middle-class vote and the farmers' vote going to the Social-Democrat, and should this condition last, the time must soon arrive when they will be the dominating power of the land, before which all other powers must bow, whether they are willing or not. To maintain this growth unbroken, until of itself it rises above the present ruling class, that is our principal task. Let us take a lesson from history. Eighteen hundred years ago there arose a dangerous

revolutionary party in the Roman commonwealth, undermining religion and spreading to the uttermost frontiers of the Roman world. It was the Christian party. This revolutionary party made converts in the army. Diocletian sought, by a law concerning the Christians, to crush the party. The churches were pulled down, the religious gatherings forbidden, the Christians were refused all political rights, divested of all State positions, and denied any rights before the law. The Christians tore these exceptional laws down from the walls. This brought greater persecution: but the great change came; seventeen years later the army consisted overwhelmingly of Christians, and the succeeding autocrat, Constantine, proclaimed Christianity as the State religion.

Some Socialists do not hold to the theory of a Parliamentary majority, but rely more upon the productive powers forcing capitalistic society into dissolution. The democracy cannot accomplish the work of social deliverance within the capitalistic order. That which in its form is a democratic instrument becomes in reality a tool of the ruling class interest. As soon as the people show a tendency to use the political power in their interests, the forms of democracy are sacrificed even by the Liberals and their official representatives. Kautsky follows Marx pretty closely concerning the culmination of the capitalistic character of the modern State. The economic contradictions become ever more acute. Every extension of the capitalist economy only increases the contradictions. The course of the present economic method is that of a constant increase of the reserve army of labour. In the newly-opened territories, Russia, India, China, Japan, there arises a reserve army. It cannot possibly be checked by the social system of to-day. Ever more powerful, indeed, rises the might of the working class. But no less mighty and threatening is the organised power of capital. It ever more recklessly presses the power of the State into its services. More and more politics take on the discussion of the opposing interests

of Capital and Labour. We must expect hard battles, which will culminate in a struggle for the power of the State. Kautsky says only through the conquest of the power of the State can the working classes gain the essential conditions to a fruitful transformation. The trade unions are surely necessary, but once they come to the point where they become dangerous, you may be certain that great damage will be done by the help of the State.

See how the State interferes with Municipal development; every forward step meets with its disapproval and obstruction. It may be the same with the vote; when the ruling classes are really threatened with the loss of the State power, then the franchise will be modified to check further progress. Our tactics hitherto have been shaped so that we always pressed recklessly forward, and by this means we spread the opposition to the ruling classes, embittered them against us, their fear increasing as we gained in power. The conflict constantly sharpens, so that we may finally come face to face with conditions where a great decision must be made. Our victory means the overthrow of our opponents.

One group of Socialists holds that a gradual change in capitalist economy is possible through the growing economic and political power of the working class. The theory runs: "Just as the natural conditions develop themselves in transformations following each other, so the social orders do not replace one another as disconnected units complete in themselves; there is here no artificial making and sudden breaking off and beginning again, but rather the old grows gradually but surely into the new." Nothing happens that is absolute; all political and social conditions are relative, are transformations. Our task is to use the forms of to-day for the shaping of to-morrow. The old idea was: "He who busies himself with reforms is lost to the revolution." These comrades can only see the misery in the present order and overlook our possibilities. This is the policy of sterility and despair.

Shall we say: "The worse off the people, the better?" But we know that when a person has sunk below a certain standard of living, he has indeed the power to smash windows, take part in a street row, or be mixed up in a revolt, but for an enduring, earnest and goal-conscious effort he is of no service.

The conquest of political power does not happen at one stroke, any more than the industrial revolution upon which our inevitable progress depends. Every success of our party, every increase of our representation, acquires for us a new portion of the political power. We thus win greater influence over the State enterprises, and gain more thorough-going control of productive enterprises, promoting the development *in our sense*. The German theory of "Revisionism" is based upon the principle that a gradual democratising and socialising of the capitalistic system can be brought about by means of the cautious reform activity of the working class. It is a protest against the idea that the impoverishment of the masses must become acute to such a degree that a violent disruption of the capitalist form of production becomes an unavoidable necessity. Just now social matters look like some of the ideas of Marx being realised, but Marx counted upon a militant, intellectual and organised working class. No one supposes our Labour Party to be this. Rather, to the scientific Socialist, the trade union and co-operative movements offer the most encouragement.

We look upon legislation for the protection of the workers as something on account, as concessions wrung from capitalist politicians. The remodelling of the functions of the community through municipal development we regard as an essential step forward. We look upon democracy as the necessary political form in which the social development from Capitalism to Socialism must move. We have seen in the history of social evolution that the political power of a class has always followed close upon the steps of its economic power. We are familiar with the rise of the capitalist class. Politics are closely dependent upon economics.

The conquest of the political power by the working class is conditioned by the growing power of the workers over production and consumption. How can the workers obtain this? The trade unions fight for a share in the regulation of the workshop and factory, to replace absolutism by constitutional methods. By means of co-operative producing and distributive societies they seek to organise the social consumption of a portion of their class. The economic power of the workers further grows in municipal affairs and our public property. As a future economic power the workers socialise step by step the capitalist concerns. Only a working class strengthened politically and economically has any prospect of conquering political power. A class becoming more important and only driven to a decisive struggle by its desperate economic conditions has no chance of success. Liebknecht says, "Who can sharply distinguish the present from the future State?" The present grows into the future. The case does not happen according to a Socialist law. We must not allow ourselves to be made responsible for the idea that we desire to start with a clean slate; certainly we do not expect to. Do we not place all our programmes *in* the present State? Is there any chance of the State losing its class character? Will the Liberals become a real party of the people as against the capitalists? Liebknecht thought Socialism would come in one of two ways: "Either a crash will come through some war in which the bankruptcy of the ruling class will be revealed, when we would probably gain political supremacy; or else the ruling class, perceiving themselves upon a dangerous way, will give in, and then some of our class will be called to the administration and entrusted especially with the adjustment of the conditions of labour."

Comrades, France with Millerand and Viviani, England with John Burns, have made the attempt and held these men as hostages, whilst they obtained a new lease of power.

We have sketched here the ideas of the leading minds of the Social-Democracy concerning our future development. According to these ideas they have outlined their tactics. They say in effect: We shall take all we can get, but will be satisfied with nothing less than complete emancipation, both political and economic.

THE MONTH.

The all-engrossing topic of the moment, and of the last month, is, and has been, the war in the Balkans. That is now, apparently, nearing its close with the overwhelming defeat of the Turks, and a possible rearrangement of the map of Eastern Europe.

In this war it is, once more, the unexpected that has happened. No one could have possibly imagined on the outbreak of hostilities that the "allies" would have achieved so swift, so unchecked, and so complete a victory. It was conceded that the Turks would probably suffer some reverses at the outset. Indeed, it was currently suggested that such apparent reverses would be part of their plan of campaign; but that they should have been continuously and crushingly defeated at every point, and steadily forced back from one line of defence to another, was surely never anticipated. But so it has been. Outnumbered at the outset at every point of attack, they have been outclassed, out-generalled, out-manœuvred, and out-fought throughout. They have had no time to bring their reserves into action for a display of that dogged staying-power for which they are famous, nor for rectifying any of their defects of organisation or shortage of war material.

The pace has been forced against them. They have fought well, but hopelessly. The battle has been to the swift rather than to the strong, and the Turks, in spite of their dogged courage and immense reserves, have been simply crumpled up before the fierce, swift onslaught of their assailants.

There are military morals and lessons to be drawn from this extraordinary outcome of the conflict upon which one is tempted to dwell. The campaign has certainly dispelled some of the illusions as to the conditions imposed upon modern warfare by the new weapons and new methods which had almost become axiomatic. Above all, however, as has already been pointed out in certain

quarters, the chief lesson appears to be the appalling swiftness with which such a conflict may be forced to an issue. With the new rapid and more deadly arms of precision, the front of battle has been enormously extended, the numbers of men engaged far greater, and the carnage more terrible. The duration of a battle, too, has been longer. But there has been no respite. Within a month the Turks have been beaten to the earth, and the victorious allies are at the gates of Constantinople.

Our rulers and our military authorities here may draw what moral they choose, or what comfort they may, from these facts. We are more directly concerned with other considerations. The first of these is the evidence which the facts afford us that this campaign was not a sudden enterprise, the result of long-repressed indignation on the part of the allies. It is quite clear that the conquest of Turkey by these Christian States, her erstwhile vassals, had been long since decided upon and deliberately planned.

Unfortunately, the overwhelming success of the allies does not reduce the danger of a European conflict. There is little doubt that, next to their own ambitions, the instigation to the allies to attack Turkey came from the intrigues of Russia on the one side and the ambitions of Austria on the other. Both Powers doubtless hoped to reap some advantage from the war, whichever side was victorious, without having to fight for it. It is quite clear, now, however, that the success of the allies has been greater than either Austria or Russia had bargained for. Hence it is no longer possible to insist upon the status quo, and there is genuine alarm lest the Bulgarians, the Serbs, and the Greeks may prove difficult to dislodge from the territories they have conquered, but which it was never intended they should possess.

Had the great Powers honestly desired peace, they could easily have ensured it. But the Austro-Russian rivalry divided Europe into two camps. It was here, too, that the criminality of English foreign policy manifested itself. Had England remained free from the entanglements of the Russian alliance, she could have prevented the war, and the present situation would never have arisen.

The ostensible cause of the war—the condition of things in Macedonia—was the merest pretence. The promised reforms

would have been carried out there long ago had not every possible obstacle been put in the way of Turkey, and every encouragement been given to the perpetual attacks upon her by armed and subsidised bands of Christian brigands. Whatever may have been the defects of the Young Turks régime, they were, if anything, over "Westernised," to coin a phrase, and were exceedingly anxious to stand well with the rest of Europe. But the Turkish nation was not "progressive" in a capitalist sense, and Turkey has had no friends in Europe. Any attempt at reform was only followed by an act of usurpation on the part of one of the European Powers—as in the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of Tripoli—and by fresh acts of provocation by Christian brigands. England, who had no territorial interests to serve, whose chief concern, from every point of view, was to preserve the peace, to maintain, as far as possible, the status quo, and to strengthen Turkey, as well as the other Balkan States, as a barrier to Russian aggression, was committed, by fear of Germany, by the sinister Gladstone tradition, and by the religious bigotry and intolerance of her sectarians, to the Russian alliance, and to a vehement and insensate anti-Turkish policy.

The upshot has been that the situation has been rendered more dangerous than ever. Had the allies been defeated after a strenuous fight, it would have suited the book of the great Powers far better. They could then have intervened, and could have admonished Ferdinand, Peter, Nicholas and George to be of good behaviour in the future, and Russia and Austria might have been rewarded for their pains by such tit-bits of Turkish territory as they desired. But the success of the allies—who are by no means disinterested, but have dynastic and other ambitions to serve—has been too complete, and the Powers may have some difficulty in making them disgorge. It is that way danger lies.

The International Socialist Party has never displayed more unity and solidarity than in its attitude over this present crisis, nor has there anywhere been shown a clearer, saner view of the situation than has been displayed in the various manifestoes issued by the party in different countries, and by the International Bureau. The line of action taken by our comrades in the countries involved in the struggle, too, has been beyond all praise.

The Socialist standpoint is free from all race and religious prejudice, and all national or dynastic ambitions. While we recog-

nise the right of the various nationalities in the Balkans to autonomy, we also recognise that the rights of Turkey are not less than those of any other nationality, and that the present attack upon Turkey was not the rising of oppressed peoples "rightly struggling to be free," but an act of aggression on the part of capitalist, monarchical States, egged on by the crafty intrigues of one or two of the great Powers.

The Government are to be congratulated on the adoption of the principle of Proportional Representation for the election of the Irish Senate in elections subsequent to the first. The acceptance of the principle is a very definite step forward, and should prove in this case the proverbial "thin end of the wedge." It will be for the democratic forces to drive the thick end home, and to get the principle applied not only to the Irish House of Commons, but to that of the United Kingdom as well. If we had that, and the Referendum, there would be no sort of excuse for either an Irish Senate or our own House of Lords, and we should have got rid of the worst defects and anachronisms of our present political machinery.

Meantime, while the Suffragettes are still clamouring for votes for some women, and those women who have the municipal votes are demonstrating how perfectly "safe" they are, our undemocratic House of Commons is showing its customary contempt for the constituencies by increasing the ramifications and powers of bureaucracy; by further attacks on individual liberty, and by forging still more fetters for the people of that "servile state" into which we are rapidly drifting. What with the Feeble-minded Bill and that directed against the so-called White Slave Traffic, we are having created for us a system of arrogant, irresponsible government by police, the like of which does not exist in any country to-day outside Russia. That such measures will do anything but defeat their own object no one can pretend who has observed the operation of somewhat similar measures. They will certainly fail to achieve any useful purpose, but it can be confidently predicted that they will be entirely successful in establishing police despotism.

It is a sign of progress that the Miners' Federation should have voted unanimously for the nationalisation of mines, and should also have drafted a Bill to give effect to their resolution. Nationalisation, while the State is that of the capitalist class, does

not eliminate capitalist exploitation, but it is a very considerable step in the right direction. The State must be democratised anyhow; and if, in the meantime, the great industries are nationalised, the democratisation of the State when realised will mean full-blown Socialism.

The doctors appear likely to get their full demands conceded in regard to the Insurance Scheme. How foolish the working-class organisations were not to have made as good a fight as the doctors. It is quite certain that had they done so they would never have been saddled with this shameful swindle.

The Presidential election in the United States has resulted, as was generally anticipated, in the return of Mr. Woodrow Wilson. The raging, tearing campaign of Roosevelt only had the effect of hopelessly dividing the Republican Party, and securing the victory of the Democratic candidate. It appears not to have had so bad an effect on our own result as we feared might have been the case. Debs is reported to have polled 800,000 votes, or nearly double his vote of 1908. This is evidence of remarkable progress, and, considered in the light of all the circumstances—Roosevelt's bid for Socialist votes, and the development of "Labour" on one side and "Syndicalism" on the other, in the Socialist movement itself—the vote speaks volumes for the growth of Socialism in the United States during the past four years.

The "Labour unrest" by which have come to be spoken of the strikes and the general ferment among the workers during the last couple of years, has not produced the slightest change in the action of the workers when they have the opportunity of exercising the power of voting. Shortly following some of the fiercest Labour struggles there were two or three Parliamentary elections, not in places far remote from the scenes of industrial strife, but in districts directly affected by the conflict. It was found that, notwithstanding their battles with the employing class, the workers still supported that class in the elections, and rejected the candidates of their own.

The Municipal elections have still further shown the same result. In London especially and in the East End—the strike area—the Socialist and Labour Party has had hard work to hold its own, even where it has not lost; and in many London districts where our Party has done years of hard work, our candidates

have been placed in their old position at the bottom of the poll. In the provinces it is very much the same. The gains are so very few that we cannot claim to have made any progress at all. Various reasons may be advanced for this result, and there is little doubt that the so-called "Syndicalist" propaganda, with its stupid attack upon all forms of political action, has injured our movement; but after all is said, the continued support of the capitalist parties by those workers who vote, even more than the apathy of those who do not, remains inexplicable.

It is claimed on behalf of the Labour Party that they have won a net gain of forty seats in the municipal elections. That does not count for much, so very mixed is the quality of those who are included in the denomination of "Labour." So far as Socialist representation is concerned, we appear to have lost rather than gained. There has been an increase in the aggregate Socialist vote, but not proportionate to the growth of Socialism. In London three years ago the S.D.F. took part in eleven borough council elections outside East and West Ham. This year the B.S.P. has taken part in twelve, outside the Hams. In Shoreditch three years ago we captured six seats. This year we lose two, only retaining four of these. In the ten other constituencies we polled 4,677 votes in 1909, and this year in the eleven, excluding Shoreditch, we polled 6,840. Thus there has been a net gain of over two thousand votes, with a loss of two seats. In the provinces we appear to have done no better. There has been a net gain of two seats at Northampton; but nowhere else have we done more than hold our own, and not always that.

One phase of municipal electoral work does not seem to have had the attention paid to it that it deserves; that is, the strongly reactionary element furnished by the women in municipal elections. As Social-Democrats, we are, and always have been, emphatically in favour of Adult Suffrage: every man and every woman to have the right to vote. That, however, does not blind us to facts, and one fact that comes out persistently is the hostility displayed to Socialist candidates by the women who have the vote. We do not say this is any reason for not giving all women the vote; we would only point out to our comrades that we shall probably have this addition to the reactionary forces we are fighting before we have converted the men.

IN THE WORKHOUSE.

F. KUMMER.

Miles away from the roar and bustle of the factory town, there where in their modesty the natives of Sheffield imagine rural beauty, stands a massive four-storied, brick-coloured group of buildings, the workhouse. It was not indifferent curiosity which impelled me thither. I wanted to see if it was true what an I.L.P. Member of Parliament had said boastingly to me: That in no land in the world were the workers and the poor so well looked after as in England. The Sheffield workhouse seemed to confirm this. If one did not let one's eyes remain fixed on the forbidding solid barred gate, through which a letter from the director allowed me to pass, but glanced past the high surrounding wall away to the long, broad avenue, the beautifully-kept gardens, and the new brick buildings, one's admiration for English social institutions appreciably increased. The outside, anyhow, of this place had nothing in common with those infernos of workhouses which are described in the books written in the forties of last century. There are, it is true, not many of these up-to-date institutions. Of those earlier oft-described "Houses of Terror," a considerable number have been preserved right into the twentieth century.

Since the "hungry forties" the national wealth of England has multiplied tenfold, but the number of paupers has not decreased. According to the statistical reports, it might indeed seem as though their number had experienced a *relative* decrease, for between 1855 and 1908, during which period the population rose from 28 millions to 44 millions, the paupers only increased from 894,822 to 920,930. But this relative decrease is probably due more to the stricter administration of the Poor Law than to the decrease in the number of the poor. In the year 1834 nearly £7,000,000 were spent in the United Kingdom on poor relief; to-day the sum has grown, according to the report of the Poor Law Commission, to seventy millions. Any persons who know state that this immense sum, which in one way or another is given in the form of alms, is not yet sufficient; that in many cases it not only fails to fulfil its object, but the evil which it is supposed to meet is being deepened and widened.

In 1907-8 there were in the United Kingdom over two million persons (2,076,311) who received poor relief; not quite half of these were permanently destitute, the others only received temporary relief, not longer than six months. In course of time many institutions and a whole army of officials have been created for the administration of these alms. Besides the national, provincial

and municipal institutions, there are a number of private charities. As in many of these there is still something left after paying the officials, they enter into competition with the official institutions. Through the different methods of organisation and the great numbers of Poor Law bodies, through their planless working, side by side with each other, and often against each other, the evil they wished to fight against has been considerably strengthened. A large number of persons take thorough advantage of this state of things. They are recorded in the books of one or other (or several) of these institutions as permanent paupers, and think that in receiving their relief they have fulfilled their duty to society. But that is not the worst result. Unhappily, these shameless poor crowd out the deserving poor from relief. Those who, from no fault of their own, have fallen into distress, plead in vain for help, because the old customers in the relief shop have already appropriated everything.

The mainstay of the Poor Law is the workhouse. Only a few have any conception of its many-sidedness and its important part in the whole Poor Law system. It is only by a visit that one gets an idea of its universality. The questions regarding its activities, duties, and objects are very difficult to answer—that as to its *use* is altogether unanswerable.

What is an English workhouse? A home for respectable old people, invalids and children, and a sort of club-house, with some unpleasantness, but with tolerable recreation of an evening; a point of concentration for lunatics, weak-minded persons and epileptics; a lying-in hospital and home for infants; a refuge for street arabs and orphan children; a boarding-house for artisans, and a resting-place for prostitutes; a reformatory for loafers and a free boarding establishment for those willing to work; a refuge for the temporarily destitute father of a family and worker, and a permanent home for the thief when his constitution is ruined by alcohol and vice. For many the workhouse is a perforated shelter from economic misery, for many a nursery of leisure, for most a high school of immorality, for all the Golgotha of virility and self-respect.

This many-sidedness is all going on within the narrow space of one complex group of houses, if not actually under one roof. There may be found worthy old age and precocious youth, morality and immorality, health and disease, honesty and dishonesty, workers and thieves of every age and sex, huddled together, separated, it is true, by walls, but with a thousand opportunities of seeing and conversing with each other. The day's programme consists partly of hard labour, partly of sweet leisure. The little work that is done is either totally unproductive, or in any case irrational. The superintendence and control cost more than the value of all the work. If only half the money which is spent on the walls, gratings, and officials of workhouses could be used to do away with the causes of economic distress, the greater part of these bastilles could be pulled down.

In popular estimation the workhouse ranks perhaps even below the prison. The working people hate it down to the very inmost recesses of their souls. Whoever has anything like sufficient moral and physical virility and elasticity prefers to struggle alone on the streets, against all odds, rather than give up civil rights, self respect and pride for a beggar's portion, and to be struck off the list of citizens by his entry into the workhouse and its moral decay. But the sense of honour and self-respect generally disappears at the same rate as the pangs of hunger increase. Hungry eyes see no shame in the workhouse. But when the respectable poor are driven by bitterest distress to knock at the workhouse door they often find that they are turned away. They are often without the talent or the cunning to picture their need with sufficient skill, or they find the places filled by others, who by long practice have acquired sufficient knowledge, craft, and cunning to be able to break through the bureaucracy's wall of paragraphs, and have now taken possession of the places as if they were hereditary tenants. There are healthy, strong men who no longer feel any qualms of conscience at having been 10 or 15 years breaking stones in the workhouse in return for a scanty allowance of food. At present there are nearly ten thousand perfectly able-bodied men as constant guests in the English workhouses, being fed there, while outside many incapable of work, or unemployed with wives and children, are tramping the streets in search of shelter and bread. No doubt the authorities do, and did, what their intelligence told them in order to make life in the workhouse disagreeable for the strong and healthy, or, still better, to scare them away. On the gate of the workhouse at Sheffield is written distinctly :—

"In order to be kept two nights, the following work must be done—

"I.—To break 13 hundredweight of stones to go through a sieve with two-inch holes ; or

"II.—To grind 120 to 180 lbs. of corn (in a handmill) to flour ; or

"III.—To pick 4 lbs. of unhackled oakum ; or

"IV.—To saw eleven boards of 9 ft. 11 in. in length into pieces 6 in. long (for two men)."

The carrying-out of these regulations seems to be left to the overseer, so that he can, according to his own discretion, put the "scaring-off" theory into practice in the case of newcomers. Wherever bitter distress has reduced sensibility and ideas of honour to a faint remembrance, the demand that a certain quantity be accomplished only calls forth merriment or lurid curses, and only in the rarest cases any greater expenditure of force. The work demanded gets done or not. Threatening them with magistrates, prison, or penal servitude fails entirely to produce the desired result. To put those who refuse to work off-hand into the street is no advantage to the State. Even if the police do not bring them back at once, society has to support them in one way or another,

whether it be by voluntary or involuntary alms. It is really better to keep them in the workhouse, even if they do not do much work. Their labour would not constitute a great advantage even if they accomplished the full task. The management costs more than their work is worth in the market.

The workhouse is supposed to give to those able to work an occasional night's lodging. According to regulations they must be left free at certain hours of the day so that they can look for work. But experience has killed in the mind of the energetic workhouse-master the understanding for this quite well-meant rule; he is convinced that most of the inmates employ this time in anything except looking for work. The more the master thinks it necessary to hate this regulation, the more favour does it find in the eyes of those confided to his care. For it is really only the daily going-out that gives a little change and pleasantness to workhouse life. It offers the possibility of meeting acquaintances, of begging a little money and tobacco, or of casting a few glances down to the bottom of the whiskey-bottle. That is not much, it is true, but still it gives some little pleasure.

Even the most degenerate step-children of fate would not call the workhouse an ideal place of sojourn. The long, bare rooms, with their whitewashed walls, hard beds, scanty supply of furniture, the smell of poverty that pervades the place, the regulations and the constant superintendence which leave no opportunity for privacy and individual temperament, cannot give a homely feeling. But the home of the English industrial worker, when he does not belong to the aristocracy of his class, has also very little to attract. The "home, sweet home" of the English mill-hand may, indeed, look quite nice seen through poetic spectacles at a respectful distance; its immediate neighbourhood is calculated to cause a shudder, or even to move to tears. These harsh, bare, two-storied brick boxes, which in winter become refrigerators and in summer ovens, but which always, especially in the backyards, remain as close as cellars, and constitute breeding-places for disease germs, may be given any character except that of domestic cosiness. In comparison to these homes the workhouse has, after all, some important advantages. It is heated, and in it reigns cleanliness and order; in case of illness doctors and nurses are at hand, all of which costs nothing, neither do the inmates suffer from actual hunger. Why, then, should they long to come out into the cold, inhospitable world, which demands so much work? There they are, and there they remain. The conditions in free, rich England are so miserable that for thousands, indeed hundreds of thousands, of proletarians the ill-reputed workhouse and the prison, with all its terrors, offer more comfort and less worry and hunger than the free existence of a factory-worker.

Much more tragic is the fate of the women about to become mothers who have to meet their time of trial within the precincts of the workhouse. "All sorts of poor women in all positions of life,

who do not know where else they can go, find the way to the Poor Law Guardians." In 1907 nearly 15,000 children were born in the workhouse. "In a great number of workhouses (in Ireland) young girls expecting their first baby may be found in the same room side by side with unmarried mothers who have children up to two years old at the breast, and single women with two or three illegitimate children." These women are employed in laundry-work, scrubbing, or as nurses, and have constant opportunities of communication with the other female inmates. "The result is that in most cases the girls lose all sense of shame, and become more and more degraded." For many young women the workhouse constitutes the entrance-door to a life of shame. In this atmosphere the feelings of modesty and decency become dulled, the desire for a respectable manner of life disappears, the demoralisation becomes general, and so deep as to be inherited from generation to generation. "We have often found in the workhouse an illegitimate baby, its mother and grandmother; in one case there were in the same workhouse a baby, its mother, grandmother, and great grandmother, four illegitimate generations in the female line."

The women remain some days, up till ten days, in the maternity ward. They take their new-born infants with them, or leave them there to be looked after (free). For the little creature in the workhouse the probability of going to Heaven before the end of the first year is nearly three times greater than for those born and brought up outside. For in England in general 134 children in each thousand die in the first year of life, and in the Poor Law institutions 268 to 392. This alarming infant mortality in institutes provided with modern doctors and appliances! These terrible ravages in human life become, at least to a certain extent, comprehensible when one hears that certified lunatics are employed as nurses for the children. "In 46 workhouses lunatics and imbecile women are entrusted with the care of the children. In 370 workhouses the care of the babies devolves upon the inmates (of whom a good number are old, infirm women) without the superintendence of any other official than the matron."

These quotations are from the Report of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law (pages 780-785). The 1,200 pages of this official publication are nothing but an absolute declaration of the bankruptcy of English legislation, a bloody accusation against capitalist society in general. When one walks through those long, bare rooms of the workhouse, filled with human misery, when one wanders between the rows of lunatics, healthy youths, weak old people, faded grannies, strong men and women and screaming children, one cannot help reflecting how terrible must be the conditions which drive people together to this Golgotha of morals and character; what immense poverty must obtain in the "richest country in the world" among its free working population if hundreds of thousands of them think themselves fortunate to have a place in the ill-famed workhouse.

EVENTS OF OCTOBER.

AT HOME.

1—Opening of the Church Congress at Middlesbrough; Archbishop of York on industrial unrest.
Annual Conference of Miners' Federation at Swansea.

3—Miners' Conference approved principles of draft Bill for Nationalisation of Mines.

4—Submarine B2 sunk off Dover by Hamburg-American liner Amerika.

5—Mr. Asquith at Ladybank.

7—Autumn Session begun: Commons discussed report on Titanic disaster; Sir Edward Grey declared Powers were agreed in trying to preserve peace in the Balkans.
Railwaymen's Conference at Dublin.

11—House of Commons: Select Committee to be appointed to inquire into Marconi contract.
"War Against Poverty" Conference at Memorial Hall, London.

15—Committee stages of Home Rule Bill resumed.

17—Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence left the Women's Social and Political Union.

19—Helen Craggs, Suffragist, sentenced to nine months' hard labour for attempted arson at Nuneham.

21—Gustave Hervé at Shoreditch Town Hall.

22—Royal Commission appointed to inquire into housing conditions in Scotland.

23—Mr. Lloyd George announced new offer to doctors for work under Insurance Act.

26—L.C.C. tunnel between North and South Woolwich opened.

30—Helen Craggs released.

31—House of Commons agreed, without division, to proportional representation for Irish Senate.
Standing Committee refused by majority of two votes to reverse Osborne Judgment.
Nineteen persons injured in tramcar collision at Lewisham.

ABROAD.

1—Trial begun of members of Ironworkers' Union at Indianopolis for conspiracy.
Spanish railwaymen decided on general-strike.

4—Fighting in Nicaragua.

8—Montenegro declared war against Turkey.

9—Turkey invaded by Montenegrins.
Australian Senate passed Maternity Bill giving bonus of £5 in respect of every child born.

10—Spanish railway strike averted by mobilisation of reserves and promise of legislation.

14—Mr. Roosevelt shot at and slightly wounded in Milwaukee.
Montenegrins captured Tuzi.

15—Preliminary peace agreement signed between Turkish and Italian representatives at Ouchy.

16—Montenegrins captured Berane.
Prince Lichnowsky appointed German Ambassador to Great Britain.

17—Turkey declared war on Servia and Bulgaria.
Greece declared war on Turkey.

18—Bulgarians occupied Mustafa Pasha.
Treaty signed between Italy and Turkey.
Greeks took Elassona.

22—Servians captured Prishtina.

23—Servians captured Novi Bazar.
Bulgarians started siege of Adrianople.
Meat riots in Berlin.
Mexican Federal troops captured Vera Cruz: General Diaz prisoner.

24—Bulgarians captured Kirk Kilisse.
Servians occupied Kumanovo.

25—Scutari surrounded by Montenegrins.
Police-Lieutenant Becker (New York) found guilty of murder.

26—Uskub (ancient capital of Servia) captured from the Turks.
General Diaz sentenced to death.

30—Death of Mr. Sherman, Vice-President of the United States.

31—Main Turkish army reported to be defeated.
Moslem riot in Cairo.

A SONG FOR SOCIALISTS.

By T. W. Mercer.

Labour is one; rouse, rally, ye workers!
Too long have rich rulers rent you apart;
Blindly you've struggled and toiled at their bidding,
And laboured for idlers in mine, mill, and mart:
Wake and unite now! this grand truth discover—
Cleave to your class as a lass to her lover—
All Labour is single, Earth's workers are one!

Labour is one; rouse, rally, ye workers!
Why do false doctrines your forces divide?
Why do ye waver 'twixt time-serving tricksters
Who live by your labour, yet Labour deride?
Wake and unite now! this grand truth discover—
Cleave to your class as a lass to her lover—
All Labour is single, Earth's workers are one!

Labour is one; rouse, rally, ye workers!
'Tis ye yourselves who must win victory.
Burst from the bonds of old law and tradition,
Act, work, vote together, till Labour is free.
Wake and unite now! this grand truth discover—
Cleave to your class as a lass to her lover—
All Labour is single, Earth's workers are one!

THE REVIEWS.

NATIONAL SERVICE.

The following report of a speech delivered by Field-Marshal the Earl Roberts, V.C., K.G., to the citizens of Manchester, on October 22, 1912, is contained in this month's "National Review":—

Gentlemen,—I come before you to-day to advocate the necessity of National Service, to affirm once more that the "Nation in Arms" is the only worthy and sure bulwark of this Empire and these islands. Cobden, on the other hand, has left it on record that he considered it the glory and the exceeding great reward of all his labours that he had contributed, in however small a degree, to that universal disarmament of Europe which he sanguinely hoped would be the result of Free Trade, and of expanding commerce, and the organisation of Labour. And John Bright, his great colleague, in one speech after another, added the lustre of his eloquence to that same high and flattering anticipation. I can remember easily the ardent and sympathetic reception which those anticipations met in the France of Louis Napoleon; I can remember also the added weight which France's enthusiasm gave to those happy anticipations in this country. War, indeed, seemed at an end. To-morrow, it seemed, we should be turning our barracks into granaries and our arsenals into banking houses.

Gentlemen, I am, I trust, doing no wrong to the memory of these statesmen when I point out that in the very years—nay, in the very months—that they were cherishing these illusions of peace and disarmament—in those very months the mightiest and most disciplined force that this earth has ever contained was silently being drilled in that wide region from the Rhine to the Elbe and the Oder, and from the North Sea to the Bavarian frontier, until, the right hour having struck, that army disclosed itself, in all its prodigious and crushing mass, and in all its unmatched capacity for destruction and war. And amid those auspicious dreams of peace, for what was the army being trained? Königgratz, Metz, St. Privat, and Sedan are the answer. Nor did that army pause until, upon the ruins of the Empire of the third Napoleon—upon the ruins, I may say, of France, unprepared in peace and in war

scattered and dismayed—it had reared a new Empire, the Empire of William I., of Frederick I., and of William II., for whose personal character, noble and imaginative patriotism, and capacities as a ruler I yield to no man in my admiration. Such, gentlemen, was history's ironic comment upon John Bright's and Richard Cobden's eloquently urged policy. No words of mine can increase the crushing weight of Destiny's criticism.

Now, gentlemen, at the present day, now in the year 1912, just as in 1866, and just as in 1870, war will take place the instant the German forces by land and sea are, by their superiority at every point, as certain of victory as anything in human calculation can be made certain. "Germany strikes when Germany's hour has struck." That is the time-honoured policy of her Foreign Office. That was the policy relentlessly pursued by Bismarck and Moltke in 1866 and 1870; it has been her policy decade by decade since that date; it is her policy at the present hour. And it is an excellent policy. It is, or should be, the policy of every nation prepared to play a great part in history. In the case of Germany consider one of the results. Under that policy Germany has, within the last ten years, sprung, as at a bound, from one of the weakest of Naval Powers to the greatest Naval Power, save one, upon the globe. But yesterday, so to speak, the British Fleets did not feel the furrow of a German war-keel on the wide seas. To-day, every British warship and every British merchant vessel, thrills in all her iron nerves to that mighty presence. Just as in 1866 by the massing of her armies towards this frontier, or towards that frontier, Prussia controlled the action of Austria, so Germany constrains the action of Great Britain at the present day. Do you wish for proofs? I point to the gradual displacement of the British fleets before the German menace; I point to the Mediterranean, bereft of British battleships, and to the gradual narrowing, year by year, of our once far-flung battle line. The fact is, we have lost command of every sea but one—the North Sea—and our supremacy over that sea is now a matter of dispute. In other words, whereas your forefathers traded as of right in every sea, you now only trade by the sufferance of other Powers.

We may stand still. Germany always advances, and the direction of her advance, the line along which she is moving, is now most manifest. It is towards that consummation which I have described—a complete supremacy by land and sea. She has built a mighty fleet; but, as if nothing were done so long as anything stands between her and her goal, still she presses on—here establishing a new Heligoland—for every available island in the North Sea has now been strongly fortified—there encircling Holland in a network of new canals, and deepening old river beds for the swifter transport of munitions of war, whether to her army or her navy.

. . . . . .

What then, gentlemen, is my message to my countrymen that at this solemn hour I would utter? . . . . That message is "Arm

and prepare to quit yourselves like men, for the time of your ordeal is at hand." . . . . We have modified and remodified the effete voluntary system ; we have invented several new names and a new costume. But as regards efficiency, and as regards preparedness for war, we are practically where we were in 1900. So far as the choice between the voluntary system and some form of national service is concerned, what have these twelve years demonstrated except the futility and positive danger of any and every other system except some form of compulsion?

. . . . . .

Much has been said recently of the rights and power of the workers of this nation. We all, I hope, belong to that class—workers—but the artisan class of the nation has been urged, and to you, the working men of Manchester, I now specially address myself—you have been urged, I say, to refuse to do your duty in war until your rights in peace are granted. I say to you that this is not the right policy either of Britishers or of men. I will go further : I say to you that it is not by declining or shirking duty that you will extend your rights. He who diminishes the power and vital resources of Great Britain diminishes the power and vital resources of every Britisher. If you seized by violence or by Act of Parliament all the accumulated capital of the centuries, you might have a madman's holiday for a time ; but in the end you would emerge bankrupt and starving. You yourselves are the capital of the nation—its life—wealth—its manhood. Weapons, however perfect, will not make an army. Men are necessary—men of spirit, men of energy, men loving their country, not merely loving themselves or their class. And to you, in turn, this discipline and these duties will confer incalculable benefits. Tyranny imposes an exterior restraint ; but you, in your free democratic constitution, should consider it as your privilege to impose upon yourselves from within that discipline and those sacred duties.

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

Mr. Sydney Brooks, writing on the above in the " Fortnightly Review," says everything proved to be against Mr. Roosevelt, fight as he would in his condition. The writer continues :—

The most reasoned calculation seemed to be that Mr. Wilson would poll the highest vote—the democratic vote—and he has done so. The election will stand as an abiding landmark in American history, whatever the sequel may be. It is the turning point in the development of America.

Mr. Roosevelt was a private citizen, busy with journalism, not, of course, out of politics, with a following, though scattered,

unorganised, and without a policy or a pivot. . . . . He ran against the whole strength of the Republican organisation.

For the last twelve months the administration of the United States has been at a standstill, and the country has been kept in a state of ferment and distraction. The programme of the Republican and Democratic parties are bare as to anything being done in the way of social or industrial reform. The Progressives have a vast programme of legislation, including the prohibition of child labour, a minimum wage for working women in all industries, an eight hours day in all continuous 24 hours workshops, one day's rest in seven for all wage-workers, etc. This arouses the Republican Party; so they go in for a religious programme, and promising to do everything possible in the way of making the farmer's life happy, and helping his work to be attractive and profitable by help from the Government.

No sane American would vote for either Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Wilson if their issues were to be taken seriously. The Democrats propose to revise and lower the duties upon the necessaries of life, and also say that they will do nothing that will in any way injure or destroy industry. The Democrats and Republicans are almost together on the action against the Trusts.

. . . . . .

Presidents in the United States are usually elected for their personal fame, and not so much for their policies or opinions. The best thought-out platform could not have carried Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Taft to the top of the poll this year. The Republicans are fighting the Progressives much fiercer than they are the Democrats, thus giving the Democrats a great advantage to win.

. . . . . .

The Democrats nearly made a blunder by choosing Mr. Champ Clark; luckily they did not. Had they done this, the prospect for Mr. Roosevelt would have been very much brighter.

A PLEA FOR THE HIGHER SOCIALISM.

Writing in the "Hibbert Journal" under the above heading Mr. A. J. Fraser Blair says:—

A great many respectable and prosperous people imagine that Socialism is nothing but a violent expropriation of the Haves for the benefit of the Havenots. It is probable that a considerable number of the so-called Socialists are themselves influenced by this view; but I doubt very much whether it commends itself to thoughtful Socialists, and I am satisfied that no such programme ought to be, or ever will be, carried out.

It would be rash, perhaps, to assert that the day of violence is over; but violence as a remedy, whether for international or domestic evils, is certainly more distrusted than it was. People are beginning to realise that violence inevitably leads to violence, and revolution to reaction. The violent expropriation of the rich, whether by "predatory" legislation or at the immediate hands of the mob, can only result, after further disorder, in the reinstatement of the Haves in their unhealthy predominance, leaving the Havenots worse off than before.

The aim of the thoughtful Socialist must be, then, to reach his ideal of a more equal distribution of wealth by other means than by legislative or popular confiscation. In other words, he must educate not only the Havenots, but the Haves. He must open their eyes to the injustice of which they are the victims equally with the Havenots. He must awaken their consciences so that a millionaire, for example, will come to feel ashamed of himself as a man who has been warned off the Turf. This is a difficult and may seem a hopeless task, but it is easy and hopeful compared to the objective of the violent revolutionary. Nor should we be justified in regarding the moral enlightenment of the rich as impossible.

"Far back, by creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in, the main."

And the education of the Haves has already progressed so far as to produce, in the more thoughtful among them, an easily recognisable malaise. There is felt to be something indecent in the extravagance of a Bradley Martin, or of the gentleman who flooded the courtyard of the Savoy a few wears ago, and entertained a fashionable party in a gondola floating on this artificial lake. That is a healthy sign. If this irresponsible prodigality is able to inflict a shock even upon the idle and thoughtless rich, their education has evidently begun.

The attitude of the thoughtful Socialist towards the wealthy is, and ought to be, one of perfect friendliness—remembering that they, whether they have inherited riches, or have come to them partly as the result of their own efforts, are as much the effect as the cause of the present evil and unjust conditions. Wrong ideas about social problems, economic problems, moral problems, have been drilled into their very being. In a sense, therefore, the rich have had no better chance than the poor. Even though they turn a deaf ear to our representations, they are more to be pitied than condemned.

CHURCHES AND THE SOCIAL CRISIS.

A chief sufferer in every social crisis is the Church, says Prof. Walter Rauschenbusch, of Rochester Theological Seminary, in a paper read at the Baptist World Congress in Philadelphia. We

are facing such a crisis now, he thinks, a crisis due to the rebellion of the many against the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the few. In his paper, which we find quoted in "Zion's Advocate," of Portland, Maine, he declares trenchantly that "the great industrial working class, swiftly growing in numbers, strong in education and intelligence, with the breath of democracy and self-respect in its nostrils, knit together by organisation, is confronting its older brother, the business class, with a demand for a fairer share in the proceeds of the common toil, in the management of the common affairs, and in the enjoyment of the light and vastness of modern knowledge and culture." He sees the crisis unfolding itself in this way:—

"Our age has outgrown our older order. It is aching in its old organisation and straining for a new. . . . .

"Several centuries ago society began to pass from the patriarchal, feudal, despotic age into the new age of political democracy and economic capitalism. It was a crisis accomplished with untold suffering and immense achievements of good. To-day we are once more passing from capitalism to collectivism, from an economic order based on special privilege and industrial autocracy to one based on equality of opportunity and industrial democracy. It will come with travail and bloody sweat, but once more it is the tread of destiny and it brings rich promise."—"Literary Digest" (New York).

Let us suppose that France were suddenly to lose its 50 best physicists, its 50 best chemists, its 50 best physiologists, its 50 first mathematicians, its 50 first sculptors, its 50 first musicians, and its 50 first authors.

Further, its 50 first mechanicians, civil and military engineers, artillerists, architects, doctors, surgeons, apothecaries, seamen, and watchmakers.

Further, its 50 first bankers, merchants, agriculturists, foundrymen, weapon-makers, tanners, dyers, miners, cloth-workers, cotton-spinners, silk and linen-workers, makers of tinware, fayence and china, of crystal and glass wares, its 50 first shipowners, consigners, printers, engravers, goldsmiths, and other metal-workers.

Further, its 50 best masons, carpenters, locksmiths, blacksmiths, cutters, and a hundred other persons of trades not above mentioned, who are the most capable in the sciences, fine arts, and industries, making altogether 3,000 of the first sages, artists and artisans of France.

(Generally one means by artisans simple workmen. But to save trouble we include under this title all those occupied with material products, thus: agriculturists, industrialists, traders, bankers, and all their employees and workers.)

As these are the Frenchmen who are in the highest degree productive, who yield the most important products, who initiate the most useful works, and render the nation productive in science, the fine arts and industries, they are in truth the flower of French society. Of all Frenchmen they are of the greatest service to their country, those who procure the great glory for the nation and accelerate its civilisation and its prosperity. The nation would become a body without a soul at the moment when it lost them, it would fall into a state of inferiority towards the nations which to-day are its rivals, and would remain behind them until it had made up this loss—until a new generation had grown up. France would need at least a generation to recover from such a misfortune, for the men who distinguish themselves in works of positive utility are true anomalies, and nature is not lavish with anomalies, especially of such a sort.

Let us assume another situation. Let us put the case that France were to keep all the men of genius that it possesses in science, art and industry, but that it had the misfortune to lose, all on one day, the following personages: Monsieur the brother of the King, Monseigneur the Duke of Angoulême, Monseigneur the Duke of Bourbon, Madame the Duchess of Berry, the Duchesses of Orleans and Bourbons, and Mademoiselle de Condé And that it also lost all the great officers of the Crown, all the Ministers of State (with and without departement), all the State Councillors, Marshals, Cardinals, Bishops, and Canons, all the Prefects and Sub-Prefects, all Ministerial officials and judges, and in addition the ten thousand richest of the propertied persons who live in luxury. This misfortune would certainly sadden the French, because they are good-hearted, and could not accept with indifference the sudden disappearance of so large a number of their compatriots. But this loss of 30,000 individuals who are considered the most important in the State would cause them no trouble except for purely sentimental reasons, for it would give rise to no political disadvantage for the State.

SAINT-SIMON.

SHAMED.

By May Westoby.

Beatrice and Percy Tonson, fortunately released from office drudgery during the same week, had decided to spend it delightfully at Deal. And since civilisation, and what we deem its comforts, demands for us a roof to shelter beneath, they had engaged rooms at a boarding-house as suitable to their restricted means as they had been able to find through advertisement.

Anxious not to miss a moment of the pitiful holiday thought sufficient to recuperate their energies after a year of more or less mean and entirely uninteresting toil—that last degradation of the afore-mentioned civilisation—they had arrived at Deal in the forenoon, and were now seated side by side occupying the places reserved for them at one of the two long tables which were only uncovered when clean cloths were laid down, once a week. It was tea-time, for at Barnley House this meal was not conducted on the more aristocratic lines considered de rigueur by more fashionable—and better paid—hostesses, but was taken in the dining-room like other meals.

In the exact centre of each table was an épergne filled with fading flowers, which were only changed in company with the tablecloths. Flanking these on either side alternately and at equal distances from them and each other were plates of mediumly thin bread and butter, and glass dishes containing biscuits or segments of cake. Disregarding the rule taught to most of us in our infancy, in which politeness prescribes to us to blunt the edge of our appetite on bread and butter, the guests of Barnley House were apt to eat cake first. This was doubtless because they knew from painful experience the wrong way was yet the only one of satisfying one's taste for sweet things. The result of such knowledge was often an undignified scramble, which never failed to shock Beatrice and annoy Percy, who had been well nurtured by a refined mother.

Amid the clatter of unmusical voices a phrase here and there detached itself. Someone would remind Miss Gracely, who presided, that she did not care for sugar, while someone else earnestly requested to be accommodated with :—

"My tea very weak, you know, please, Miss Gracely" ; or,
"Two lumps for me, *please*" ; or even,
"As strong as you like to make it, thank you, Miss Gracely."

Gradually everyone was, for the moment, provided with tea, and conversation, pending the passage of cups to be refilled, took a less strenuous turn.

"Wonder," asked a languid youth, impartially, "how the old strike is getting on?"

"I'm sure I don't know," responded his neighbour, the belle of the boarding-house; "there are so many nowadays, you can't take much interest in them. Life is too short."

"It's the Labour Unrest, you know," a thin, dark woman said in a manner she considered wittily epigrammatic.

"Labour Unrest be blowed," contributed the rubicund father of a family, who sat amidst them at the top of the table directly facing Miss Gracely; "if I had my way I'd hang, drown, or imprison every blessed striker there is. Why," he continued, empurpling himself, "I know a young woman who's had to put off her marriage just because her fiancé's father has lost so much money lately. I did hear how much—master lighterman or something, you see. What do you think of that? And all for a lot of lazy brutes who aren't satisfied with four or five pounds a week."

There was a varied chorus of shocked surprise, amidst which Beatrice Tonson was understood to inquire why, if the strikers earned the wages stated by the last speaker, they were anxious only to be given 30s. per week.

No one being able to answer this satisfactorily, the rubicund one took refuge in a sneer:—

"So, you're for these strikers, young woman, are you?" he asked unpleasantly.

"Certainly," she replied; "I am on the side of anyone who fights against injustice and slavery."

"And so am I," added her brother, Percy. "Why should masters be allowed to break their agreements any more than the men?"

"I don't know what we are coming to," said someone, inevitably, and someone else answered disconsolately, "And I'm sure I don't."

The heavy father disregarded these interpolations. Shaking his head and the forefinger of his left hand at Beatrice and Percy, he said, impressively:—

"I do believe you young people are Socialists!"

There was a cessation in the redistribution of teacups. Everyone, excepting Miss Gracely, looked at the brother and sister anxiously, curiously, or scornfully, as their natures dictated.

Beatrice had flushed long ago, and now Percy's fair skin was dyed scarlet, but he looked up doggedly.

"Yes, we are both Socialists," he said proudly.

"There, what did I tell you?" their interlocutor appealed to the company. "That's what the country is coming to. To be overrun by a pest of Socialists. You *never* know where you're going to meet them now." He was complacently unaware of his own

boorish rudeness: "A lot of pale-faced, red-tied, atheistical loafers!"

"I think you are making a mistake," began Beatrice, timidly, although she was very angry, but was interrupted by their tormentor:—

"What you want, of course, is for everything to be divided up. Oh, yes, I know what your sort want! And, suppose we did divide up everything to-day, where would some of us be next week?" (Oh! time-honoured query.) "Why, just as good-for-nothing and penniless as these helpless unemployables are now."

"Socialists," cried Percy Tonson, shortly, "don't want things divided up."

"Oh! they don't, don't they? Then what the deuce do they want?"

"They want everyone to be healthy and comfortable, and to have time to think of things," answered Beatrice.

"Bless my soul, so do we all. Only you can't do it by robbing people and blowing them up with dynamite. If everyone worked and no one loafed the world would be well enough. Look at me!" —he clapped his chest proudly—"I began as an apprentice, and——"

A diversion was created here by the entrance of a tall, dark man of about thirty. Two girls pushed back a chair that had stood empty between them.

"We have saved your seat, Mr. Bertram," one of them said, coquettishly.

"You are very kind," he replied, as he sat down, and turning to Miss Gracely: "Am I too late for a cup of tea?"

"Not at all, Mr. Bertram; I have just had a fresh supply," she replied, graciously.

"Loth to leave that nice young lady we saw you with this morning?" inquired the gentleman at the end of the table, with instinctive good taste.

Mr. Bertram looked at him coldly: "As I think you observed, Mr. Potter," he replied, slowly, "it *has* been too hot to-day to hurry overmuch"—he turned to Miss Gracely again at once—"even for the sake of tea, which is an attraction if anything could be this sultry weather."

Mr. Potter, foiled of the full display of humour he had intended to delight the company withal, returned to the original theme of interest, to the intense discomfiture of the two Socialists, who had welcomed Mr. Bertram's entrance as a saving grace. For, like many others, although they felt Socialism to be the one thing needful for society, and understood it themselves after a rather muddled fashion, they were not capable of explaining their faith to others, or even of clearly answering the most commonplace objections which crop up as surely as their belief is discussed among people with different views, or with no views at all except

the one that the newest creed must be the worst ever evolved from the busy brains of men.

"I suppose you two," began Mr. Potter, nodding his head elegantly towards them, "after you have got your share of the wealth other people are to disgorge for your benefit, would have us all numbered and ticketed like—er—like—well, like convicts?"

"Disgorge is at any rate a good word as you used it then," replied Percy, who had been struck by its aptness.

Mr. Potter, as purple now with triumph as before with rage, threw up his head with a loud laugh.

"Caught you that time," he announced. "Thought you said you didn't want us to divide anything up?"

"We don't," reasserted Beatrice, hotly; "nor do we want anyone numbered, or anything like that. Under Socialism people will have more freedom than they have now."

"How do you make that out, then?"

Beatrice hesitated, uncertain what to reply, and Percy came to her aid as best he could:—

"We shall all be able to do as we like, and not have to work so long, and——"

But Mr. Potter was again overcome with uproarious laughter.

"Live like blessed dukes," he declared noisily, "*and* princes. Goodness me! *What* times we *will* have when none of us have to work!"

"But, under Socialism *everyone* will have to do some work," Percy protested, fuming and yet helpless to take advantage of his opponent's ignorance.

"Everyone, strange as it may sound to those who consider work degrading, will want to work, and actually enjoy it," put in Mr. Bertram, unexpectedly.

Beatrice and Percy looked over at him gratefully. Eyes generally were withdrawn from them and fixed on him. Mr. Potter voiced their owners' thoughts when he said in surprise:—

"You don't mean to say *you're* one of them?"

"If you mean, am I a Socialist, I am glad to tell you that I certainly am. But I may not, therefore, be what you think me."

"Would it be troubling you to tell me what you think Socialism really is?"

"Not at all, sir, not at all."

Several people here rose and went out, desirous not to lose any more precious time within doors. Miss Gracely also rose.

"Perhaps you would not mind finishing your interesting discussion in the garden or the drawing-room," she said, "because I think these tables should be cleared."

Mr. Potter got up as she was speaking; so did the rest, but when she had finished he cried out:—

"Just half a moment, Miss Gracely. It won't take me two ticks to give you my opinion of Socialism. It just means turning the world topsy-turvy in order to make the rich poor, and the poor

rich. And after that we shall all have to do as we're jolly well told, like children at school, or suffer the consequences." He waved his hand towards Mr. Bertram: "There you are, sir, as short as I could put it."

Mr. Bertram led the way from the dining-room into the strip of front garden, where a few chairs stood, and those who followed settled themselves comfortably as he said to Mr. Potter:—

"I have heard your sentiments in many different forms before. May I tell you what most Socialists mean by Socialism?"

"Delighted," exclaimed the gentleman questioned, with a wink at the others that made Beatrice long to slap him.

Mr. Bertram, ignoring the evident irony of Mr. Potter's delight, quietly and ably explained the basic beliefs upon which the theory of Socialism rests, and as quietly and ably answered every objection put forward by his audience. Mr. Potter, although he blustered to the end, was palpably defeated, and two other people said, the one grudgingly, the other heartily:—

"I certainly never understood so much about Socialism before. It gives one a different view of it."

Beatrice and Percy were intensely relieved, and both ready to worship their rescuer. Nor were they offended when, on a better acquaintance, he suggested to them that it would be as well for them—as, indeed, for all other Socialists—not only thoroughly to understand their creed themselves but to be prepared to answer the objections of others to it.

"You will find yourselves in less awkward positions," he said, "and you will spread our glad tidings instead of merely fixing people in their old ideas by an insufficient explanation of what ours really are."

Percy objected half-heartedly that they had not much time, and were usually tired in what of leisure remained to them.

"Don't, Percy," cried Beatrice, hurt; "you are only saying that to excuse us. If our Cause is anything to us, surely we can devote a little time to understanding it. Only we have not thought about it in that way."

"Half-an-hour a day and a few good books to read and talk over together will do wonders," suggested Mr. Bertram, cheerily.

"We can manage that all right," Percy agreed.

And they forthwith occupied themselves in making a short list of books which explained Socialism.

So their week's holiday was of value in more ways than one.

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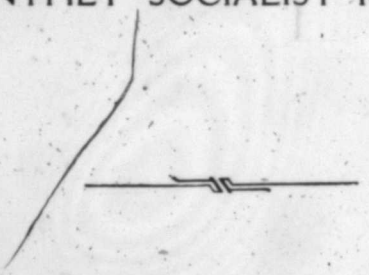

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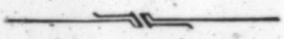

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THE
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SOCIALISM AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

By H. Quelch.

The Balkan war; the imbroglio in Eastern Europe preceding and consequent upon that war; and the efforts which have been and are being made by the Socialist International to prevent a spread of the conflict, all serve once more to emphasise the importance to the Socialist Party of some clear knowledge, theory and policy in regard to foreign affairs.

We are told, however, that the Socialist Party "is not called upon to formulate any foreign policy, because no national section of the proletariat is foreign to any other." In a sense that is perfectly true. To us Socialists, the German, French, Swiss, Italian, Bulgarian or any other Socialists are not foreigners, but just comrades and brothers in arms in one universal international fraternity. But, unfortunately, not all Germans, or Frenchmen, or Swiss or Italians, &c., are Socialists—not even all those of the working class. A very dear old friend of mine seems to have the idea that they are; and that every man he meets in France, or Germany, or Belgium, or any other continental

country, is a brother Socialist. The result when he, in consequence, shouts "Vive l'Internationale!" to all and sundry, and seeks to fraternise, say, with the waiter, who has no ideas beyond his "pour boire" or "Trinkgeld," is frequently comical, not to say embarrassing. For it is possible, even in Germany or France, to meet many working people who are not enrolled among the "Reds," or are, indeed, hostile to them; and, in any case, no country in the world is yet under the control of the Socialists. However little we may be inclined to regard national interests or divisions, it is not we, but our masters, who are in control, and national divisions and conflicting interests are facts—ugly facts, it may be—but nevertheless facts which cannot be gainsaid and with which we have to reckon. That the proletarian has no fatherland, and that between the proletarians of one country and those of another there is no quarrel, is perfectly true; but the reiteration of such truisms does not help us in any way to get rid of the fact that in every European country to-day whole masses of proletarians—more numerous than ever before—are organised, drilled, armed and ready to fly at each other's throats at the bidding of their masters. These masses of men are there, thus armed, organised, drilled and ready, in order to give effect to the foreign policy of our masters; and no amount of protest, nor any number of pious resolutions or Basel Congresses, will in any way dispose of that fact, or make it any less a reality. Our rulers are—our rulers! By the will of the people. They—our rulers—have a foreign policy, if we have none. We are in a minority; the victims of their policy—domestic and foreign. We may be able to do little or nothing to affect that policy—one way or the other; but it boots nothing to ignore it, and, indeed, it is fatuous folly so to do.

Nor has the Socialist International been guilty of such folly. The Basel Congress in its manifesto clearly recognises the reality of bourgeois foreign policy. Among other things it declares that "the most im-

portant task in international action rests with the workers of Germany, France, and England." And what is that task? To "persistently *call upon their Governments* to refuse to lend any countenance to Austro-Hungarian or Russian schemes of aggrandisement." Thus, according to the considered declaration of the Socialist International, all that the Socialist Party—in Germany, France, or England—can do is to endeavour to influence the foreign policy of their respective national bourgeois Governments.

I believe the International to be right, so far as national action is concerned. I do not think there is anything else we can do—nationally. Whether it is the only *international* policy is a matter for consideration. So far as our national action is concerned, it is restricted to endeavours to bring pressure to bear on each Government to modify its foreign policy. That is at once an admission of a foreign policy in each country, differing from, it may be, and in conflict with the foreign policy of the others, a foreign policy which we as Socialists—in spite of our professed international solidarity--cannot ignore, but which concerns us vitally.

That being so, it is our duty to make ourselves acquainted, as far as possible, with that foreign policy in all its ramifications—its origin, its causes and consequences. It is only by so doing that we can arrive at anything like a clear understanding of the present European situation, and a clear perception of a possible *international* Socialist policy in regard thereto, as distinct from the purely *national* policy indicated by the Basel Congress. This is the more incumbent upon us, because it is enjoined upon us by that Congress that "the workers must not permit secret diplomacy to entangle them in the Balkan conflict." It is the diplomacy of the European States which has brought about the present situation. The same situation would have resulted from the same diplomacy, whether the diplomacy were secret or open. The only advantage of its being open, and not secret, is that then the people of the different countries would have known what was

being done in their name, and to what international arrangements, understandings, treaties, or entanglements they were committed by their respective Governments; and they might, also, in consequence of such knowledge, have been able to exercise some influence upon that policy.

We cannot reverse the situation created by the secret diplomacy of the past, nor undo its mischievous consequences, but by a determined and persistent agitation against secret diplomacy we may be able to counteract its influence in the future and ensure greater public control over foreign policy. The injunction to do this, however, is thus, in itself, an instruction to make ourselves acquainted with the foreign policy of our respective Governments; to watch it closely, and to spare no effort to influence it in a democratic and pacific direction. If we are not to do this, but simply to declare loftily that we, as internationalists, know nothing of foreign policy, it is idle to protest against secret diplomacy. No diplomacy, secret or open, is, in that case, any concern of ours.

Convinced internationalists as we are; recognising that, theoretically, there is no cause of quarrel between the workers of the world; that the proletarian has no country to fight for, and therefore no occasion to fight—we must recognise that as a matter of fact humanity is at present divided into different nationalities with conflicting interests. To us, with our deep conviction that the only thing that matters is the class war, and our eagerness to fight that war to a finish, these other divisions and conflicting interests may appear absurd and puerile. They are certainly irritating; but nevertheless they are there as facts to be reckoned with. However true, theoretically, it may be to say that the proletarian has no part nor lot in these national concerns, he finds that in spite of himself, he is bound up with them; and, frequently, more closely bound up with them than are his masters. It is true that they may have property in the State—a "stake in the country"—while he has none. But that very fact ties him to

a particular country, and gives him a keener interest in the conditions of existence there—economic, political and social—than is felt by his masters, who, by the possession of property, are able to make their home where they please and to remove themselves from any country or district which, for any reason, may not be to their liking. He, poor devil, has frequently no choice.

In the same way, we say that the interests of the capitalist class and those of the working class are diametrically opposed to each other. That is perfectly true, and yet how often it happens that the interests, the vital interests, the very existence, of a number of workpeople may be entirely bound up with the interests of a single employer. This fact, indeed, is one of the very worst features of the capitalist system, or of any other system of slavery in which the well-being or otherwise of the great mass of the people does not depend upon their own industry or idleness, their own capacity or lack of it, but upon the honesty, ability, enterprise, judgment, or caprice of others.

In present circumstances, therefore, however objectionable it may be to us, the fact is that proletarian interests in the different countries are, in many relations, bound up with the national interests. The proletarian of every country has not less but more interest than the plutocrat in the maintenance and development of democratic institutions, in the maintenance of personal liberty, of national autonomy, of civic rights, and of a high minimum standard of comfort. These are of small moment to the master class, because they *are* the master class; to the proletariat they are of vital moment, because it is only by these means that they can peaceably achieve their emancipation. Without carrying further, at present, the academic controversy between Bax and myself as to what constitutes a nation, I submit here that, in the main, we have, for practical purposes, to take the present grouping of peoples in Europe as a working basis, and to recognise that, willy nilly, there is, as a rule, in each national group, in spite of all differences, certain

principles which bind together as a nation those within that group, and that, with certain exceptions, all those in each group, notwithstanding personal, class and other antagonisms, are bound together by a common interest to defend the national autonomy and the right of each nationality to be free to work out its own salvation.

These facts, it appears to me, are self-evident. Assuming that to be the case, and reasoning from these facts, we come to this: that each national group must have a foreign policy; that is, a policy by which its relations with other groups are guided and determined. In this foreign policy all classes in a given nation are interested; but it depends upon the extent to which that policy is influenced by one class or another whether capitalist or proletarian interests have the greater weight and influence in that policy. So far the former, of course, in all European countries, have been paramount. That fact has had mischievous consequences, but that result only proves, once more, that we, as Socialists, and on behalf of the working class, are, after all, vitally concerned with the question of foreign policy.

Applying this reasoning to the present situation in Europe it is easy to see that while there is now no occasion for intervention in the Balkans, except as mediator, on the part of England, France, or Germany, that occasion or excuse may very conceivably arise. That is to say, that as between Turkey and the Balkan League the quarrel is no concern of England, France, or Germany; although it must be admitted that all three, and especially England, have treated both sides—and especially Turkey—scurvily enough. We, however, either as Socialists or Englishmen, are not at all concerned with supporting Turkey against the Balkan League, and certainly not—as our Liberal Pacifists would have had us do—with supporting the Balkan League against Turkey. We are, however, both as Socialists and a nation, interested in the support of any people "rightly struggling to be free," either from a foreign yoke or a native oppressor, or of a people striving to

win or maintain its national independence. From every point of view, therefore, however slightly we may be directly affected by it, we could not possibly regard with indifference the dispute between Austria and Servia, which has arisen out of the Balkan war and which has threatened to be the cause of the extension of the conflict.

Even here, of course, it may be justifiable to say that Servia's pretences are quite unwarrantable, that we could not, as a nation, support them, that Austria and Servia may fight the matter out themselves, and that we, as a nation, are not willing to risk the life of a single British infantryman in the quarrel. All that we may say and believe, and maintain—if it were left, by others, to Austria and Servia alone.

But if Austria and Servia came to blows nobody supposes that it would be left to them alone. That Russia would support the claims of Servia is inevitable; indeed, it is credibly maintained that it is entirely due to Russia that Servia has pressed those claims so presumptuously. But if Russia entered the lists in support of Servia, and there is certainly no democratic influence in Russia strong enough to prevent her doing so, it is a practically foregone conclusion that Austria would be supported by Germany and Italy. In that case, loyalty to her alliance with Russia, to say nothing of more selfish reasons, would almost inevitably involve France, and we should then see how far our "entente" with France, to say nothing of our "agreement" with Russia, would involve our joining in the fray. So far as the obligations imposed by those understandings and agreements are known, it would be practically impossible for us as a nation to hold aloof once France and Russia were involved. This fact, apart from any other consideration, shows how mischievous has been the foreign policy and secret diplomacy which have led us into the present situation, in which, having been implicated by that policy and diplomacy, it is impossible now to escape the consequences. No British Radical or Democrat, to say nothing of a Socialist,

could be in favour of ranging England alongside of Russia in an international conflict. And yet that is precisely the position into which we may be forced, through the obligations to which our rulers have committed us, and without our having any voice in the matter; because it is quite clear that, little as may be the influence we could exercise on the action of our own Government, we could exert none at all on Russia, nor is there any popular movement in that country that could possibly do so. It may be said that any doubt which Russia may have of England's readiness to support her by force of arms would cause her to hesitate before entering into a quarrel. That, of course, may very well be so, and that is an additional reason why we should have been kept free from any entangling alliances. On the other hand, the assurance that under no circumstances would England fight would be just as likely to embolden Austria and so precipitate a conflict as to make for the maintenance of peace. One thing is quite certain, and that is that all through the present crisis the influence of Germany has been steadily and persistently on the side of peace. That is a universally admitted fact. To what extent this fact has been due to the preparedness of France for war can only be conjectured. That Germany, while prepared to support Austria in the event of a conflict, was most anxious to preserve the peace is quite certain.

That, at any rate, is the present situation. I propose in a future article to trace the lines of policy and the circumstances out of which that situation has developed. Meanwhile, I do not pretend to say that the present situation is one in which we, either as Socialists or Englishmen, are called upon to take sides; but I do say that in somewhat similar circumstances it would be our duty to do so, and that in that fact lies a possible *international* policy for the Socialist International, as distinct from the national policy laid down at Basel. It is not sufficient, that is to say, for the International to declare itself on the side of peace. That goes

without saying. It is futile to put it upon the national sections of the party to try and hold the hands of their respective Governments, to assert that all wars are wrong, and that both parties to a war are equally culpable. That is simply not true. As a general rule, two rival nations, or two rival Governments, may be equally innocent and equally culpable, and even in a war there may be nothing to choose between them. On the other hand, in a war between two such Powers whose general characteristics entitle neither to our sympathy, one may be so clearly the aggressor that the war, for the other, may be the clearest and most meritorious duty. In such a case the more culpable the one the more blameless is the other. In such an event the duty and the policy of the Socialist International appear to me to be quite clear. It would no longer be its duty to call upon the Socialists in both countries to try—however ineffectually—to hold back their respective Governments; it would be its duty to throw its whole weight as an international force on the side of the State which, for the time being, was struggling for the right. That was practically what happened in regard to the South African war. England was then distinctly and emphatically in the wrong, and Socialists all over the world, as well as in England, did not hesitate to say so. The Government of Kruger was not immaculate, nor was the Boer Government, as a Government, so very superior to the British, but in that war the Boers were in the right. England was fighting on behalf of an international gang of plunderers, and if for any reason whatever any great European Power like Germany or France had attacked England, that attack would have been perfectly justified, and would have been entitled to the support of the whole Socialist International.

It is only by some such policy, by weighing the circumstances and throwing its whole force into one scale or the other as the rights and wrongs of the case demand, that the International can be a force in international affairs under existing circumstances. To

decree a general strike is impossible, to simply advise the different national sections to try and keep their respective Governments out of the fight is futile, ineffective, a confession of impotence and a withdrawal from the actualities of life. The policy I have suggested, on the other hand, and which has been adopted on more than one occasion, is analogous to the policy which I have always advocated in domestic affairs. Liberals and Tories are exactly alike so far as we of the working-class are concerned. "As against these Socialists," said the late saintly Jabez Balfour, "we are all Conservative." In the strife between the two, however, the interests of the workers can best be served by opposing now one and now the other. It is only thus that a working-class party can maintain its independence and make itself an effective force. By attaching itself to one side or the other it becomes a part of that side and loses its independence, while by withdrawing from the field altogether it cancels itself as a force to be reckoned with and becomes an entirely negligible quantity.

CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

By Dora B. Montefiore.

When speaking to friends and comrades in England I find that but little is known of the actual conditions under which gold is obtained in South Africa, or of how labour is recruited, treated and rewarded by the close confederation of mine magnates, who extract such enormous profits from the exploitation, disease and death of millions of their fellow-men.

It may be, therefore, of interest to English Socialists to set down some of the facts of gold mining in South Africa, drawing constantly, in support of my assertions, from the actual reports of the exploiters.

It will be within the memory of my readers that Chinese coolies were at first used by the mineowners to do the unskilled work of drilling and shifting the gold-bearing rock. It will also be remembered how the lies of Liberal hypocrites replaced these Chinese coolies (who were represented as working in chains) by native Kaffirs and Zulus, who are at the present day cunningly enslaved and chained to their jobs by the fetters of economic compulsion. The native of South Africa, being able to extract from the soil, and from his flocks and herds, sufficient for his simple demands on life—food, clothing and shelter in abundance—has the good sense not to love work for work's sake; but enjoys basking in the sun, and taking life easily, when once his personal and communal needs have been satisfied. The problem, therefore, for the exploiting white race was, "How to make the nigger work?" and a temporary solution was found in the hut tax, under which tax every native had to pay a certain sum annually to the

Government for the privilege of being allowed to live in his own hut. This tax has to be *paid in gold*, therefore the native cannot offer oxen or mealies in barter, but has to leave his kraal for some months and work in the service of the white man to earn the yellow gold which the Union Government demands. But even then, so loth is the physically healthy and splendidly-developed native to exchange his agricultural life for the charms of our so-called civilisation, that there is much difficulty in recruiting the 200,000 native boys necessary for carrying on the work of the Rand mines alone, not to mention the many thousands more required for diamond mining, unskilled labour in connection with other industries, and house-boys, farm-boys, ricksha boys, &c. The following quotation from the chairman's speech at the annual meeting of the Chamber of Mines in 1911 will show how the exploiters intend to set about the work of divorcing the able-bodied natives from the soil and forcing them into wage-slavery; and will interpret the psychology of the mine magnates and their shareholder friends much more picturesquely and vividly than any words of mine could hope to do:—

"Some say it is no part of a Government's duty to find labour. Quite so; but they can at least view with disquietude their country suffering from grave financial loss through industry being stifled in consequence of the absence of a complete and firm native policy. What is wanted is surely a policy that would establish once for all that, outside special reserves, the ownership of land must be in the hands of white races, and that the surplus of young men, instead of squatting on the land in idleness, and spreading out over unlimited areas, must earn their living by working for a wage, as every white man who is not a landowner has to do."

Does it not read almost like the record of that period in English history when, men being needed for the ever-increasing demands of industrialism, they and their families were steadily (but legally, of course) pushed and driven and squeezed off the land, so that

they might be compelled to "earn their living by working for a wage," or, in other words, should possess nothing to barter but their labour-power? How successfully the English Government was appealed to to help in the casting of this iniquitous drag-net, our depopulated rural areas of to-day plainly show; while the silly bleat of "Back to the land" is about as effectual at the present time as was Canute's order in the past to the incoming tide. An agricultural population is evolved, it is not made in a generation; and as the native population of South Africa is essentially agricultural, it is a crime for a capitalist Government to assist in driving it into the degrading wage-slavery of either gold or diamond mining. There are at the present time over 200,000 natives employed on the Rand in gold mining, and 51 per cent. of these natives come from Portuguese territory, the rest from various parts of the Union and British South Africa. The Native Labour Regulation Act permits the "farming" of native labour by contractors—that is, the recruiting of them at a certain wage, and subsequently letting them out at a higher rate to the mineowners, the contractor retaining the difference in amount. The hut tax ensures the enforced labour in mines of natives from British territory; and a later Act, the Squatters Act, was passed with a similar intention. But I gathered that the latter Act, though it forced many natives to work for a wage instead of living on the produce of their small holdings, only resulted in a better supply of labour to the farmers and orchardists; for the native, unless compelled by deliberately-imposed economic pressure, still goes unwillingly to underground work.

The number of white miners employed is about 11,000. They come principally from Wales, Cornwall and Australia, and their graves lie thick along the Rand, or deep in the ocean along the track of the passenger steamers on which, as a last hope, they ship when the dreaded miners' phthisis has them in death grip.

In the Chamber of Mines Report for July, 1911, the gold output for the month is stated to be £3,012,738; and in June, 1912, Mr. Raymond Schumacher, as chairman of the Rand Mines, Limited, when presenting his annual report and statement of accounts to the general meeting of shareholders, stated that "the net profit for the year ending December 31, 1911, was £1,117,408, and that two dividends at the former rate of £110 per cent., and representing roughly £1,169,000, had been paid to shareholders during the year." One would think that dividends such as these would satisfy the most greedy of shareholders; yet we read further in the chairman's report for July, 1911, before the Chamber of Mines: "I fear, however, that this spring there will not be the great eagerness to seek work that we had expected from the Transkei natives, owing to the fact that in addition to their mealie crops the natives were clever enough to take advantage of this abnormally moist winter by sowing quantities of wheat. No one would really believe that in this twentieth century this great industry, which is the pulse, one may say, of South Africa, and could by severe fluctuations play havoc with the systems of monetary exchanges of the world, should depend for its adequate labour supply on whether negroes are in the mood to seek work at remuneration higher than that paid in some European mining centres, or whether they prefer to enjoy idleness and the excess of foodstuffs produced on their estates. But so it is; and no remedy seems forthcoming." Here speaks the spirit of the old slave-owner. If a negro is not in the humour to go down a mine and court death by accident or disease, then he must be forced by hunger to do so; and Government must be evoked to force by "legal" methods hunger on the negro. It is monstrous, thinks the wage-slave driver, that in this twentieth century, when economic pressure acts so unerringly and satisfactorily, in all "civilised" countries where capitalism prevails, in forcing into the labour market white men, women and children, that the primitive races of South Africa can escape the same fate merely through the fact of their possessing the land and implements of production!

IS SOCIALISM INEVITABLE?

By JOHN BILSBOROUGH.

Some of our friends in the Socialist movement seem to hold to the theory that Socialism cannot be established independent of propaganda. In their opinion it is bootless to trust to evolutionary process alone, their chief contention being that, failing public appropriation and control of land and capital, the sole alternative is a private monopoly of the same. Pausing a moment to remark that one has not the slightest wish to discourage propaganda, let me proceed to point out that change is the universal order of things, and that evolution never ceases to progress. For the sake of argument, let us suppose that all our agitation came to a standstill, and, other things being allowed to take their course, we got trusts and combines instead of common ownership, what reason is there to suppose that the trusts and combines would continue to the limits of time? None. And when, ultimately, they came to an end, the only system which, to my mind, would supplant this intensified capitalism is Socialism. Socialism is inevitable.

There is another school of thought—if such it can be named—whose devotees may be discovered in the ranks of the orthodox political parties. *Their* article of faith is that the Social Revolution is unnecessary, that Socialism may be deferred indefinitely by gradually improving the lot of the wage-earners by throwing them sops, and by the enactment of palliative legislation to make them contented, and so effectually destroy any possible desire for Socialism. The wish is father to the thought, but their hope is vain.

Their assumption is based on a fourfold fallacy: (1) That contentment is a cardinal trait in human

nature; (2) That social evolution and progress can be suspended; (3) That the wage-earners can for ever be held in subjection; and (4) That poverty manufactures Socialists and fosters Socialism. Let us deal with these fallacies.

The people who hold them do not understand human nature, and in their ignorance imagine that contentment is one of its cardinal traits. But man is naturally *dis*contented, for without discontent he could not progress, he would not survive. Without discontent no success in life is possible. The junior reporter who is satisfied with his lot will never attain to the editorial chair. Had Sir Thomas Lipton been content with his small shop he would never have competed for the America Cup. Had primitive man been content with his cave, his dug-out, his club, and his tom-tom, existing civilisation—such as it is—would never have been realised. We should have no Titanics, no Dreadnoughts, no Mauser rifles, nor 12-inch guns. We should not have the glorious art of the great masters; the music of the great composers, from Beethoven to Wagner; we should lack all musical instruments, from the tin whistle to the church organ; we should never have been able to derive pleasure from "Faust" or "The Arcadians." These people have not comprehended the law of progress, and they imagine they can prevent the workers, as a body, from acquiring knowledge and thus continue to hold them in subjection. What is this law of progress? Herbert Spencer in his elaborate essay on this subject says:—

"Now, we propose, in the first place, to show that this law of organic progress—whether it be in the development of the Earth, in the development of Life upon its surface, in the development of Society, of Government, of Manufactures, of Commerce, of Language, Literature, Science, Art—this same evolution of the simple into the complex, through successive differentiations, holds throughout. From the earliest traceable cosmical changes down to the latest results of investigation we shall find that the transformation of

the homogeneous into the heterogeneous is that in which progress essentially consists."

The law of progress, as Spencer clearly shows, is that evolution progresses from the homogeneous into the heterogeneous, from the simple to the complex, from one to many, *in Government* as in other things. The original form of government within the historic period was Autocracy; the ultimate form—the form to which we are progressing—is Democracy. Democracy is the rule of an educated people, it is the real self-government, and sooner or later it will inevitably arrive. It is not possible to put a period to the spread of knowledge, and how may an educated people be held in subjection?

And as Democracy is one half of Socialism, and the poor the most ignorant section of the community, how come these sop-throwers and palliative-mongers to the conclusion that poverty breeds Socialists? How do they explain away the fact that Lady Warwick and Mr. Hyndman are far more revolutionary than the average trade union official? What have they to say when we point out that many of the brightest intellects of the age are avowed Socialists?

If poverty favours the growth of Socialism it is passing strange that we should wish to abolish destitution, is it not? What our opponents mean, however, is that poverty makes for discontent, and that discontented people invariably become Socialists. So they propose to throw a few sops as a means of allaying the discontent, and thus to check the advance of Socialism. They actually dream of stopping evolutionary processes with a few paltry sops and palliatives! But only intelligent people turn to Socialism, nor are the very poor the most discontented people. On the contrary, it is the ignorance and the apathetic complaisance of the very poor with their condition which prove the greatest of stumbling-blocks to Socialist progress. As a rule the poor are unintelligent because, as a consequence of their poverty, their brains are insufficiently nourished, which brings a

mild condition of mental atrophy. In addition, the manual worker toils so hard and for such long hours that he has neither energy nor leisure to pay much attention to Socialism and kindred subjects. Besides, he gets no education worth the name. When we have taught him to think deeply and logically he will pretty soon begin to appreciate the real cause of his hardships; then he will take steps to have that cause removed.

And here is an excerpt culled from a capitalist contemporary which seems to prove that prosperity is no friend of contentment: "The greatest number of strikes, 45 per cent., took place in the most prosperous part of the kingdom (Italy), the north, 39 per cent. in the centre, and only 16 per cent. in southern Italy and the islands which comprise the poorest and most suffering provinces." Every step towards the abolition of poverty is a step towards Socialism. Poverty is a consequence of "the margin of unemployment," which, in turn, is due to the private monopoly of land and capital. It is to the interests of the owners of land and capital to retain the said "margin of unemployment," because it assists them to keep wages down. Abolish unemployment and wages will tend upward until they absorb all rents, interest and profits. The total abolition of unemployment will ultimately cause capitalism to tumble to ruins, and the only known alternative system is Socialism.

So, if our opponents mean to put a break on the Socialist wheel by the enactment of ameliorative measures of social reform within the existing chaos, they are beginning at the wrong end. By feeding the bodies of the poor we also feed their brains. Better brains mean superior intelligence. The more intelligent the people become the more will they comprehend the injustices of capitalism, and the more revolutionary therefore. And as it is impossible to check the dissemination of knowledge by repressive measures, one is driven to the conclusion that Socialism is inevitable.

THE MONTH.

Although an armistice has been arranged between the Turks and the Bulgarians and Servians, and a "Peace Conference" is shortly to be held in London, we are by no means "out of the wood." in the matter of the Balkan trouble. The Greeks—always to be distrusted—are at loggerheads with their allies, and refuse to agree to the terms the latter have arranged with the Turks; and the quarrel between Austria and Servia—backed by Russia—over the appropriation of certain of the spoils, still bears a threatening aspect.

In spite of the somewhat gloomy outlook, however, there is every hope that any extension of the war will be averted, if only the two Powers which have absolutely no material interests in the Balkans—England and France—make it quite clear that in no circumstances will they allow themselves to be dragged into the quarrel.

But will they do that? Up to a certain point the influence of Germany was distinctly on the side of peace. Now, however, by the mouth of her Imperial Chancellor, she declares that she will fight if Austria and Russia come to blows. It would be quite legitimate for both England and France to declare that under no circumstances will they take up arms in a quarrel in which they have no interest whatever. But, would such a declaration from them make for peace? Is it not much more likely that the pacific policy for which we have given Germany full credit in this connection has been dictated as much by the possibility of attack on her western frontier in the event of her siding with Austria against Russia as by any other consideration; and would not such a declaration on the part of England and France as that suggested rather encourage Germany to give effect to the bellicose utterances of her Chancellor than to adhere to her previous policy of striving to maintain the peace?

On the other hand, unless France were to join in such a declaration, would it be possible for Great Britain to make it alone, and to refuse, under any circumstances, to be drawn into the conflict? That is doubtful, and the answer largely depends upon the terms of our "understanding" with France. It is quite certain that we, as a people, have no interests worth the bones of a British soldier at stake in Eastern Europe. It is equally certain that it would be most repugnant to the people of this country to be marching side by side with the Russian despotism in any conflict in which that Power might be engaged. If France also were involved, however, it might be found quite impossible to keep out of the mess.

These considerations only go to show that the most earnest efforts to preserve peace may, in existing circumstances, only serve to precipitate war. For any modern State to declare, under the influence of pacificism, that she will not fight is simply an encouragement to other States to break the peace, with the result that the pacifist State is ultimately forced to fight at a disadvantage, or to be crushed without a struggle.

In the meantime, however, the Socialist International has done, and is doing, everything possible to prevent any extension of the conflict. As we stated last month, the line of action taken by our comrades in the countries involved in the struggle has been beyond all praise. That has been equally true of those in the countries most immediately concerned with any possible extension of the war. Our Austrian comrades, for instance, have run not a little risk, and have endured some considerable persecution for the courageous stand they have taken against any aggressive action on the part of their Government.

In this connection the great International Congress held in Basel on the 24th and 25th of last month was an historic event of world importance. Apart from the resolution of the Congress and the pronouncement embodied in the manifesto, which we give elsewhere, the mere holding of the Congress in the circumstances was a matter of the most profound significance. Arranged, as it was, within a couple of weeks, the holding of such a Congress at all was a striking tribute to the energy and ability of the Executive of the International Socialist Bureau, and a magnificent demonstration of International Socialist unity, solidarity and organisation. That it has had a tremendous effect in encouraging the Socialist campaign against war is certain, while that it has pro-

foundly influenced the Chancelleries of Europe in desiring peace there can be no doubt whatever. It was a great occasion, a magnificent demonstration, and fully justified the resolution of the International Committee of the British Socialist Party :—

> "This meeting of the International Committee of the British Socialist Party desires to offer its heartiest congratulations to the International Socialist Bureau and the Swiss Socialist Party upon having organised the most imposing and successful International Congress of Socialists and Workers that the world has yet seen. The occasion of this magnificent demonstration—being not only to denounce all war between the people as directly opposed to the interests of the workers, but also to point out that by determined class solidarity they can put an end for ever to such abominable national antagonisms—was worthy of the men who have fallen in the movement and of the veterans who attended.
>
> "We are glad to know that the work done has already produced a considerable effect, and we have evidence that, in the near future, the seed sown at the Congress at Basel will develop into still more complete Socialist solidarity."

Moved to violent indignation by the comparative indifference of the Labour Party to the woes of the Suffragettes, Mr. George Lansbury resigned his seat in Parliament in order to test the opinion of his constituents on that question. We can only hope the result was satisfactory to him. It certainly was not to anyone else, except the Tories. The electors of Bow and Bromley have declared, as plainly as a transfer of some thousand votes from a deservedly popular member to a comparatively unknown party hack would do, that they have absolutely no sympathy whatever with militant Suffragettism. Not even Mr. Lansbury's record of service to the people of Bow and Bromley; not even the high esteem in which he is generally held in the district; not even the agreement with his principles and policy—including the advocacy of Women's Suffrage—was proof against the hostility engendered by the Suffragettes, who have constituted themselves the enemies of society; who have deliberately put themselves outside the law, and have shown that they are prepared to commit any infamy or any crime because, so far, they are not in possession of the Parliamentary franchise.

It is pretended that opposition to, or condemnation of, these women is due to hostility to what is called the women's cause.

That is not so. They, themselves, have done infinitely more to damage and discredit that cause than its enemies could possibly do. They may have caused the judicious to grieve. They have certainly caused the enemy, not to blaspheme but to rejoice, because by their antics they have conclusively demonstrated their utter unfitness for public life.

Fortunately for the women's cause, these "militants" do not represent the majority of their sex. Not only so; they do not even represent the active intelligent minority of women who ardently desire the suffrage. These latter know how little real consideration and sympathy they can expect from the champions of Suffragettism, and they know also that the war they have been waging, not against the Government, but against all classes of the community, is not only unjustifiable and criminal, but is also bad tactics.

The devoted advocates of a cause confronted by an obdurate Government might find justification for making war, in the most literal sense, upon that Government. They could find none for wanton attacks upon private, inoffensive, and even friendly individuals of all classes. With the rights of association, of the Press, of public meeting, and of agitation, at their disposal, and with practically unlimited resources with which to exercise those rights, the duty of the Suffragettes was to win the support of the majority of the people to their cause by active propaganda. Having these rights, they had no justification for resorting to illegal means and anarchistic outrage.

They, however, may have thought otherwise, and, having succeeded in winning a majority in the House of Commons to their side, they may have supposed that they had some justification for adopting more drastic measures towards a Government which did not at once formulate the will of that majority in legislation. They might, therefore, have found some excuse, in the circumstances, for applying a little dynamite to a Government office, or trying the stimulating effect of a dog-whip, a stiletto, or a revolver upon a hide-bound member of the Ministry. We should not, in the circumstances, find a sufficient excuse for any of these outrages in the demand for votes for women; but the Suffragettes themselves might have made out a plausible excuse for them, criminal and mistaken as they would be. When it comes to attacks on the public, however; to attempting to set fire to

theatres; to indiscriminate smashing of windows; to spitting in the faces of policemen and ordinary citizens; to destroying the private correspondence of all sorts and conditions of men and women, and similar senseless vexatious attacks upon all classes of society, it is another story altogether.

And when, through the Home Secretary, the law declares itself powerless to protect society against such outrages, it is not surprising if the common people should take the law into their own hands. That must be the case with all forms of anarchism. The Suffragettes say that as they have no votes they have no voice in making the laws, and, therefore, are not called upon to obey them. That is all very well, so far as statutory laws go; but there are fundamental laws without which society would be resolved into its elements. Those who deliberately place themselves outside those laws are enemies of society, and must not be surprised if they are treated as such. They appeal to lawlessness, they cannot expect that lawlessness will not be resorted to against themselves; and as they are in a minority in any such appeal, they are bound to get the worst of it. It was the same with Ravachol, Henry, Vaillant, and other French Anarchist "propagandists of deed." To them the laws of society only existed to be broken. They laughed at the law and made war on society. Very good. But the same right which they exercised in making war upon society, society exercised in defending itself; and Ravachol, Henry, and Vaillant went down in the unequal struggle.

It will be just the same with the Suffragettes. The curious thing is that while they claim to be above the law themselves, they—like other illogical Anarchists—are perfectly ferocious in putting the law into operation against others. There are no more ardent supporters of flogging as a form of punishment, especially in connection with what is called the White Slave Traffic, than these women, many of whom are themselves the worst sinners in the matter of making white slaves. And then we have Miss Christabel Pankhurst telling us that the object of the letter-burners, and other Anarchist Suffragettes, "is to abolish White Slavery. It is to put an end to hideous assaults on little girls"!

We, as Social-Democrats, have a greater regard for the vote than some of our friends profess. We believe that if the working class would only organise to use the votes they already possess in

their own class interests they would abolish the economic causes of White Slavery as well as of other social evils. But we are not so silly as to suppose that the mere extension of the franchise to the Suffragettes would effect this. The sentiment with which the wealthy women who support Suffragettism are actuated in this connection is precisely the same as inspired the agitation against barmaids: the desire to get a cheap and plentiful supply of domestic servants. Anything which closes an avenue of escape from domestic servitude is, from their point of view, a good thing. They are quite willing to persecute the prostitute, and to flog her tout or "protector," but they would not flog the procuress, nor her aristocratic or plutocratic patrons; neither will they lift a finger to put a stop to that under-payment of women's labour which is responsible for all enforced prostitution.

Lansbury had plenty of excuses for breaking with the Labour Party in connection with its lukewarmness over Labour and Socialist questions. Why he should have left it over this, which is neither the one nor the other, and in which the Parliamentary Group went quite as far as the mandate of the Party Conferences enjoined, it is impossible to discover. The neglect of the unemployment question, which still persists, despite the great boom in trade, and the betrayal of the working class over the Insurance Swindle, afforded plenty of opportunity and good ground for a revolt against the Labour Party. Suffragettism was too thin.

The Report of the Majority of the Divorce Commission is good, so far as it goes. There are material and obvious reasons why adultery alone when committed by the woman should be a ground of divorce; but, although equality in this respect adds another to the privileges of the sex, we have no objection to urge. It is scarcely likely that a man guilty of adultery would wish not to be divorced. The other additional suggested grounds for divorce are perfectly reasonable; but we think the Commission might well have gone further and proposed divorce by mutual consent. Halting as the suggestions are, however, there is little likelihood that they will be embodied in legislation for some time to come.

Once more the "right to strike" has been sharply and promptly insisted upon over a somewhat novel issue. An engine-driver on the North-Eastern Railway has been reduced on account of a conviction for drunkenness by a police-court magistrate.

There is every ground for believing that the man was wrongfully convicted, and, in any case, the offence, if offence there were, took place when he was off duty. His fellow workers felt that he had been unjustly treated by the company, and struck work, to the number of 10,000. Others came out afterwards, and, at the time of writing, there are said to be 100,000 men involved.

Now, whatever we may think about the efficacy of strikes in general, we always back men up when they do strike, and we maintain that in this case they only did their duty by striking. We admit that sobriety on the part of an engine-driver is absolutely essential; but it is not proved that this man was drunk, and even if he were, we deny in the strongest possible manner the right of his employers to spy upon him and to punish him for what he may do in his own time. They have a right to demand that when on duty he shall be sober and capable; they have no right to say what he shall eat, or what he shall or shall not drink, or how he shall clothe himself when off duty. We have too much of this interference with individual liberty, and it is time there was a revolt against it. We congratulate the railwaymen; we hope they will stick to their guns, and we wish them complete success.

EVENTS OF NOVEMBER.

AT HOME.

1—Municipal elections.

2—Mr. Justice Darling sentenced nine Tilbury men to nine months' imprisonment for riot in connection with dock strike.

3—Fatal fire at John Barker and Co., Kensington.

4—House of Commons rejected Proportional Representation for Irish Lower House.

5—House of Commons rejected Mr. Snowden's Woman Suffrage amendment to Home Rule Bill.

Renewal of window-breaking by Suffragists at the West End.

11—Government defeated by 228 votes to 206 on report of Home Rule Bill financial resolution.

Royal Commission on Divorce issued its report.

Taunton bye-election: Wills (Unionist), 1,882; Schunck (Liberal), 1,597. No change.

13—Parliamentary deadlock; riot in House of Commons over Premier's motion to rescind the vote of the 11th.

Motion carried at South Wales Miners' meeting to reduce agents' salaries to £3 a week.

Court of Appeal ordered new trial in case against the Amalgamated Musicians' Union.

14—Commons again adjourned till the 18th.

15—Captain Amundsen gave his first lecture in England on his discovery of the South Pole.

17—Meeting at the Opera House to protest against European intervention in the Balkans.

Death of Mr. Norman Shaw, architect.

18—Premier's new plan for overcoming recent adverse vote adopted nem. con.

19—House of Lords decided, in the case of Vacher and Sons versus the London Society of Compositors, that action against a trade union for damages was not maintainable.

British Medical Association meeting declined to accept service under Insurance Act.

20—Doctors offered to negotiate with Mr. Lloyd George.

22—Select Committee appointed to inquire into the case of Sir Stuart Samuel's seat.

23—Bolton bye-election: Taylor (Liberal), 10,011; Brookes (Unionist), 8,835. No change.

26—Bow and Bromley bye-election (George Lansbury having resigned to contest seat on Woman Suffrage): Blair (Unionist), 4,042; Lansbury, 3,291. Labour loss.

27—Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., before the Industrial Council, gave warning of possible railway strike.

28 & 29—Organised outrages on letter-boxes by Suffragettes: hundreds of letters destroyed.

ABROAD.

2—End of five days' battle round Lule Burgas: Turks defeated.

3—Greeks captured Prevesa.

5—United States Presidential election: Dr. Woodrow Wilson (Democrat) secured overwhelming majority; Roosevelt second; Taft snowed under. Eugene Debs (Socialist candidate) polled over 800,000 votes.

Norwegian second ballots: Socialist victories.

Berlin bye-election: Kämpf (Radical) again elected.

8—Greeks occupied Salonica.

9—Resignation announced of Mr. Bryce, British Ambassador to United States.

12—Spanish Premier (Senor Canalejas) assassinated.

Great demonstration at Brussels for Universal Suffrage.

15—Kiamil Pasha proposed an armistice.

17—Bulgarians attack the Chatalja lines.

Socialist anti-war meetings in the European capitals.

18—Servians captured Monastir.

20—Hostilities suspended. Uneasiness in Austria over Servian claims to Adriatic ports.

24 & 25—Special International Socialist Congress held at Basel against possible European war.

28—Fourth Duma opened (163 Right, 144 Centre, 125 Left, including 8 Socialists).

30—Waihi strike (New Zealand) ended in victory for employers.

TO PREVENT WAR.

MANIFESTO OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AT BASEL.

The International, at its Congresses at Stuttgart and Copenhagen, laid down the following principle for the war against war :—

" In case of war being imminent, the working classes and their Parliamentary representatives in the countries concerned shall be bound, with the assistance of the International Socialist Bureau, to do all they can to prevent the breaking out of war, using for this purpose the means which appear to them the most efficacious, and which must naturally vary according to the acuteness of the struggle of classes, and to the general political conditions.

" In case war should break out notwithstanding, they shall be bound to intervene for its being brought to a speedy end, and to employ all their forces for utilising the economical and political crisis created by the war, in order to rouse the masses of the people and to hasten the downfall of the predominance of the capitalist class."

Recent events have more than ever made it the duty of the proletariat to use all their energy in following out their organised action. On the one hand the mad rivalry in armaments has intensified the high prices of food, thereby increasing class distinctions and incensing the working classes. The workers want to limit this system of extravagance and consequent unrest. On the other hand the recurring threats of war are getting more and more critical. The nations of Europe are always on the point of being driven at each other without the slightest reason of real peoples' interests for such attempts on reason and humanity.

The Balkan crisis, which is already responsible for such terrible horrors, would mean the most fearful danger for civilisation and the workers if allowed to spread. It would at the same time be the most shameful deed in the world's history on account of the crying disproportion between the vastness of the catastrophe and the slight importance of the interests involved.

Therefore the Congress notes with satisfaction the complete unanimity of the Socialist Parties and the trade unions of all lands in the war against war. As the workers of all lands arose simultaneously against Imperialism, each section of the International,

however, opposing to its own Government the resistance of the proletariat and mobilising the public opinion of its own nation against all war-like lusts, a grand co-operation between the workers of all nations resulted, which has already contributed very much towards securing the world's peace. The fear on the part of the ruling classes of a proletarian revolution following in the wake of a world-wide war has shown itself a considerable guarantee of peace.

The Congress, therefore, urges the Social-Democratic Parties to continue their action by all the means which appear likely to be effectual, and points out, in this common action, to each Social-Democratic Party its special task.

The Social-Democratic Parties in the Balkan Peninsula have a difficult task. The Powers of Europe, by a systematic neglect of all reforms in Turkey, have contributed to insupportable national, economic and political conditions which necessarily led up to the war. With heroic courage the Social-Democratic Parties of the Balkans have demanded, as against the exploitation of these conditions in the interest of the dynasties and the bourgeoisie, the formation of a democratic federation. The Congress urges them to continue this admirable line of action, and believes that the Socialist Party of the Balkans will do everything after the war to prevent the fruits of the war, bought with such terrible sacrifices, being abused by the dynasties, militarists, and capitalist classes of the Balkan States, for their own selfish interests.

Above all, the Congress invites the Balkan Socialists to oppose everything likely to lead to a renewal of the old animosities among Servians, Bulgarians, Roumanians, and Greeks, as well as to all violence against those Balkan peoples who are at present in the other camp, the Turks and the Albanians. It is the duty of the Socialists of the Balkans to fight against any oppression of these peoples, and to proclaim, as against the national Chauvinism which has been let loose, the brotherhood of all the Balkan peoples, including Turks, Albanians and Roumanians.

The Social-Democratic Party of Austria-Hungary, Croatia and Slavonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, have the duty of continuing their effectual action against an attack by the Danube monarchy on Servia, and, as hitherto, to oppose the plan of robbing Servia of the fruits of the war by force of arms, turning it into an Austrian colony, and involving the peoples of Austria-Hungary itself and all the European nations with them in the greatest danger for the sake of dynastic interests. In the same way the Social-Democratic Parties of Austria-Hungary will continue to fight in the future to secure that the portion of the South Slav people within the boundaries of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which is ruled by the House of Habsburg, should conquer the right of democratic self-government.

Special attention has to be paid by the Social-Democratic Parties of Austria-Hungary and by the Socialists of Italy to the Albanian

question. The Congress recognises the right of the Albanian people to autonomy, but protests against Albania being made, under the cloak of autonomy, the victim of the lust of dominion on the part of Austria-Hungary and Italy. The Congress sees here a danger not only for Albania itself, but a menace to peace between Austria-Hungary and Italy at no very distant time. Only as an autonomous member of a democratic Balkan Federation can Albania lead a really independent life. Therefore, the Congress calls upon the Social-Democrats of Austria-Hungary and Italy to oppose any attempt on the part of their Governments to draw Albania into their sphere of influence, and to continue their efforts towards the tightening of the peaceful relations between Austria-Hungary and Italy.

The Congress hails with great joy the protest strike of the Russian workers as a sign that the proletariat of Russia and Poland is beginning to recover from the blows dealt to it by the Czarist counter-revolution. For therein the Congress sees the strongest security against the criminal intrigues of Czarism, which, after sanguinarily crushing the peoples in its own land, and innumerable times betraying the Balkan peoples and giving them over to their enemies, now vacillates between fear of the consequences of a war for itself and fear of the pressure of a Nationalist movement that it has itself created. But if Czarism now attempts again to pose as the liberator of the Balkan nations, it is only in order to reconquer, under this hypocritical pretext, the predominance over the Balkans by bloody warfare. The Congress expects that the urban and rural proletariat of Russia, Finland and Poland, which is growing in strength, will rend this web of lies and oppose itself to every belligerent adventure of Czarism, fight against every attempt on the part of the latter whether directed against Armenia or Constantinople, and concentrate its whole force upon the renewal of the revolutionary struggle for freedom against Czarism. For Czarism, the hope of all the reactionary Powers of Europe, is the bitterest enemy of democracy, and the whole International must consider it one of its grandest tasks to lead towards liberation the peoples under its sway.

But the most important task of the International falls on the working class of Germany, France, and Great Britain to demand from their Governments an undertaking to refuse all support to either Austria or Russia, and to abstain from all intervention in the Balkan troubles, and in every respect to observe a strict neutrality. A war between the three great nations over an outlet to the sea, concerning which Austria and Servia are in dispute, would be criminal madness. The workers of Germany and France do not recognise that any secret treaties necessitate the duty of interference in the Balkan conflict.

If, however, as a consequence of the military defeat of Turkey, the downfall of the Osman power in Asia Minor became inevitable, it would be the duty of British, French, and German Socialists to

oppose with all their strength the policy of conquest in Asia Minor, since the result would inevitably be a world war.

The Congress is of opinion that the greatest danger to European peace is the artificially fostered animosity between Great Britain and Germany. The Congress, therefore, congratulates the working classes of the two countries upon their efforts to improve the situation. It believes that the best means of removing friction would be an understanding between Germany and Great Britain concerning the arrest of the increase of their respective fleets, and the suppression of the right of capture at sea. The Congress invites the Socialists of Great Britain and Germany to continue their agitation to realise this understanding.

To overcome all outstanding differences between Germany on the one side and Great Britain on the other would be to remove the greatest danger to international peace; would weaken the mighty position of Czardom now trying to strengthen itself by means of these differences, and would make impossible an attack on Servia by Austria, and would finally secure peace to the world. To this end, above all, the efforts of the international movement must be directed.

The Congress takes note of the fact that the whole International is unanimous in its principles regarding foreign policy. It urges the workers of all lands to oppose to capitalist Imperialism the international solidarity of the proletariat. It warns the ruling classes of all States against intensifying by warlike expeditions the widespread misery caused by the capitalist method of production, and emphatically demands peace. Let the Governments not forget that in the present condition of Europe and the state of mind of the working class they cannot let loose a war without danger to themselves. It must be remembered that the Franco-German War resulted in the revolutionary movement of the Commune, that the Russo-Japanese War put into motion the revolutionary movement in Russia, that the competition in naval and military armaments has in England and on the Continent increased class conflicts and caused enormous strikes. It would be madness if the Governments did not comprehend that the mere notion of a world-wide war will call forth strong indignation and protest among the workers. The latter consider it a crime to shoot each other down in the interest and for the profit of capitalism, and for the sake of dynastic ambition and of diplomatic secret treaties.

If the Governments interrupt the possibility of the normal development of the people, and thereby provoke desperate steps, they will have to take the whole responsibility for the crisis thus brought about.

The International will redouble its efforts to prevent this crisis; it will protest with an ever greater emphasis, and organise its propaganda more and more widely and energetically. Therefore, the Congress instructs the International Bureau to follow up the events with all the more attention, and, come what may, to pre-

serve and strengthen the communication between the proletarian parties.

The proletariat is conscious of being at this moment the bearer of the whole future of humanity.

In order to prevent the destruction of the flower of all peoples, which is threatened by all the horrors of wholesale slaughter, famine and pestilence, the proletariat will put forth its whole energy.

So the Congress turns to you, proletarians and Socialists of all lands, that in this decisive hour you should let your voice be heard! Make known your will in every way, and everywhere; lift your protest with full force in the Parliaments; gather together in masses for great demonstrations; make the utmost use of every means which the organisations and the strength of the proletariat place in your hands. Take care that the Governments should always have before their eyes, alert and impassioned, the will of the proletariat for peace! Oppose thus to the capitalistic world of exploitation and wholesale slaughter the proletarian world of peace and the brotherhood of the peoples!

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES.

Woman certainly has a right to crow over her victory of November 5, remarks one editor, who hastens to add, "if the 'female of the species' ever does such a masculine thing." In fact, we find a number of papers declaring that the addition of four more States to the six which had already granted complete suffrage to women is really the most important single result of the election. "Tuesday's decision of most far-reaching importance was not the election of Wilson," says the Boston "Herald"—an independent paper, by the way, which supported President Taft—"but the adoption by four States of a woman's suffrage amendment to the Constitution." In the light of this decision, it adds, "the common sense thing for the country to do is to recognise woman suffrage as decreed by the spirit of the age, whether wisely or not, and to adjust itself accordingly." The New York "Globe" (Prog.), also thinks that the most momentous aspect of the election was "not the election of a President, but the great change effected in these four States." Its influence, predicts the "Globe," "will endure long after the Wilson Administration has taken its place in history," and "morally, politically, and economically, neither our children nor grandchildren will escape the consequences of Tuesday's irrevocable step." And the New York "Evening Journal" (Dem.) agrees that "as important as any feature of this big election—more important by far than any feature in the long run, in fact—is the news that four more States have joined the ranks of those that give the vote to woman."

It is true that in Michigan, the most populous and the most eastern of these four States, a movement is already under way to annul the women's victory on a technicality, so that the outcome may have to be considered in doubt until the courts have spoken. A despatch from Detroit to the New York "Tribune" (Rep.) tells how Henry Russell, a Lansing saloon-keeper, has petitioned the Ingham County board of canvass to throw out that county's vote on woman suffrage on the ground that the amendment was not printed in full on the ballot, as required by the State Constitution. The dispatch states that similar action will be taken in four other counties that gave a majority for suffrage, but it goes on to say:—

"The disputed ballots were printed in accordance with the resolution of the Legislature, and the lawyers for the women main-

tain that this will be sufficient to give them legality. Judges Edward Cahill and Rollin H. Person and Walter Foster voluntarily appeared as attorneys for the Suffragists, and declared that any attempt to disfranchise the voters on such a technicality would be carried to the Michigan Supreme Court."

If the Wolverine State is not snatched from them in their hour of triumph, the new stars on the suffrage flag will represent Michigan, Kansas, Oregon, and Arizona. The only other State in which the people voted on the woman suffrage issue on November 5 was Wisconsin. Thus in four out of five States in which the people had a chance to declare their attitude a majority of the voters expressed their willingness to extend the franchise to women. If the threatened hitch in Michigan is averted the result in these four States will double the number of women who can vote in the United States, increase the Presidential electoral vote in suffrage States from 37 to 70, and add eight Senators and twenty-five Congressmen to those who are already representing woman voters. In the editorial columns of a special "woman suffrage edition" of the New York "Evening Sun," published in celebration of these triumphs, we read :—

"These facts will have a decided influence upon all political parties, compelling them to stand for suffrage not only nationally, but in their respective State platforms. This attitude was foreshadowed, even before the recent victory, by the fact that all political parties not only welcomed the aid of women, but vied with each other in appealing for their support. Never before were women urged into political service as during this campaign, and they are there to stay. No party can ever again afford to ignore them, or attempt a campaign without their moral and practical aid, and their eagerness for the service of women will for ever silence their old-time cry of 'keep women out of politics!' To plead for the active support of disfranchised women and then deny them direct political power is too great an inconsistency for even modern politicians."

"I prophesy that we will win at least six more States this coming year," says Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National Woman Suffrage Association of America, who is further quoted in the New York "World" as saying :—

"The Dakotas, Nevada and Montana are ripe for conversion. Texas is inclining her ear, and Pennsylvania will make a record fight for the ballot. Both Connecticut and Massachusetts are within the possibilities, while Iowa and Ohio will both press the question."

Dr. Shaw reports evidences of growing sentiment in favour of the cause even in the heart of the conservative South, and points out that only in the East do those in power seem determined that the question shall not be put before the people. On the latter point a writer in the New York "Times" quotes her as follows :—

"The fight has been going on in Massachusetts for fifty years, and in all that time there has been no disposition on the part of

the men members of the General Court to give the people a chance to vote on the question. For forty-three years the women have been going to Congress with their petitions, but there, also, the men have declined to grant their request for the submission to the States of an amendment to the Federal Constitution recognising the right of women to the elective franchise. In the last twenty years the committees of Congress have not even made a report of any sort on the question to the Congress for action."

Nevertheless, Dr. Shaw confidently predicts that "in the next Presidential election every political party will have a woman suffrage plank in its platform," because "women will hold the balance of power in the West, and every political party will try to gain the favour of the woman voter." It is a notable fact in this connection that in spite of Colonel Roosevelt's conversion and the insertion of a woman suffrage plank in the Progressive platform, four of the six suffrage States voted against him. Of the women's programme in Wisconsin, "the most progressive State in the Union," and of the reasons for their defeat there, she has this to say :—

"The day after the election a new campaign was opened in Wisconsin. We shall go to the Legislature at its next session and ask that the question be resubmitted to the voters, and we shall keep this up until Wisconsin has been added to the States where the women have all the rights of citizenship. The cause of the failure this time in Wisconsin is not far to seek. The brewery interests in that State are very large, and the brewers are not in favour, naturally, of conferring the ballot on women. There was a majority of 20,000 against us in Milwaukee. There was another element in the State composed of very fine people of the German sort who have brought with them the spirit of conservatism which has always distinguished their race in dealing with their women; but these people being reasonable and desirous of promoting the welfare of the State will yet be able to see that the best interests of the State and all its people would be promoted by the success of the cause."

The Syracuse "Post Standard" gives the following table of the ten suffrage States, the dates when they gave the franchise to women, the number of their electoral votes, and their population :—

Wyoming	1869	3	145,965
Colorado	1893	6	799,024
Utah	1896	4	373,351
Idaho	1896	4	325,504
Washington	1910	7	1,141,990
California	1910	13	2,377,549
Michigan	1912	15	2,810,173
Kansas	1912	10	1,690,949
Oregon	1912	5	672,765
Arizona	1912	3	64,356

The winning of Michigan for woman suffrage, says Ida Husted Harper, a prominent suffrage leader, "was of as much significance to the movement as the carrying of a Southern State at a national election would be to the Republican Party." This victory was largely due, she says, to the support of the State Grange and the State Federation of Labour. In no State, says Mrs. Harper, was suffrage won without hard work on the part of the women, and "there will be no easy victories in the future." After a survey of the struggle in the different States, she concludes :—

"To sum up, the movement for woman suffrage is absolutely non-partisan ; its success has not been due to any one party ; for this reason the women when enfranchised have felt free to cast an independent vote, and they have done so. For their sake and the good of the State it is earnestly to be hoped that these ideal conditions may never be changed."

In Arizona, where every county is reported as giving a majority for equal suffrage, the Legislature had repeatedly refused to submit the question to the people, and the opposition had succeeded in keeping the Constitutional Convention from adopting a suffrage clause. The women, however, took advantage of the "initiative and referendum" clause to bring the question before the voters, and won "hands down." In the "Woman's Journal" (Boston) we read that in Arizona and Wisconsin the question this year was submitted for the first time ; in Michigan it was submitted for the second time ; in Kansas for the third, and in Oregon for the sixth. The lesson of Oregon, says the "Woman's Journal," "is the value of stick-to-it-iveness."

In the Press generally, regardless of party affiliation, these latest triumphs of the women's cause are recognised as earnests of even more sweeping victories to come, yet the notes of ridicule, admonition, and alarm once so prevalent are either absent or lost in the general chorus of approval or of friendly interest. The latter tone especially distinguishes the comment on the torchlight procession of 20,000 women and their masculine sympathisers who marched through the streets of New York on the evening of November 9, in celebration of conquests past and to come. The New York "Sun" notes that as the procession went by no jeers were heard from the multitude of onlookers except from "a few young gabies, blown with insolence and beer," and even their derision was directed, not against the women, but against the men paraders. On this fact, the "Sun" remarks :—

"That girls and women may be Suffragists the downy 'mauvais plaisant' is willing to grant, but he finds some smack of oafish humour still in the fact that men should condescend to share their political privileges with woman ; that strikes the young 'tough' or innocent ignoramus as derogatory to the dignity of manhood and matter for mockery. Children and other savages are the most hidebound conservatives."

Why, then, asks the "Sun," does the cause of women suffrage receive respect where so recently it received gibes? Why have men wearied of the "ancient jocosities" inspired by it? And the same conservative paper answers:—

"Well, they smell success; they admire success; there can be nothing but seriousness about a prosperous, growing, and powerful movement. Men are so made, for the most part. They worship majorities; they find something ridiculous in the beginning of great changes. When these, advocated vainly for years, are at last adopted or on the eve of adoption, it is largely by fashion or instinctive aversion to oddity that they are really imposed upon the community. It would be a mistake to imagine that most men think."

The Washington "Post" (Ind.) rejoices that the "American Woman is winning her way by virtue of sane and orderly methods." "The entrance of women into the national housekeeping has justified itself in our country as in Norway, Finland, New Zealand, in Australia, and even in China," remarks the New York "Evening Post" (Ind.), and the New York "Evening Journal" exclaims that "a country that was ashamed to keep the vote from a million black men should be ashamed by this time to keep the vote from sixteen millions of white women." "Woman suffrage," reassuringly declares the Cleveland "Leader" (Prog.), "is not going to divide homes, set the sexes at war with each other, or in any other way annul the laws of nature or turn the world upside down."

That some students of this movement do not share the Cleveland "Leader's" optimistic outlook on the subject is evidenced by the following words of warning uttered by Martha McCulloch-Williams, and published in the New York "Tribune":—

"As a spectacle the suffrage parade was thrilling. So, I make no doubt, was the burning of Rome. Wonder if the modern Neros in petticoats realised that they were burning up not a capital, but a civilisation. Since both were man-made, they perhaps feel that both deserve destruction."

—From "The Literary Digest" (New York).

THE SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

No explanation that is generally satisfactory has been offered to account for the fact that while the national Socialist vote has been nearly doubled in four years, the party's most conspicuous local candidates around the country have gone down to defeat. Socialist papers simply attribute this to a combination of the "capitalistic" parties wherever the Socialists have become really formidable. Only slightly different is the interpretation in the New York "Times" (Ind. Dem.). "Nothing was risked," it says, "in voting for Debs, since he had no chance of election." But "it seemed different whenever there was a chance that a vote for a Socialist might elect him." That is, according to "The Times," "many are willing theoretically to vote for the beautiful impracticabilities which they are unwilling to have imposed upon them in fact." Among the surprises was Schenectady's unwillingness to send her lively Socialist Mayor to the lower house of Congress, and the defeat of Victor L. Berger of Milwaukee after one term as the only Socialist Congressman. But the Socialists are for the most part inclined to overlook such local set-backs, and to exult in the fact that their party, whose first Presidential candidate received only some 2,000 votes in 1892, after polling 127,653 votes in 1900, and 438,688 in 1908, is estimated to have polled at the lowest estimate 750,000 votes this year. Socialist editors also point out that in Mississippi the Socialists came in ahead of the Republicans, and that their gains in Kansas, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and other important States were "phenomenal." In Minneapolis the Socialist candidate for Mayor lost a close race. The New York "Call" (Socialist) calls the roll of eighteen new Socialists in State Legislatures as follows: "Two Senators and four Assemblymen in Nevada, four Assemblymen in Illinois, one Assemblyman from Crawford County, Kansas, one Assemblyman in Minnesota, and six Assemblymen in Wisconsin." The "Call" is by no means discouraged:—

"Here and there Socialist officials have been displaced by a combination of capitalistic elements, but the movement itself has made steady progress, regardless of what may have befallen individual candidates. And that it will continue to do so in the future there is little doubt.

"On several occasions during the campaign this journal pointed out that the Roosevelt decoy would have a serious effect in holding

back the Socialist vote, that it would attract and intercept a multitude of the unripe in various stages of 'socialistic' development, and the returns indicate that this view has been confirmed.

"At the same time the Socialist vote has increased almost certainly by 80 per cent., and may perhaps double the figures of 1908 when the official returns have been made public."

It occurs to the New York "World" (Dem.) to remark, apropos of this growth of Socialism:—

"If the Socialist vote has reached the million mark, as Socialist leaders claim, the party must be regarded as at last established on a practical basis. It is now full-fledged and in a position to make deals and trades. The Socialists, with a voting strength of these proportions, have 'broken in.' They have proved their right to receive the respectful attention of the older parties, and henceforth must be reckoned as a factor in national campaigns."

This, admits the "Call," "is decidedly flattering," but it recollects that other minor parties have been swallowed up by the "older parties," particularly the Democracy, and so makes this rejoinder:—

"On the whole, we think it prudent to decline 'business' relations for the present. It is doubtful if we can really be considered a business factor at all—in that sense at least. If we have any business at all, it is to put those who invite us out of business; in short, to destroy their business, and the conducting of that business does not involve 'deals and trades.'

"Then, too, it is by no means certain that we have actually reached the million mark as yet, and are perhaps not qualified as to business rating. . . . .

"The Socialist fly is not yet prepared to walk into the parlour of the capitalistic spider and accept his poisonous hospitailty. When we do invade the premises it will be for the purpose of squashing the venomous occupant, not to make 'deals and trades' with him. Our business relations with the 'older parties' involve no more than that, and that is the only sense in which we mean business.

"The invitation is therefore declined without thanks."

Some difference of opinion is expressed regarding the effect of the Progressive campaign upon the Socialist vote. The Boston "Transcript" (Re.) is certain that "the Progressive platform and appeal have robbed the Simon-Pure article of some of the strength that legitimately belonged to it." But the New York "World" declares that "so far from the Roosevelt doctrines being the only sure antidote to Socialism," the Socialists made their best showing in cities like Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and Chicago, and States like California, "where the third party nostrums were best advertised, and commanded exceptional favour." "Instead of arresting the disease, the only patent cure and infallible remedy seems to hasten its development." The Charleston "News and Courier" (Dem.),

too, thinks that Colonel Roosevelt "had much to do with the astonishing strength shown by Debs." It says :—

"The endorsement of an ex-President has been given to a programme which before was considered so radical as not to warrant serious consideration. Mr. Roosevelt has given Socialism recognition, and we know of nothing so likely to help that cause. In tearing down the temple of Republicanism he has not left the field clear for himself by any means. He is responsible in no small degree for the large Debs vote, and he will be responsible for the further increases in it that seem likely."

After a study of the vote, the Springfield "Republican" (Ind.) comments :—

"The new party, led by Mr. Roosevelt, after taking over a reasonable part of the Socialist programme, now witnesses as the result of its efforts the doubling of Mr. Debs's vote. Even the Socialists are surprised. They half expected the Socialist strength would dwindle in such a contest.

"Why was it? Why did Debs poll between 800,000 and 900,000 votes—a total that may reach near the million mark when all counted? We are now entitled to say what we said during the campaign, that the Roosevelt candidacy, with its 'strong,' 'indispensable man' bearing and implications, was repellent to the body of citizens who are inclined to what may best be called Social-Democracy. Rooseveltism, with its marked tendencies toward the concentration of governmental powers and the creation of an overshadowing executive, was the antithesis, in its final analysis, of the kind of democracy of which Socialism has dreamed. And here is the proof, in the election returns, that some 500,000 restless citizens in this country, who had never voted for a Socialist President before, preferred Social-Democracy to imperial democracy. There probably isn't a Social-Democrat among the millions of them in Europe or Great Britain who would not endorse that choice.

"Progressivism evidently must purge itself of its 'indispensable man' predilections, and get rid of its adoration of a popular hero before it will succeed in checking Socialism in a country like America."

Deeming it likely that the Socialist Party will continue to grow in voting strength, "even to a point where it may become one of our great political parties," the New York "Globe" (Ind.) remarks :—

"As the Socialist Party becomes stronger politically—that is to say, as its vote grows larger and it begins to elect its representatives—it becomes more what is called opportunistic. That means that it becomes more and more of a reform rather than a revolutionary party. With growing voting strength, the Socialistic party becomes the most radical reform party, but falls away in its revolutionary spirit."

—From "The Literary Digest" (New York).

THE REVIEWS.

CHINA AND THE COMING OF SOCIALISM.

Sundara Raja, writing in the "Socialist Review" on "The Future of Socialism in the Orient (Part III.—China)," says :—

There is no country in the East more fitted for the realisation of Socialism than China, where the religions, the customs, and, above all, political conditions of the people offer a congenial soil for its growth. Intellectually, China is already well prepared for the Socialist idea. The influence on the one hand of the extreme Agnostic theory of Buddhism, with its assertion of the rights of man in terms even more clear than those of Rousseau, and on the other the creed of Confucianism, which has proved so effective against the spread of land monopoly—these influences, together with those of numerous laws and social regulations in the country, have made smooth the way for even the most extreme Socialist doctrines of equality.

. . . . . .

The revolution has inaugurated a new era in the Chinese history, and what England, the most Socialistic-inclined country in Europe, will achieve perhaps in a century China has already achieved. To end aristocracy is decidedly better than to mend it, and while England is consistently trying to mend it China has summarily ended it. It can be confidently asserted that henceforth there will be no more aristocratic monopoly or privilege in the Yellow Land. China, inhabited by a people democratic by nature, Socialistic by inclination, and freedom loving, as history has shown, will ere long be advancing rapidly both by legislation and co-operative habit towards the Socialistic ideal. There is no country which is more likely to emerge from the midst of the capitalistic and demoralised countries of the world as an emancipated commonwealth. Long, long before the elementary principles of Socialism are incorporated in the legislation and industrial methods of European countries, China will, I believe, have gradually evolved to such a degree of Socialism as will enable it to promulgate new ideas and new conceptions of social well-being for the guidance of the world.

There are no millionaire capitalists in modern China. There are no great "captains of industry" who shall be able to mono-

polise trade, manufactures, railways, and the abounding enterprises which will follow in the wake of the present awakening of the Chinese nation. Nor will these undertakings be entrusted into the hands of those merciless European capitalists who, not content with having sucked the life-blood out of their brethren, are seeking elsewhere in the world that which they may devour.

. . . . . .

There is already in China the nucleus of a great Socialist movement. This is to be found in the guilds which are distributed throughout the land. They resemble the trade unions of this country, but they possess far more real solidarity and combination. They are able to enforce their demands not only on the State but also on the foreign merchants.

. . . . . .

With such a gigantic combination of working men, the Chinese Republican Government, which will own railways and mines, and the leading industries in the near future, is it extravagant to predict that China will prove itself the foremost among the collectivist States of the world? In China the intermediate work of Socialism is not the achievement of political freedom and national independence as in India, but the achievement of economic and social conditions of national well-being.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE: THE MILITANT MOVEMENT IN RUINS.

Mr. Rowland Kenney has the following in this month's "English Review":—

After stating that "the militant suffrage movement is dead," he says:—

A slight examination of the history of the movement will explain why it has come to pass.

For two score years or so certain people requested that the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women. They held meetings, and were very busy discussing, arguing and reasoning amongst themselves, and, on rare occasions, their demands crept shamefacedly into the public prints. But it was not until the autumn of 1905 that the great mass of the public even became aware that a section of thinking people were dissatisfied with the accustomed method of counting noses, or rather with the refusal of Governments to consult all heads and count all noses, before deciding what steps should be taken on national questions.

On October 13, 1905, however, the public were let into the secret. Sir Edward Grey addressed a meeting of Liberals at the

Manchester Free Trade Hall on the evening of that day, and, to his surprise and annoyance, Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney persisted in pestering him with questions on the suffrage until the police took them in charge and lodged them in gaol.

That was an excellent beginning. It rivetted the attention of the whole nation on these two women and their cry: "Votes for women! Votes for women!" From being a whispered tale of a wild dream, it became a war-cry against political monopoly, and the whole nation heard, and, in an unprecedented manner, opened its mind to some of the sense and logic lying behind the cry. . . . .

The next step taken by the feminine insurrectors was equally effective. They went and spoke in plain terms and in their own language to the people they knew, and who knew them and their work. Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Teresa Billington, and Miss Annie Kenney were the chief of the rebels. They had all had more or less experience of political propaganda. Each of the three first-named had addressed hundreds of meetings in favour of Independent Labour Representation in Parliament, and was a well-known and welcome figure at public speaking-places in the Northern industrial towns, whilst Miss Kenney's experience as a woman worker was a splendid marketable commodity in the politico-industrial propaganda mart.

. . . . . .

There have been few movements in this country with such fine potentialities as had the women's new organisation of nearly seven years ago; not even the great Labour cause was achieving such victories over the ignorance of the workers. Had the initial lines been followed during all this time, had the same kind of speeches, the same reasoned and considered addresses been delivered as were made by such women as Miss Billington during the early days, there would by this time have been a sound and effective party among the women workers—for that is where it must be if it is to be effective.

But this had not to be. Seeing that the movement must be a national one, it was decided by the leaders—rightly decided—that the whole country must be attacked, and early in 1906 Miss Annie Kenney was sent to "rouse" London. She did it. London was roused. She enlisted the sympathy of Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who gave time and money without stint, and soon the Women's Social and Political Union became a success. Women of standing and wealth joined the union. Money poured into the coffers, and the Suffragettes were elated; they imagined that nothing grander had been, or could ever be, achieved. Yet it was just here that they began to go wrong.

Finding that money was to be had if the cause was worked on "right lines," and having already had experience of the handicap an insufficiency of cash imposes on us all, the leaders set their wits to work to bring in the women of wealth in even greater numbers.

Again they were successful. Silk gowns and soft speeches were found necessary to attract a certain type of woman. And silk gowns were adopted. The old fiery speeches denouncing the underpayment of women workers, all the outpourings of virtuous wrath against the hell of industrial life, the instructive lectures on the relation of the State and politics to labour conditions was changed to a bare demand for "Votes for women," followed by speeches indicating that, when once the vote was granted, all the evils which oppressed the womanhood of the nation would vanish as if by magic.

But that was only a beginning on the downward path. From adopting a certain style of life—a fashionable and expensive style—for propaganda purposes, the Suffragettes generally took up this style for every day—and for all day—use. From being part of the political agitator's stock-in-trade, as partisan pamphlets and badges are, the silks and jewels became the commonplaces of life. Naturally, this led to another evil. When the ex-teacher or factory worker found herself in these new and infinitely more comfortable surroundings, she adopted the tone prevailing around her. Instead of being able to return to her one-time co-workers in school or mill and talk to them as a sister, as one who felt in her heart and on her flesh the stings of their own wrongs, she began to lecture them, to talk down to them, or, worse still, to ignore the palpitating facts of life, the hundred and one little difficulties experienced by them in their daily toil, and devoted herself to the abstractions and unrealities of political expediency, and the—to them—incomprehensible twists and tricks of the political game, apart from any relationship which it might have to their life or work.

Great demonstrations were held, scores of thousands, on one occasion a hundred thousand people, were gathered together to listen to the lionesses of the movement. Great Liberal meetings were besieged and spoilt; batch after batch of women were sent to prison; the purple, green and white badges and banners of Clement's Inn Authority were more familiar than the Union Jack; men banded themselves together into a league to help the women; thousands of pounds were subscribed to the union funds at one night's meeting, and from the usual worldly point of view the Suffrage movement was the biggest and most imposing success of the day. From the *real* point of view, the point of view of the philosopher, sage, or divine, it was the most ghastly failure of modern times.

For it had lost its soul. To gain worldly honours and the support of money, it had pocketed its grand ideals and adopted the tactics, as well as the jargon, of the politicians it once despised. Its votaries became the lionesses of the hour. Tired and jaded middle and upper-class women whose lives had been spent in devising means of wasting time and calling it sport, or social duty, took up the movement as a new diversion. The afternoon gather-

ings at the Pavilion were attended as regularly by the leisured Suffragettes as the music-halls are frequented on a Monday afternoon by a certain type of people, and for much the same reason: they became an institution, it was "the thing" to go.

THE CASUALTIES OF INDUSTRY.

Mr. Benjamin Taylor writes the following in this month's "Fortnightly Review":—

If we are all Socialists now, as the late Sir William Harcourt said, we do not all view Socialistic legislation from the same standpoint. The "Act to amend the Law with respect to compensation to workmen for accidental injuries suffered in the course of their employment," which was passed in 1897 and extended in 1900, and is generally known as the Workmen's Compensation Act, has been characterised as both Socialistic and anti-Socialistic. It was for a time denounced by workmen even whilst they sought to bring other than dangerous trades under its scope. It has been approved by some employers even whilst others complained that it was unjust in operation, and formed an onerous burden upon industries. It has been, in short, both banned and blessed in the same breath, and although both sides are ready to pick holes in it, no one desires to abandon it. The original measure was full of anomalies, and it introduced a new principle into the industrial system. Whether that principle is ethically right or wrong we need not stop to consider. It has been adopted by Parliament and the country, and will certainly never be abandoned now, however much it may yet have to be modified.

The Workmen's Compensation Act, which came into force on July 1, 1898,* and was extended in 1906, was largely framed on the Factories Act, and was intended to cover the so-called dangerous trades only. The Amending Act of 1900 included farm labourers, gardeners, and the like, but did not otherwise alter the scope of the measure. The Act of 1906 did alter the whole scope, because it included all trades and occupations not specially excluded. This is a wide difference. While no profit is to be derived by comparing the Act as passed with previous proposals, it is desirable, without political animus, to consider in the light of experience that Act as it now exists, and on its merits, as an attempt to make industry bear its own risks, and to throw upon that industry the burden of relieving those who suffer bodily injury in the prosecution of it. Although the Act has partially failed in that, its original object, it has undoubtedly been of great benefit to the working classes. If unexpected difficulties have occurred

* The new amending Act came into force on July 1, 1907.

in the interpretation and application of the measure, unexpected qualities have been revealed. And if employers began by regarding it with serious apprehension, not unmixed with dismay, they have come to recognise that its consequences are not so dreadful as they had feared.

. . . . . .

It may be taken that one result of the Act has been to direct more attention to the causes of accidents. For employers have now not merely anxiety to avoid the payment of penalties to which they are liable under the Factory Acts, they must also protect themselves against the consequences of not taking precautions to avoid these penalties. Yet an employer can neither supervise every workman and every machine-tool he employs nor get rid of the responsibility by delegating the duty of inspection and supervision to others. The employer is, no doubt, in this difficult position, that he is liable for the action or inaction of his agents, the foremen, as he is for carelessness, culpable or otherwise, of his men. There is really no relief for him in the plea of contributory negligence.

. . . . . .

One of the most serious allegations against the Act has been that it has caused, or is causing, old men to be driven out of employment. There is a certain amount of basis for this assumption; nevertheless, the allegation is misleading. The argument is that, as old men have almost certainly, and young lads have only rarely, dependants upon them, the interest of the employer is to employ no old men at all. But the fact is that a workman of sixty is much less likely to have dependants on him than is a young married man of thirty, and if the effect of the Act is to restrict employment to those to whom the smallest potential liability attaches, it will not be the men in the prime of life who will have the preference.

THE SERVANT.

(From the French of MARCEL MARTIN in "l'Humanité.")

The Marquis and the Marquise had taken Victor into their service, principally on account of his magnificent physique, for this man was divinely beautiful. Possessed of Herculean strength, he softened that by a charming grace of manner, a very noble pose of the head, and an affectionate smile in spite of the passivity which the etiquette of service imposed upon him.

"An Apollo-valet," the Marquise described him, with pride and satisfaction.

Victor fulfilled the duties of major-domo in the house, and, on account of his fine figure, those of footman outside. He was really superb in his livery, with the gold buttons; and the high hat with its cockade added to the nobleness of his physiognomy. All the noble Faubourg knew Victor, and he was at least as popular in the great world as among the domestic staff.

Victor loved his employers, and was very devoted to them. Economical, steady, and by no means fast, he contented himself with being passionately loved by the servant girls, and kept his own heart for a young girl in his native place. . . .

The Marquise had two children—pretty, but spoilt, turbulent, insupportable and vicious, as rich people's children are apt to be. They took advantage of the affection of Victor, who had known them from their birth, by forcing him to take part in their games and teazing him.

The peasant loved these children, and lent himself to all their caprices.

One day the elder, having had a New Year's present of a garden carbine, pretended to mistake Victor for a target. . . . It was only for fun, of course, but the charge struck Victor . . . he gave a cry . . . he had been hit full in the face. The right eye was destroyed, half the nose gone, the lip lacerated.

Everyone ran to the spot. Madame the Marquise appeared very much affected by the accident, and made great protestations of friendship to her servant. She sent him to a hospital, demanded that the greatest possible care be taken of him, and promised never to part with him. . . .

Four weeks later Victor was able to return and take up his duties again. Alas! . . . He was disfigured. He was ugly—

frightful. A glass eye was fixed between his red eyelids, the lower lip was white and crooked, the face pale and twisted. The Marquise put on a good countenance, and was able to dissimulate the disgust which she really felt.

She was even tactful enough to renew her protestations of friendship, and Victor took up his old place of service once more.

But the first time they went out, when he came and opened the door of the carriage, she was unable to suppress an instinctive movement of repulsion.

As she was receiving guests that night she got in a steward from outside, and Victor stayed in the kitchen.

The next day the Marquis sent for the unfortunate valet to his private room, and in the presence of the Marquise, who covered her eyes with a fan, gave the young man his congé.

"You understand, Victor . . . it is unfortunate, of course . . . but we cannot help it. . . . Naturally we shall not be ungrateful. . . ."

And when Victor, dumbfounded, tried timidly to say that it was their child who was the cause of his misfortune, the Marquise raised her voice and repiied dryly :—

" Of course . . . of course, and we do not forget that. . . . You have seen. . . . We have done all we possibly could . . . all we possibly could. . . . But there are limits, you understand. . . ."

And as the unhappy man was about to protest the Marquis held out to him a certificate of character, which was accompanied with one or two gold pieces. He advised him to return home, and " from there you will write to us . . . we will do our duty, you will see. . . ."

Victor, heart-broken, signed a receipt for the balance and departed, crying.

" Poor boy," said the Marquise ; " I could not bear to see him any more! " . . .

And she added : " Once he was altogether too beautiful, but now he is too ugly for the town. Really ! " . . .

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AN INTERNATIONAL POLICY FOR SOCIALISTS.

By H. Quelch.

In the last number of the "British Socialist" I undertook, later, to trace the historical and diplomatic development of the existing political situation in Europe, and to suggest the principle by which the policy of the whole Socialist International should be guided in such circumstances.

In the intervening month the situation has somewhat changed; the crisis has become less acute and the danger of a conflict between the Great Powers has become less menacing. The terms of settlement between the Balkan States and Turkey have not yet been arranged, and every day threatens a resumption of hostilities; but the danger of intervention by any of the Great Powers appears for the time being to have been averted.

Notwithstanding these modifications of the actual situation, its essentials—the international rivalries, antagonisms, interests, relations and alliances which

condition and govern that situation—remain practically the same. At present, as for some time past, the outstanding feature of the situation is the grouping of the great European Powers into two opposing camps—the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente—Germany, Austria and Italy comprising the one, and Russia, France and England the other.

At first sight it seems difficult to realise Italy as the ally of her ancient enemy, Austria, and scarcely less so to conceive of either England or France, the two most democratic nations in Europe, making common cause with the most inhuman and fiendish despotism in the world, Russia.

Yet that is the position to-day, and so close is the relation, "understanding," or alliance between the three Powers of either group that it is generally understood that if any of the three should become involved in hostilities with a member of the opposite group, the other parties to the group would be bound to go to the support of their respective ally. Thus, if Austria had felt it necessary to resist by force of arms the recent pretensions of Servia, Russia would, in all probability, have supported the latter, and, in that case, according to the frank public declaration of the Imperial Chancellor, Germany would have most certainly supported Austria. France then, by her long-standing feud with Germany, as well as her treaty obligations to Russia, would be impelled to go to the support of the latter, and in that event it is difficult to see how England and Italy would manage to keep out of the fray.

It is easy to say, as we Socialists have said repeatedly, that in the original cause of quarrel there could be no British interest involved worth the bones of a single private soldier. It is equally easy to say that, as the people of this country have not been consulted as to the engagements which have been entered into by their rulers, they can neither be called upon to carry out those engagements nor to foot the bill. The interests at stake would, in the circumstances described, have spread far beyond the original cause of quarrel,

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and we know quite well by bitter experience that, once involved in a war, the mass of the people here would support the Government; and, moreover, in such circumstances as those indicated, they might conceivably be overwhelmingly in the right in doing so.

Far better, therefore, than to indulge in any such vain protests or idle speculation is it to discover, as far as may be, the causes and acts which have led up to the present situation; to inquire into the possibilities of escape from that situation, or of averting its dangers, and to consider the policy which it is possible for the Socialist International to pursue to that end.

To do this it is necessary to trace the events which have moulded the history and governed the diplomacy of Europe for many years. All these, necessarily, form a long chain of causation which it is manifestly impossible to trace back to its very beginning; but for present purposes the rise of Prussia as the dominating force in European politics, which took place in the first two decades of the second half of last century, may serve as a convenient starting-point.

The year 1870, the early part of which was bright with the promise of peace, when Europe was assured by eminent statesmen that there was not a cloud upon the political horizon, saw Prussia at the head of a new, consolidated German Empire, conqueror of France and dictator of Europe.

There is no question that at the beginning of the war, democratic opinion, especially in this country, was on the side of Prussia and against France. The war was regarded as another adventure of the pinchbeck Napoleon, undertaken to oppose the growing sentiment against the Empire in France itself, to gratify French chauvinists, and at the instigation of the Empress Eugenie and her Jesuits. Eugenie, in particular, was said to be vehemently in favour of the war, and to have spoken of it as "ma guerre"; and nothing then was publicly known of the sinister part played by Bismarck in engineering the outbreak of hostilities. Napoleon, Eugenie, and the French imperialists and chauvinists

generally, were held to be responsible for the war, and upon them was laid the blame.

With Sedan, the surrender and exile of the Emperor and the fall of the Empire, however, public opinion in England underwent a complete change. The popular sentiment against hitting a man when he is down led to a strong revulsion of feeling against Prussia, who, having shown herself to be possessed of a giant's power, was now using it ruthlessly "as a giant." It was felt that here was an occasion for magnanimity. Prussia had made war, quite justifiably, against the Empire. But the Empire was defeated, destroyed, swept away; and France, crushed, humbled, beaten to the dust, with the task of national reorganisation thrust upon her by the disaster of Sedan, might well, it was felt, have been spared the continuance of hostilities and any further humiliation.

Magnanimity to a fallen foe, however, was no part of Bismarck's policy. "Do ut des," was his maxim, and he had no intention of relinquishing a single ounce of the pound of flesh to be torn from France as the price of her defeat. She must be made to suffer all the humiliation, all the loss, of complete discomfiture. The war was fought to a finish; Paris was invested and besieged through the dreary months of that bitter winter of "l'année terrible." Then came the capitulation, with the exaction of the milliards and the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine.

That was the crowning blunder of Prussia's victorious campaign of 1870; and of how much evil has it not been the cause. How different might have been the subsequent history of Europe if Bismarck and Prussia had been as generous as powerful and had hesitated to drag from France the Rhine provinces. It boots nothing to say that the greater part of those provinces was more German than French; that they have been better administered under German than under French rule. The fact remains that to-day the people of Alsace-Lorraine are quite as little inclined to German rule as they have ever been, while the annexation has

left an international sore, an open wound, which has caused endless mischief, is likely to cause still more, and is the source of constant irritation and suspicion between Germany and France.

The immediate result of the humiliation of France and the annexation of the Rhine provinces was to create that desire for revenge which has been played upon with such effect by Clericals, Nationalists, Monarchists, and Bonapartists, and all sorts and conditions of French chauvinists. The more remote results have been the Franco-Russian alliance and all the disastrous consequences of that sinister union, including the ultimate formation of the Triple Entente, and the present armed truce and active rivalry in armaments between England and Germany.

Bismarck was not slow to perceive the immediate consequence of his high-handed action. But he did not, therefore, attempt to avert the danger by any timely concession. On the contrary, like the thief who is being chased hot-foot by his victim and who seeks to evade capture by killing or maiming his pursuer, Bismarck desired to make the "revanche" impossible for France, by making war upon her again before she had recovered from the blows she had already received, and so crippling and bleeding her ("saigner à blanc," he called it) that she would be completely incapable of any aggressive action in the future.

In this kindly Christian intention, however, Bismarck failed to enlist the support of this country, and so he had to forego this interesting plan for utterly disabling the French Republic. As he could not bleed the beast "to the white," or draw her teeth, cut her claws or hamstring her, the next best thing to do was to isolate her. This policy, then, of isolating France, of forcing her out of all European combinations, and driving her back upon her own resources, unaided and alone, was the policy to which Bismarck devoted himself during the rest of his official life. And to this policy England, who would not be a party to the more sanguinary and violent policy, readily lent herself. The English Court,

except the then Prince of Wales, was anti-Gallican and pro-German; so, too, was, in the main, the British Government, except that Gladstone became a Russophil. But Gladstone was never persona grata with Queen Victoria, it is said, and certainly Russophilism has never been popular in this country. As a consequence, for thirty years, from the Franco-Prussian war to the death of Queen Victoria, the foreign policy of this country was, in the main, pro-German, and directed to the support of the policy of Bismarck.

To realise how completely this was the case it is only necessary to recall the bitter hostility manifested by our rulers and the governing class generally towards France no longer ago than 1900; how the French nation and Government were admonished by Chamberlain to mend their manners; and threats—and by no means empty ones—were made by British traders to boycott the magnificent international exhibition held in Paris that year. And all this, too, in spite of the Kaiser's telegram to Kruger, encouraging him to resist the unrighteous demands of the British Government.

Bismarck's policy had so far failed, however, that instead of completely isolating France, it had only had the effect of throwing her into the arms of Russia. This was an unfortunate alliance for France and for the Russian people, but of enormous advantage to the Russian despotism. And this was to be succeeded by an alliance of at least equal value to Russia—that with England, which followed upon the entente between the latter country and France.

With the death of Queen Victoria and the accession of King Edward, the foreign policy of this country, especially in her relations with France, underwent a radical change. Edward was as Gallophil as his mother was pro-German, and he, without a doubt, was keenly desirous of bringing about that good understanding with France which he had the satisfaction of seeing accomplished. It is also beyond a doubt that the "Entente" was equally agreeable to the people of this country, with whom, for many years, despite the

anti-Gallicanism of Court and Cabinet, the French Republic has always been popular.

But the "Entente" had consequences which, although they may have been anticipated, and, indeed, led up to by our rulers, were certainly unforeseen by the people of this country.

It was most assuredly not desired by the British people that the good understanding with France, which they looked upon with so much satisfaction, should be regarded by Germany as the development of a hostile policy towards herself; still less was it supposed that this would lead us into the fatal alliance with Russia. But Germany affected to regard the "Entente" as an unfriendly act from the first, and, by so doing, gave to it implications and an importance it did not at first possess. France, on her part, was nothing loth. The greater the estrangement between England and Germany, on account of the "Entente," the more valuable the "Entente" became to her, as a guarantee of England's support against Germany in case of need.

Then, too, in regard to the Russian alliance, with France it was a case of "love me, love my dog," and the hostility of Germany to the Anglo-French Entente forced England not unnaturally to come to terms with the friend of France—Russia.

For England herself the conclusion of an agreement with Russia, however unpopular with the nation at large, was certainly regarded favourably by the ruling classes generally, although perhaps not by all of them; the King himself, it was said, not being particularly favourable thereto.

To Sir Edward Grey, however, and the Liberal Cabinet as a whole, the agreement with Russia was peculiarly acceptable. It was entirely in consonance with the Gladstonian tradition of friendship with the Great White Czar, the champion of Christianity in Eastern Europe and Asia Minor. Moreover, British capitalism was finding an extensive and profitable field for investment in the rapidly-developing industries of the Russian Empire. Thus economic and political in-

terests jumped together, and the German menace which forced first France and then England into an alliance with Russia was really rendering a service at once to French and English investors and to the Russian despotism. It was a small matter to either party to the alliance, or to the capitalists of either England or France, that the alliance itself would but strengthen the menace which was its cause and origin; that but for French and English capital the Russian despotism would have been swept away by the revolution, from which a new regenerated Russian nation would emerge; and that, at best, the Russian despotism would prove but a broken reed on which to rely in the event of a quarrel between England or France on the one side and Germany on the other. All these considerations counted for nothing with our capitalists and their Government, and so the agreement was made.

It must not be forgotten, however, that this alliance with Russia—first on the part of France and then of England—had its origin in the fear of Germany engendered by the Bismarckian policy which has always aimed at Prussian domination in Central and Western Europe. But for that, and the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, there would have been no Franco-Russian alliance and no Triple Entente, with all the mischief of brutal reaction, aggression, suppression and bloodshed which these sinister compacts with the most brutal despotism in the world have engendered.

So long, of course, as England was pro-German, and estranged from France, there was no "German menace" so far as this country was concerned; but the "Entente" with France was regarded in Berlin as an unfriendly act, as giving France more hope for a successful war of revenge. This developed German hostility to England, the only reply to which, on the part of the latter, was the "agreement" with Russia.

It cannot be denied that both France and England have played right into the hands of Bismarck and his successors, and have done everything possible to provoke and excuse, if not to justify, German hostility—

France, by her wicked, wanton and sanguinary adventure in Morocco; and England by her "dog-in-the-manger" policy in Eastern Europe and in South and West Africa, and especially by playing the discreditable part of bum-bailiff to the international bondholders in Egypt.

Of this latter sordid business, our comrade Rothstein—who certainly cannot be charged with being an Anglophil, a Gallophil, or a Teutophobe—says, in his book "Egypt's Ruin":—

> "It was not the least mischievous side of the aggressive policy of England as regards Egypt that it led to the disunion of the democratic forces of Europe, as represented by the two most progressive communities of our time, England and France—a disunion which lasted over twenty years, brought about the ascendancy of Prussia, the most powerfully reactionary Power in the world, in the Concert of Europe, and lastly threw France into the arms of Russia, to the detriment of the peoples of both countries. This was all achieved by British diplomacy within those fatal months of July and August, 1882."

That, undoubtedly, is true, if not the whole of the truth. That is to say, there can be no question that British policy in Egypt was a contributory cause to the success of Bismarck's policy; and it is not wonderful if other nations refuse to believe in England's good faith, and regard "perfide Albion" herself as one of the chief obstacles to the world's peace, while she so arrogantly ruffles it in different parts of the world, and fails to fulfil her solemn pledges to evacuate Egypt.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that it is Germany, not England, which menaces Western Europe with the alternative of war or despotism; and this, not because England is, morally, any better than Germany, but because she has nothing to gain here, and nothing to hope for from war, while Germany has.

The question, then, is, what should be the policy of the Socialist International in these circumstances? I, for my part, submit, once more, that it is not sufficient for the International to pass pious resolutions of platitudinous declarations that the workers of the various countries have no cause of quarrel, and calling, in a

war between two capitalist States, for "a plague on both your houses." That is a policy of negation, of self-effacement, unworthy of an International Party numbering millions of the working class. That is the sort of policy which found favour with the few jingoes in our own ranks who, when we vigorously agitated and protested against the Boer war—and would have prevented it if Liberal and Radical pacifists had shown equal courage and determination—told us that we were wrong, that it was no part of our business to take sides in a quarrel between two sets of thieves, two capitalist Governments like those of Great Britain and the Boer Republics respectively. That was not our view as a Party, nor was it the view of the Socialist International. The Socialists of all countries, quite rightly, condemned Great Britain for an act of brigandage undertaken on behalf of the international gold-grabbers.

And that, I submit, is the policy which should be adopted by the International in all similar cases. It does not follow that, because two capitalist Governments may be equally bad, therefore in a quarrel between them both are equally to blame. It is for the International, which, to the Socialist, is above and superior to all capitalist Governments, to consider the circumstances; to decide if one side is more blameworthy than the other, and, if so, which; and then, having so decided, to make a definite declaration against that side. Where there was nothing to choose between the two the International might well wash its hands of the business; but where the conflict was undoubtedly due to the aggressiveness of one side or the other, the whole force and influence of the International should be brought to bear against the aggressor. By such a policy the International would only be maintaining the traditions of the Socialist movement in always opposing the most aggressive Power—just as, for instance, the Socialists in the other German States opposed Prussia in the sixties; as Socialists everywhere have opposed and condemned Russian aggression in Eastern Europe and in Asia;

and as we have all opposed and condemned British aggression and domination in South Africa, Egypt and India. By such a policy the Socialist International would exercise power and influence in world politics commensurate with its numerical strength and international character, and would constitute itself a powerful force in maintaining peace, as well as in helping on the international revolution.

LABOUR UNREST.

By W. THORNE, M.P.

The Labour unrest of the past two years has been the subject of many articles in the press; sermons in the pulpit; speeches on the political platform, all giving forth various theories as to the cause and making various suggestions as to the remedies to be applied in order that the worker might be made more amenable to discipline and the employers brought to adopt a more generous attitude in their relations to their work-people. Large numbers of good-natured people have spoken and written sympathetically about the claims of Labour and have suggested all sorts of methods by which the relationship between employers and work-people might be improved. In the midst of all this theorising and the giving of good advice, the workers themselves have been experiencing the ever-increasing cost of living, the effects of which tell most heavily on the wage-earner, because, whilst the well-to-do can purchase their necessaries in larger quantities at the great stores and so get the benefit of a more economical system of shopping, the poorer sections of the community are compelled to purchase in small quantities at the smaller stores and in a large number of cases, particularly in large towns, depend upon the small shopkeeper who gives credit, and consequently charges higher prices than the ordinary market justifies. The workman's wife, faced with the problem of higher prices and the difficulty of keeping a family on a wage insufficient at the best of times, grumbles at her fate, and so helps to fan into flame the discontent of the man with his lot. It is not difficult to understand,

therefore, that the problem of high prices with the relative reductions in wages is the first and greatest cause of the industrial revolts that have lately disturbed the country.

Whilst, however, placing the increasing cost of living as the principal cause of the unrest, it would be folly not to recognise that there are other important causes which are operating to compel the workers to give attention to the problems of their industrial life. The average worker reading his daily newspaper sees rows of figures demonstrating to him the continued increase in the growth of trade; he reads that the imports and exports of the country are breaking all records; he notices that men are dying leaving fortunes behind them which it would require the labours of thousands of workers to earn; his attention is drawn to the giving of freak dinners and the other means of exhausting the possibilities of luxury adopted by the holders of land and capital; and he naturally asks himself, "Where do I come in?" His position proves to him that whilst the wealth of the non-working class is perpetually increasing, he finds it increasingly difficult to keep the wolf from the door.

Another cause of discontent amongst the workers is the continual speeding-up and driving process which is being adopted in practically all industries, the feed-and-speed system, well-known in the engineeering industry, by which the maximum output is forced upon the workman in the minimum amount of time, the pitting of one man against the other to the ultimate disadvantage of both, the absence of any personal relationship between the workman and his employers in nearly all our industries only helping to add fuel to the fire and so accentuating the difficulties of the problem. The operation of the bonus system, which strives to get two men to perform three men's work by giving them a little extra in the shape of a bonus on the time saved, has been discovered in those trades where it operates to be simply another method of holding a carrot in front of the donkey's nose. The co-partnership system,

so much boomed in certain quarters, also has been tried and found wanting, for, whilst the amount of work has been increased, greater efficiency brought about in production and a bigger output obtained, we find there has been a progressive decrease in the number of men employed and less security; whilst there is plenty of "co" about the business, there is very little partnership. In practically the whole of our industries at the present time new methods of production and management are being introduced; while what the workers term the dehumanising of industry proceeds apace. Young men are being appointed as foremen and managers whose only aim is the maximum output with the minimum expense, the personal relationship of employer and workpeople has little or no existence, and so the worker finds himself surrounded by a machine system of industry that looks upon him as part of the scheme without recognising the personality behind the man.

Faced with all these considerations the worker, if he is a member of his trade union, attends his branch meeting room, and hears the more active spirits of the movement discussing the various aspects of his grievances. These men work side by side; with them they know at first hand all the troubles of his daily life, and can it be wondered at if he becomes filled with a spirit of discontent and is prepared to strike for better conditions if opportunity offers? Practically the same thing operates amongst the general mass of workers who are not so much in touch with organised Labour; they hear discussions on the Labour question in dining rooms, public-house bars, clubs, and very often at the street corner they hear some speaker deal with the problems which affect their lives, and so the discontent that may have been dormant is fanned and on some favourable opportunity bursts into flame.

It would not be dealing fairly with the situation to pretend that the discontent is represented solely by antagonism between employers and workmen. There is a great amount of dissatisfaction amongst the organ-

ised workers at what they consider to be the very slow and sometimes useless policy of the leaders. At the present time the rank and file of the trade union movement are demanding greater consolidation in the ranks. The cry is less unions; more amalgamations of different unions in the same industry are proceeding apace; the younger members in the movement are forcing the pace, and within a short period some of us hope to see the Labour movement both industrially and politically consolidated so that we may by united efforts put an end to spasmodic outbreaks of industrial unrest and carry out the principles of the message left us by the authors of the Communist Manifesto: "Workers of the world, unite; you have a world to win and nothing to lose but your chains."

CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

II.

By Dora B. Montefiore.

The next step, therefore, in the scheme of capitalist development was to force upon the South African Union Government (which is the obedient instrument for putting into legal form the exploiting cravings of the mine magnates) the necessity of annexing the lands of "negroes who are not in the mood to seek work." And in this campaign the Press had to be used on the side of the mining interests. The natives must be described as brutal and degraded, as stupid and filthy in their habits; they must be made to feel in every way that they are an inferior race, incapable of rising or of improving their condition. The expression constantly used is that "the native must be kept in his place." Yet, when he shows a marked desire to keep to himself and live on the produce of his own land, he is yanked out of his home and family circle by cunningly-devised laws, and is thrown into the ranks of ferocious competition and of wage-slavery. His primitive methods of agriculture are always spoken and written of scornfully; yet, when he shows himself smart enough to take advantage of a good season, and obtain an unusually heavy crop of corn, the mine magnate weeps salt tears over the "excess of foodstuffs" grown by the native "boys," who are thus enabled, for a season at least, to live as men should live, instead of toiling and sweating as do beasts.

As regards the cleanliness and decency of the natives when left to themselves in their own kraals, I

take the following extracts from one of the Government Blue Books on Native Affairs :—

"Fricksburg, Orange Free State.—On the whole, native huts and enclosures (scherms) are kept very clean."

"Fourisburg natives keep their huts very clean."

These reports and others are in each case signed by the President or Police Magistrate of the district.

On the other hand, when a native comes in contact with our so-called civilisation he is not only cut off from his accustomed communal life, but if working in a mine he has to live in a compound, and if employed as a house-boy he has a hut somewhere on the back premises; but in either case he is separated from his women kind and forced to live an unnatural sex life. Though it is a punishable offence to sell alcohol to a native, there are always plenty of degraded whites engaged in an illicit drink traffic, because the profits to be obtained are so large; and any crimes committed by natives whilst living among the whites are always attributable to the vile cheap alcohol sold to them by white men. Work in the mines is vitally exhausting, and causes a craving for some form of stimulant both among black and white miners, and the statistics regarding the amount of alcohol consumed per head among the white mining population give one pause when reflecting on the example set to these "backward races" by those who initiate them into the civilisation of capitalism. As regards other "benefits" conferred on the native races by their contact with economically-enforced wage-slavery, I take the following figures from the "Mining Journal," of September, 1911: "During that month 65 natives died from accidents, and 400 from disease." Again: "During the 12 months ending September, 1911, 882 natives died from accidents, and 5,602 from disease." It must be remembered that these figures only represent the actual number of natives who die in the compounds of the Rand; but many thousands more are returned to their villages to die, or wander

away, when in the early stages of disease, and eventually die.

Another phase of our beneficent contact with the native population is shown in the following extracts from Blue Book 1910, Department of Native Affairs :—

"Elliotsdale (Transkei).—Syphilis is reported as introduced from the great labour centres."

"Vryburg (British Bechuanaland).—The natives are fairly healthy, but a large percentage are suffering from syphilis in an aggravated form. . . . . The time has arrived for the Government to give this disease its most serious consideration, for unless something is done very soon to cope with its spread in a more satisfactory manner than the present system the whole native population will become affected."

"Gordonia.—Syphilis is rife ; in the municipality there has been an average of 30 cases per month."

"Namaqualand.—Syphilis excessively general at the mission stations."

"Mount Ayliff.—Syphilis exists. It is frequently introduced by natives returning from work in large centres, and by females working in the villages of the Territories."

It is further admitted in the Blue Book Reports that the imposition of the hut tax causes overcrowding. At Inanda (Natal) the District Magistrate writes: "The crowding of large numbers of both sexes into one hut is noticeable everywhere. This is an expedient for tax-saving ; and economy is sought at the expense of morality and health. The 'idokodo' (children's hut) of old is fast disappearing for the above reason." As regards the amount of the hut tax, the Magistrate of Berkeley West states: "I estimate that natives contribute indirectly to the revenue at the rate of about 12s. to 14s. per head per annum" ("head" being a hut tax payer). From Transkei comes the report: "Every adult man with a wife pays a hut tax of 10s., with an extra 10s. for every additional wife. They also pay tank dues and dog taxes."

Pneumonia, miners' phthisis and syphilis—these are the three plagues which are decimating the native population of South Africa, for whom we white races have made ourselves the responsible guardians, inasmuch as we have taken away much of their land, have forced them to pay us taxes (though we give them no representation), and compel them, through economic pressure, to work for us. As regards the way we meet our responsibilities, I cull the following from the Twenty-second Annual Report of the Chamber of Mines (1911): "The question of mortality of natives is having the closest attention of your Executive; and it has been pointed out to you before that if we are not to be credited with humanitarian impulses, we are at least actuated by business motives in preserving our native labour force in an efficient and healthy condition." Socialists, at least, can read between the lines of this cynical utterance, and they realise that, whether it is a question of "our native labour force," or "our white labour force," any ameliorative industrial legislation brought in under capitalism is only (like the Lloyd George Insurance Bill) introduced in order to preserve that "labour force in an efficient and healthy condition" in order that it may be more profitable for exploitation.

In pursuit of this policy actuated by "business motives" the Chamber of Mines reports that the death-rate from pneumonia among natives has been reduced from 44 per 1,000 per annum to 27 per 1,000 per annum; and that since the recent professional visit to the Rand of Sir Almroth Wright, when he prepared a vaccine and inoculated the natives for pneumonia on a large scale, pneumonia has been less rife among the "boys." But when one sees the magnificent physique and muscular strength of both men and women natives in their kraals, and when one studies the bases of their traditional morality and hygiene, one asks oneself if it is not one of the great crimes against human life which is being committed at the present day in South Africa, where beautiful bodies, once instinct with health, are

being, for the vile purposes of capitalist exploitation, first infected with loathsome diseases, and then inoculated with still more loathsome viruses. Surely in our mad lust for gold we are getting further and further away from John Ruskin's dictum that "the only wealth is life"!

THE MONTH.

We concluded our notes last month with congratulations to the men on the North-Eastern Railway for the plucky manner in which they had stood by their comrade Knox, and expressing the hope that they would stick to their guns, and would win.

They did stick to their guns, and they won. But they did not win without considerable sacrifice, nor without an appeal to the law and Governmental intervention.

It was a victory for the men, won by a strike. But at what a cost!. Driver Knox was reinstated, but not till after the case had been retried, and the Special Commissioner who retried it had decided that Knox had been wrongly convicted. In the meantime, some thousands of men had sacrificed their wages for the time of the strike, and were only reinstated on condition that they were mulcted in a further week's wages, by way of a fine, as punishment for leaving their work without notice.

We do not at all condemn the men for striking. As we said at the time. they did no more than their duty, and we backed them up in it, as we always back up men on strike, whatever the cause or occasion. A strike is always justifiable, and sometimes unavoidable, but almost inevitably costly to the men, even if they win. In the present instance it can scarcely be suggested that the gain was commensurate with the cost. It was one of those cases in which, while admiring the pluck, one is constrained to question the judgment of those engaged in it. A sort of Balaclava charge, of which one might say "C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre!"

The result attained might have been gained with none of the loss and sacrifice involved if only the same determination had been shown in insistence upon an investigation as was shown in the strike.

It has afforded another illustration of the truism we have so often insisted upon—that, as a general rule, more is gained by the menace of a strike than by actually striking. A strike sometimes, as we have said, may be unavoidable, but should always be avoided whenever possible.

These observations, of course, apply to all strikes, including that in which the London taxi-cab drivers are at present engaged. It is not easy to see how that strike could have been avoided, and the men certainly have our sympathy and best wishes for their success. Nevertheless, this would seem to be a case in which the men and their immediate employers have certain interests in common, and might have been expected to make common cause against the petrol monopolists.

Cab drivers differ so widely from the industrial workers, and are so near akin to the domestic servant and the flunkey in that their occupation depends entirely upon the patronage of the well-to-do, that it is somewhat surprising to find cabbies so "advanced" and Socialistic as many of them are. If there were no people desirous of getting about quickly, and rich enough to be able to pay for so doing, cabby's occupation would be gone. His function, therefore, is merely that of a dependant upon the bourgeois class; and it is to his credit that, unlike most proletarians in that position, he should recognise his solidarity with the working class, and not with their masters.

What may be termed the legitimate earnings of the men—i.e., the proportion coming to them of the actual fares paid—are miserably low, amounting, in most cases, to but two or three shillings a day. This amount is, necessarily, augmented by "tips," which may make up the earnings to a decent wage, but are a most objectionable system of payment, and, moreover, make the recipient appear to himself to be more than ever a hanger-on of the parasite class.

The great Labour Conference on the "Osborne" Bill proved, as might have been anticipated, a complete fiasco. It was simply a waste of time and money to hold a conference to decide on what was already a foregone conclusion. The Bill which it was decided to support—for want of a better—is really a laughable piece of Liberal humbug. It ponderously proposes to legalise and legiti-

matise action by a trade union which has never been, and could not be, called into question. Thus a trade union can, after a circumlocutory series of formalities, engage in political action, and can devote to that purpose funds which have been voluntarily subscribed by its members for that and no other object! And this is the piece of fudge which is to stand with the trade unions for a reversal of the Osborne judgment!

Surely the Labourists who would accept this would accept anything. Far better have nothing at all than this miserable pretence of legislation. Why the Labourists should not have frankly said so, we are at a loss to understand. They said, of course, that this was better than nothing; that if they did not accept this they would get nothing better from the present Government, and nothing even as good from their successors, supposing that the Tories should come in.

But what of that? How much worse would be the position of a trade union with no legislation at all than with this miserable measure? Under the Osborne judgment there was and is nothing to prevent the members of a trade union from voluntarily subscribing to a political fund, apart from the regular funds of the union, and using that fund for any purpose they may collectively agree upon. This measure will enable them to do no more, except that, under the Osborne judgment, a member would have to voluntarily "come in" to the fund, whereas under the provisions of the Bill he would have to voluntarily stand out. In the one case the participation in political action of a trade union member depends upon his initiation; in the other case he becomes a participant as a matter of course, and is only relieved from such participation on his own initiation.

That is the only difference the Bill proposes to make, and we maintain that it is not worth discussing, much less supporting, and "Labour men" ought to be ashamed of themselves for agreeing to legislation on such lines.

We are at one with them in being against the Osborne judgment. We are not at one with them in maintaining that members of a trade union should be practically coerced into paying for politics in which they do not believe. The Socialist Party has to depend for its political activities upon the voluntary contributions and services of its members. The members of that Party pay,

voluntarily, with their time and their pence, for their own politics. Most of our members are trade unionists, and, as such, have involuntarily to help support the political activities of the Labour Party, in addition to their voluntary contributions for Socialist work and organisation. As a rule, although the Labour Party certainly do not deserve our support, few Socialists complain about this double burden. It does seem only reasonable, however, that the contribution in the one case as in the other should be voluntary; and it is somewhat irritating to have our Labourists at International Socialist Congresses sneer at the smallness of our numbers and brag that they represent a million and a-half organised workers to our few tens of thousands, when we know quite well that whereas our members pay at least from four to five shillings a year for their politics, not ten per cent. of the "million and a-half" would *voluntarily* pay twopence a year for theirs.

That is an argument in favour of the Osborne judgment. We are against that judgment, however, not because it prevents a trade unionist being compelled to pay for politics for which he has no particular liking. If that were the only objection to be urged against the present position we should uphold the latter. If the trade unionists want political representation they will pay for it voluntarily; and if they are not willing to pay the price of a pint of "cold fourpenny" once a year in order to secure political representation, they cannot care very much about it; and Labourists should be ashamed to wish to compel them to pay.

That, however, is not our point. Our point is that trade unions should have a perfect right to dispose of their own funds in any legal way they may, by a majority vote, decide. If the law is to say that the funds may not be used for political purposes it will next say that they may not be used for strike or any other purposes. It is because we regard the Osborne judgment as a gross and unwarrantable interference with the right of the unions to the control of their own funds that we are opposed to it. It is on that ground that it ought to have been fought, and the acceptance of this Bill is a base and cowardly surrender which will make any future fight for the real principle at stake all the more difficult.

The agitation now being carried on by the British Socialist Party for Adult Suffrage is entirely in keeping with the past record of the movement in this country, as well as with that of the

International Socialists of all countries, who stand for Universal Adult Suffrage; and we here have never lost an opportunity of pressing forward our demands for this fundamental political reform. We do not permit that to obscure any other matter of more urgent or more vital moment. Just now, however, the promise of Manhood Suffrage and the undertaking by the Government that the inclusion of women in that measure shall be left to the House of Commons, not only afford us a special opportunity to press for Universal Adult Suffrage, but impose it upon us as a duty.

Unfortunately, the foolish and mischievous pranks of the Suffragettes—incensed at the prospect of the extension to *all* women of the franchise they wished to retain as a privilege of the few—has done incalculable injury to the cause of Adult Suffrage. They have done their best, or worst, to justify the rejection by the House of Commons of any proposal to extend the franchise to women. It is for us to undo, as far as possible, that mischief, and to give expression to that democratic feeling in favour of political equality between men and women which the Suffragettes have done so much to outrage.

By their latest vagaries the Suffragettes must have surely overreached themselves. The destruction of private letters, the giving false alarms to the Fire Brigade, the attempt to wreck trains by tampering with signals, should be sufficient indications of the unbalanced minds of women who have lost all right to speak for their sex, and who ought to be put under restraint of some sort rather than be given an extension of liberty.

Some of the members of the B.S.P. Executive have thought fit to bring forward a resolution to dissociate themselves from the agitation for increased naval armaments by this country. The resolution, which was carried by a narrow majority, was quite uncalled for. No one would suspect the Party as a whole, and much less those responsible for this resolution, of any desire for, or association with, an agitation for increased armaments. Moreover, the resolution consists mainly of a reiteration of our common detestation of war as a crime against humanity.

There can be no question of our agreement about that. The only difference that can arise between us is as to how best to "seek

peace and ensue it." Recent events in Eastern Europe would seem to indicate that a neglect of naval defence and a state of unpreparedness for war are calculated to invite attack and to precipitate the conflict we all wish to avoid.

That, so far as the land forces of this country are concerned, we are in no fit state of national defence, and that such forces as are now available are only of service to keep the people down, and would be incapable of defending us against invasion, cannot be gainsaid. As against that we have always advocated a National Citizen Force in place of the professional Army and Haldane's make-believe Territorials. In this advocacy we have always been opposed by a number of our friends, who contend that there is no need for such a force because our only possible line of defence is the Navy. Then, when it is submitted that in the circumstances, therefore, the Navy stands to us in the same position as a national citizen force to the people of a Continental country, and should, therefore, be maintained in adequate strength to undertake the duty of national defence, this is held to be flat heresy, from which the Party should explicitly dissociate itself.

We are unable to follow this reasoning. If the Party should explicitly dissociate itself from any advocacy of the maintenance of an adequate Navy, it should surely, also, explicitly dissociate itself from those who oppose the organisation of a National Citizen Force on the ground that an adequate Navy renders such a force unnecessary.

For our own part we do not consider that the Party, as such, is called upon to declare itself for or against the one or the other. The advocacy of armaments is no part of the function of a Socialist Party, and we put forward the establishment of a Citizen Army, as an alternative, in every way superior to a professional Army. Apart from that, it may reasonably be contended that the bourgeois parties will always be sufficiently eager to increase armaments, and that, however necessary we may regard them, there will be always more reason for us to apply the curb rather than the spur. On the other hand, while holding this view, we should eschew heresy hunting, directed against those who, as individuals, as distinct from the Party, may hold and advocate the opposite view.

At the time of writing the London Peace Conference has broken down, and we are threatened with a resumption of hostilities be-

tween Turkey and the Allies. The latter have displayed just that insatiate greed for territory and for all the spoils of war which, as we show elsewhere, has already, in other quarters, been the fruitful cause of world-wide mischief, and which entirely discounts all calculations based on the assumption that modern States see no possibility of gain by mere acquisition of territory. Such an assumption has absolutely no warrant, as innumerable instances in the past would prove, and of which the present insistence by Bulgaria of the abject surrender of practically the whole of Thrace by Turkey affords another proof.

Here, also, is another instance of a conqueror overreaching himself. Turkey is fully justified, morally, in refusing the surrender and humiliation demanded of her; and the event may prove that she has also material ground for such refusal. The chief thing to fear from a resumption of hostilities is the spread of the conflict through the intervention of some one of the Great Powers. This, however, can be avoided by the Powers compelling their catspaws—the Balkan League—to be a little more reasonable.

Hearty congratulations to Professor Alfred Russel Wallace on the attainment of his ninetieth birthday. Hale and vigorous at that advanced age, he is an example to all of us of the reward of health and strength and manhood won by a life spent in the service of humanity.

EVENTS OF DECEMBER, 1912.

AT HOME.

1—Celebration of Peter Kropotkin's jubilee.
2—Three thousand miners in the Garw Valley struck against non-unionists.
3—London County Council sitting suspended because of disagreement on fixing polling day.
4—New rates of Navy pay announced.
Lord Lansdowne, at Alexandra Palace, dropped the Referendum proposal.
5—Resignation of Sir Francis Bridgeman and appointment of Prince Louis of Battenburg as First Sea Lord announced.
6—Strike of North-Eastern Railway men on account of Driver Knox being reduced on charge of drunkenness.
7—Mr. John Redmond greatly interrupted by Suffragettes at Dalston.
8—Death of Robert Hutcheson, pioneer of Socialism in Glasgow.
9—Railway strike spreads: 10,000 men idle.
Doctors voting on final terms of Mr. Lloyd George under the Insurance Act.
10—House of Lords passed Criminal Law Amendment Bill.
11—Premier announced no licensing legislation for next Session.
12—House of Commons ended Committee stage of Home Rule Bill.
13—King's Bench judgment given in favour of West Ham half-house occupiers remaining on electoral roll.
14—Mr. Chester Jones reported that Driver Knox was not drunk; Driver Knox pardoned by the King, and North-Eastern railwaymen agreed to return to work.
15—Death of Mr. Whitelaw Reid, American Ambassador to Great Britain.
16—Mr. Bonar Law spoke at Ashton-under-Lyne on Tariff Reform and his attitude towards trade unions.
Sir Edward Grey formally opened Balkan Peace Conference at St. James's Palace.
17—Doctor's vote on Insurance Act completed—11,309 against, 2,422 for service under the Act.
Select Committee on London Traffic began its sittings.
Ambassadors of Great Powers met at Foreign Office to discuss Balkan question.

18—Sailors' and Firemen's Union said to be preparing for national strike.
20—Parliament adjourned for nine days.
21—Doctors in conference rejected Mr. Lloyd George's medical benefits scheme.
Thames Ironworks closed down by Court order.
26—Terrible gale in the English Channel.
28—Operative cotton spinners decided to withdraw from the Brooklands Agreement.
30—House of Commons reassembled and started Report stage of Home Rule Bill.
31—First list of doctors willing to serve under the Insurance Act closed; general refusal to serve, but many panels completed.
London taxicab drivers resolved to strike against price of petrol.

ABROAD.

3—Armistice signed between Turkey and three of the Allies; Greece refused to sign.
5—Japanese Cabinet resigned.
Canadian Premier announced a vote for £7,000,000 for the construction of battleships for the British Navy.
7—Renewal of Triple Alliance for further twelve years announced.
9—Austrian War Minister resigned.
New South Wales Minister for Lands resigned.
12—Death of the Prince Regent of Bavaria.
14—General Botha, Prime Minister of South Africa, resigned in order to re-form his Ministry.
16—Twenty-four hours' strike, declared against war by the Confédération du Travail at Paris, proved a fiasco.
21—Strike in Kiel dockyard.
22—Attempt on the Indian Viceroy at Delhi.
28—Thirty-eight executive members of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Ironworkers convicted at Indianapolis of criminal outrages.
General de Wet addressed a Hertzog demonstration at Pretoria.
30—Death of Herr von Kiderlen-Waechter, German Foreign Minister.
Labour union officials sentenced at Indianapolis to imprisonment for from one to seven years.
Strike of 10,000 New York garment workers.

FINANCIAL FALLACIES.

By JOHN RICHARDSON, M.INST.C.E.

"Think truly and thy thoughts
Shall the world's famine feed."

A rich man dies and leaves a fortune of £10,000,000, and the world is filled with admiration if he bestows £1,000,000 in public charities. Before we join in this admiration, let us inquire how he got this immense fortune, and ascertain of what it really consists.

Many people still have the idea that a fortune of £10,000,000 consists of 10,000,000 sovereigns. This idea, most people now know, is entirely erroneous. If it were true, and these 10,000,000 were locked up in a strong box, they would produce no income; but, like the war fund of Germany, would cost a very large sum year by year to guard them against robbery. Of course, they might be spent, say, at the rate of a million a year, but in less than ten years they would all be gone.

No, a great fortune does not consist in stores of gold coins. What, then, is it?

Well, it may be many things, probably more numerous than those below enumerated, but these may be taken as a fair sample. Say in :—

Railway Shares	One million.
Steamships	,,
Coal and Minerals	,,
Gold Mines	,,
Woollen and Cotton Mills ...	,,
Agricultural Land	,,
Building Land	,,
Pictures, furniture and jewels	,,
Bank Shares	,,
Consols	,,

Let us look at each one of these sources of income; they may vary greatly in the interest they pay, but for our illustration may all be taken as paying 5 per cent. per annum—5 per cent., not in gold, but in some thing or service for which gold is exchanged. It must be remembered that all our exchanges, though measured in gold, are really in *things*; at the most, gold only enters into exchanges (according to Lord Avebury) to the extent of 2½d. in the £.

Our capitalist will get for his investment in railway stock (one million at 5 per cent.) £50,000 worth of *things*. Who provides

them? The railway directors are highly paid, but they produce nothing and do but little. The manager, clerks and staff work, and work hard; but they produce no wealth. The whole of the immense capital in our railways is useless and worthless, as the recent strikes have shown, unless an army of skilled men sets them to work. So, then, their *usefulness* comes from labour; nevertheless, even the railways produce *no wealth*, but rather consume it in coals and oil, the food of all the workers, and wear and tear of stock.

What railways do is to transport wealth in the shape of coal, minerals, corn, wool, etc., which is produced in one place, to another place where it may be used or enjoyed. The real producers of wealth pay for this service by taking a smaller price for what they produce; these producers also pay all the expenses of the railway traffic—drivers, guards, porters, staff, directors and shareholders—maintain themselves and pay the dividends. Producing much, they have little left after all these payments—just enough to keep them and their families alive; but from each of them the capitalist gets on the average about £20 a year, and as he gets, as stated above, 5 per cent., or £50,000 a year, he needs some 2,500 workers to pay him this sum.

Let us look at his investment in steamships, and we shall find it much the same. A steamship of itself produces no wealth, and if idle in dock, like many hundreds now are (June, 1912), they are wasting wealth enormously; when at work they are a means of getting it, not of producing it. The rich fool who pays on the Titanic £750 for a private deck to be included in his luxurious accommodation certainly gives this amount to the shipping company, but it is only in the form of a cheque, which is in reality only a legal order authorising his banker to collect this amount of wealth from some producers under his control. The ship's officers and crew, her boiler and passengers, are consuming, not producing, wealth. The cargo the ship carries is of more exchange-value in one part of the world than another, and the producers of this cargo (of, say, manufactured goods) have to pay the cost of its transport by taking less for it in England than will be paid for it, say, in America; its intrinsic, i.e., real, use-value remains the same. The factory hands, however, in Lancashire, Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, who have produced the wealth, pay for all and keep little in the form of wages. Thus, in the ship investment again, some 2,500 men or women have to part with £20 a year each to make up another £50,000.

Another million is invested in coal and other mines. Now, coal is a natural product which no one has made. Being, as a rule, buried very deep in the earth, it can only be of use to anyone by the employment of labour: first, to sink a shaft in order to get at it, and then to hew it out from its bed, and by means of suitable machinery made by other workmen bring it to the surface. The coal miners, while thus employed, have to be fed and clothed, and this is done by other workers employed on the land and in work-

shops. Other workers distribute the coal over the country, and the price paid for it goes to pay interest on capital, way-leaves, royalties, directors' fees, many unnecessary business charges, rent, taxes, etc., and a small part is left to the workmen who get the coal; these, again, have to part with practically the whole of what they get in order to pay other workmen for food and clothing for themselves and their families.

Nature's gift and workers' toil produce all—but the workers get and enjoy but a small part of the wealth they produce. The capitalist who has a million pounds invested in coal mines paying only 5 per cent. gets another £50,000 a year, which is contributed by some 2,500 workers.

Whether the mine be of coal, iron or copper the process is practically the same. Nature's gifts, which are *everyone's*, and the results of labour, which justly should be Labour's, are the sources from which all wealth comes.

Some may not accept this statement, and may point to the speculator, stockbroker, or gambler, who amass great fortunes and do not employ any productive labour. True, they do not directly, but they do indirectly. Such men *get* a great deal by speculation, etc., but some other persons lose as much as the former gains; even more, for expenses have to be paid, and the whole of the enormous cost of our army of speculators, company promoters, stockbrokers, gamblers, and most of our merchants and tradesmen has to be borne by the working man, the wealth producer. He has even to pay the civil and military forces, which are kept principally in order to compel him to part with the wealth he produces.

Gold mines, it may be thought, belong to a different class; and many years ago, in the days of "placer mines," it was the worker himself who dug for and got the gold. That does not alter the fact that gold, like other minerals, is a gift of Nature, and can only be got by labour.

The principal sources of gold now are in the mines of South Africa, where it exists principally in the form of a very fine powder embedded in hard clay or rock, so fine as to be often quite invisible to the naked eye. The matrix containing it has to be dug out or blasted out of the mines: this is done largely by negro labour. From one to twenty tons of the rock have to be crushed by machinery to an impalpable powder in order to get out the one ounce of gold they may contain; other processes follow for the recovery of the gold from the slime produced, all involving labour. So long as the labour continues on this material, gold can be produced, and can be exchanged for corn, fruit or other things which may be enjoyed, and which other labour has produced.

In order that 5 per cent. may be paid on the million invested in a gold mine 2,500 men have to work hard all their lives, while they and their families remain poor.

We will now look at the million invested in woollen and cotton mills, and they will lead us to the same conclusion, viz., that **Nature and labour are the source of all wealth. The mills are**

built of materials furnished by Nature, i.e., land, clay, lime, stone, iron, wood, etc. : all these things have to be prepared by labour. The intricate machinery of the engine and tools, the spinning machinery and looms, have been designed by one class of workers and constructed by another class, and used by others, many of whom are women and children. If these workers cease to labour all wealth-production ceases.

Thus, to provide the capitalist with his £50,000 interest another army of 2,500 workers is required—even more than this number in this industry, but fewer may be required in some others, and thus the numbers will equalise each other.

Land is thought by many to be by far the safest investment, so we will consider one million to be invested in agricultural land. Three or more acres of land can be got for £100. At the price named, for a million pounds we should get, say, 20,000 acres, costing £600,000, leaving the balance of £400,000 to pay for buildings, farm implements, stock, etc.

It will be seen at once that the land by itself will produce little or no wealth ; even that which may grow naturally without cultivation, from brambles to trees, brings in no income until some labour is applied to it. True, the capitalist would have no difficulty in letting this land at various prices to different tenants at rents varying from 20s. to 40s. per acre, and thus get his 5 per cent., or £50,000 ; it may be less in the case of land, probably 3 per cent. would be nearer the mark, but we are taking an average, and some of the other investments would bring in much more.

One thing we want to make quite clear and certain, viz., that all material-wealth comes from the air, the water and the land—great natural gifts belonging rightly and equally according to their needs to all living beings—and that it is only by labour that these great natural gifts can be transformed into wealth fit for our use and enjoyment.

Another million of our capitalist wealth is in town land, and may be thought to be of different character, but it is in reality the same. If left unused it certainly pays no rates, but it brings in no income. When houses are built upon it, labour must be employed in the building, and tenants must live in the houses *and* pay rent. If they are working-men's dwellings the rent comes out of the wages received for working in some factory or on some land. If these men stop working they get no wages, and the capitalist gets no rent. Houses of themselves bring in no income, produce no wealth ; left to themeslves they decay, and, going into ruin, cause great loss. It is the worker, and the worker only, who pays, because only he produces wealth.

But, it may be said, some of the land is covered by large houses and gardens, for which high rents are paid but which are tenanted by people who do no work. This is all too true ; but these people are living upon the profits of factories, farms, or other wealth-producing investments, and the work which produces this income

is done by others instead of themselves. These others, the workers, take a smaller share than is rightly due to them in order that these idlers may live without work; but it is work which produces the wealth for both. Thus another 2,500 workers give to the capitalist another £50,000.

When money is invested in movable articles, such as furniture, pictures, and other works of art, jewellery and the like, it is generally past labour which has made these things what they are—labour of cabinet-makers, artists, workers in gold and silver jewellery, china and pottery of unique design, searchers for precious stones, and those who slowly but skilfully grind them into their brilliant forms, carvers in wood and ivory, and others of like kind.

These things, made by workers in past ages, bring in or produce no wealth now, but from the cost of their care and attendance are a source of present economic loss.

Year by year, however, if genuine, they may increase in exchange-value, though, of course, being unchangeable in themselves, they do not increase in real value, like a lump of clay does when it is transformed into a brick.

These increases in price, or exchange-value, come as follows: Being genuine works of art by workers long since dead, they cannot be increased in number, and are, therefore, very rare and highly esteemed; their possession gives a pleasure, consideration, and dignity to their owners which they may not be able to get in any other way. A wealthy pork butcher or steel rail manufacturer in America desires to have this pleasure and distinction, and he gives £100,000 for a picture which its real producer sold perhaps for £50. This sort of thing occurs frequently, but it must not be forgotten that the pork butcher has had for years several thousands of underpaid workers in his factories living miserable lives, working long hours under horrible conditions, and in this way they and the farmers who bred the pigs have produced the wealth which pays for the picture. A shipload of bacon or pork goes to England and an "old master" comes back to America; but it is labour which has produced both the picture and the pork, and which has made the ships which carry them, the houses where the one will be eaten, and the palace whose walls the other will adorn. Thus, if a million pounds are invested in works of art, and these increase in value £50,000 a year, 2,500 men somehow and in some way must be working at the present time, and producing the wealth wherewith the £50,000 may be paid.

By investing a million in bank shares one may possibly, even probably, gain more than 5 per cent., and thus, in the opinion of some, avoid all connection with the workers; but this escape cannot be made.

Even supposing the shares are bought and paid for in hard cash, gold coins, this does not alter the case. The gold was obtained by labour, as we have already shown. If it was received in exchange for houses, railway stock, or works of art, these,

again, are the products of labour, and the gold would not be given unless it was believed that labour would go on producing wealth in the same or a more productive way.

That, however, is not all; no bank could pay any interest on its capital if it kept it all in the form of gold locked up in its strong room. It is not at all true that "money makes money," but it is an instrument by which workers may be induced or compelled to produce wealth for the owner.

There are many ways in which the banks may utilise this million. They may invest some of the money in low-priced land, in this or another country, which land they have reason to believe is shortly to be made more valuable by labour being employed upon it in some way, such as the construction of a dock, a railway, or the building or extension of a city. They may purchase shares in other banks, insurance companies, or what they believe to be very profitable commercial undertakings; or they may lend to a great number of tradesmen and manufacturers at a good rate of interest, say 5 per cent., always taking abundant security for repayment.

One purpose for which gold and silver coins are largely used is in the payment of wages. People in receipt of high wages, like bishops, Government officials, judges, etc., don't want the bother of coins; a slip of paper (called a cheque) with an order to be paid £1,500 once a quarter is quite satisfactory to show them; they don't even cash the cheque, but just pay it into the bank, and an entry in the bank book and the pass-book completes the transaction. They know that for that credit of £1,500 they can command a week's labour from more than a thousand men, or three months' labour for two to three hundred men.

It is different with the working man; if he be skilful and well paid, in and by a week's work he produces wealth to at least £5 (this is the average product of all the productive workers in England); he receives in wages £2. Being a steady man he takes this home to his wife; when the club money and the rent is paid and provision in food, clothing and other expenses are met, there is little or nothing left.

The landlord and the different tradesmen have got the £2, which before Thursday is once more lodged in the bank, to be drawn out again by his employer on Friday, and once more paid to the workman on Saturday.

In this way only two sovereigns are sufficient to seem to give a worker £100 a year. Even if he receive this wage for 50 years, it would seem to mount up to £5,000, but only two sovereigns, or one ½ oz. of gold, is necessary to pay it.

What, then, has he lived on? The answer is simple. He has lived on the wealth which he and other workers have produced in such abundance. A small part of this he and they have been permitted to retain, and the two gold coins have been simply part of the machinery by which he has been deprived of the bulk of the wealth he has produced.

Thus, in this case also, it is seen that the £50,000 of bank dividends comes from the surplus labour of another 2,500 workers.

Consols—Government securities paying interest at various rates from 2½ to 8 per cent—let us put our last million there, and on an average we should get £50,000 interest. Possibly! but from whence? Suppose it is punctually paid quarterly by the bankers of the various Governments: how do the Governments get the money? Out of the income produced by the national taxes. True, these taxes are paid principally by landlords, merchants, manufacturers and other income-tax payers out of the wealth they have obtained from the worker in the various ways indicated in the previous pages; but this is not all: the working man himself, out of his meagre wage, has further taxes to pay. Every ounce of tobacco he buys, every glass of spirits or beer he drinks, every two ounces of tea his wife buys, pays a heavy tax. These are not the only, though they may be the chief, ways in which the worker pays his taxes directly; but it must be seen that, directly or indirectly, the worker, the wealth-producer, pays all the taxes, pays the salaries of all the officials, provides all the wealth enjoyed by the idle classes, maintains the judges and the monarchy, keeps up the naval and military forces which are used to compel him to work, pays for the police to arrest him when he tries to live like the upper classes without work, and also for the prisons, lunatic asylums and workhouses where so many of the workers end their days.

It all comes to this, then: The man who leaves a fortune of ten millions leaves not gold or anything which of itself can produce any wealth, but, having by some means more or less honest, but quite legal, obtained control over the labour of some 25,000 men who have had to produce wealth for him during his life, by his will obliges them and their successors for all time to continue to do so for the persons or institutions in favour of whom his will is made.

Supposing that the whole sum is left to charities or public institutions—hospitals, orphanages, colleges, museums, reading-rooms and the like, a chorus of praise goes up to the giver. But what, in reality, has he given? Practically a legal command to 25,000 skilled men to work all their lives, and their successors after them, in order to find wealth with which to build and maintain these great charities. If that is all, is it really much to be grateful for? Let us consider—when a great thing is done there are four persons, or sets of persons, to whom our thanks are principally due:—

He who conceives the idea.
He who organises it.
He who executes it.
He who provides food, shelter and clothing for all who are engaged on it.

Thus, a wealthy brewer is said to have built a cathedral in Ireland—he gets nearly all the credit for it; how much of this does he deserve?

Can he be said to have conceived the idea of a cathedral? Manifestly no. He cannot have conceived or invented an idea which has been in the world for ages. It may be his own idea to put the cathedral in this particular part of the earth, but it is to be built for other people's pleasure and use as well as his own, and they are many, while he is one. It is these others who had best right to decide where they would like to have it.

Does this rich brewer organise the idea?—i.e., does he make the design, prepare the plans, or calculate the size and strength of its various parts? If so, we may thank and admire him; but, no; as a rule, he is quite unable to do any of these things. So architects and engineers are engaged to do this necessary work.

This man is said to have *built* a cathedral. Is it true? No; it is manifestly impossible, even were he industrious and skilful enough; life is not long enough nor is any one man strong enough to build a great cathedral. The cathedral is in reality built by hundreds or, it may be, thousands of workmen working, perhaps, long hours with inadequate reward. The brewer did not make a brick or carve a stone; he did not saw a beam or drive a nail; neither did he dig the foundation or cover the roof. The brewer did practically nothing. No! let us be fair: the brewer did touch a dab of mortar with a silver trowel when the foundation-stone was laid; that is all, and it is worthless.

But it may be said that by paying wages to the architect and workmen the brewer did at least provide them all with food, clothing, etc., while the work was going on. Is this true? Not a bit of it! The brewer did not make one loaf of bread for the labourer, did not stitch together one pair of trousers for the stone-masons, sew a tape on to a carpenter's apron, or build a hut in which any of them could sleep.

All was done by another lot of workmen, under his authority, and by his orders, direct or indirect. One set of workers brewed rivers of beer or porter, and gammoned another set of workers to grow food, make clothing, and build houses in exchange for this beer. It may be asked, what about that cheque for a million pounds? True, it may be admitted that the cheque was written; but it is a very easy thing to do, and takes only a couple of minutes. In itself it is worth nothing. The cheque was simply the order or authority to the workmen; and as for the million of gold—it never really existed. Two or three thousands in coined money was passed backwards and forwards between the different classes of workers week by week for, say, ten years, and the work is done. The cathedral required not money, but work—work of brain and muscle. Brain and muscle under wise organisation could do it all without an ounce of gold; but tons of gold without brain and muscle could do absolutely nothing. Workers do everything—i.e., everything beyond what Nature does for us freely.

(To be continued.)

HOW MUCH OF A CURSE IS WHISKY?

Of all things that we have been accustomed to assume as likely, one of the foremost is that parental drinking weakens children's wits.

But it was distinctly untrue of these English school-children; so very untrue, in fact, that there is a slight balance the other way. The returns show that there were born to drinking fathers 34 per cent. of defective sons and 30 per cent. of defective daughters; to drinking mothers, 40 per cent. of defective sons and 24 per cent. of defective daughters. While there were born to sober fathers 41 per cent. of defective sons and 31 per cent. of defective daughters; to sober mothers, 39 per cent. of defective sons and 30 per cent. of defective daughters.

Regarding eyesight. The children were examined for normal vision, short and far sight, and three varieties of astigmatism. The fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters were all considered separately. I omit the tables to save space; but their summary shows two remarkable facts:—

(1) The larger proportion of normal eyes is found among the children of drinking parents.

(2) The larger proportion of hypermetropia, myopia, mixed and myopic astigmatism, is found among the children of sober parents.

An analysis of the tables themselves reveals no correlation between parental drinking and bad eyesight in the child. If anything, it is the other way: the children of drinking parents have the better eyesight.

This discovery reminded the Galton Laboratory of another curious thing. In a previous investigation of other matters, the Laboratory had noticed a similar slight correlation between normal eyesight and bad social conditions. Where, for instance, you found bad housing, congestion, or parents of depraved morals, you were apt to find it associated with good eyesight in the children. It occurred to the Laboratory that the cause was probably the same in both cases—namely, that the child spent more time outdoors. Bad living-conditions tend to drive out children, and so do drunken parents.

So the Laboratory set out to find the correlation (1) between parental drinking and how the child spent its spare time, and (2) between the child's vision and how it spent its spare time. The result showed a considerable connection between parental drinking and time spent in the streets, especially where the parent who drank was the mother. In that case it was made clear, as one would suspect, that the mother's drink was more likely to drive out the child, and that more boys were driven out than girls.

The correlation that was found between the eyesight of a child and where it spent its time brought out a curious result. The largest percentage of normal eyes was found to be among those who spent their spare time in the street. This is as we should expect. The next largest, however, was not among those who spent their spare time partly in the street and partly indoors, as we would suppose, but those who spent it practically all indoors. The reason for this has not been determined. All that can be said is that greater time in the street for either boys or girls does not appear to be continuously associated with better eyesight, either as regards acuity of vision or correct refraction—the test being made for each, and the correlation for each being separately computed.

Finally, although tables do not much adorn a page, the table showing the correlation between parental drinking and child-mortality must be given. Here the drinking parents were divided into two classes: those who drink regularly, and the "periodicals," as we know them, or those who go on sprees:—

	Father. Sober.	Father. Drinks.	Father. Sprees.
Average size of family	5.99	6.20	6.03
Average number dead children	1.73	1.99	1.97
Net family	4.26	4.21	4.06
Death-rate, per cent.	28.9	32.1	32.7
	Mother. Sober.	Mother. Drinks.	Mother. Sprees.
Average size of family	5.91	6.25	6.32
Average number dead children	1.68	2.09	2.28
Net family	4.23	4.16	4.04
Death-rate, per cent.	28.4	33.4	36.1

It will be seen that the death-rate is higher when the mother drinks than when the father drinks. It is possible that this may indicate some toxic effect. But noting the especially high death-rate where the mother is a "periodical," it might more reasonably be inferred that when the mother drinks a large number of deaths may be due to carelessness or misadventure.

Another common error is indicated in this table; namely, that the population would increase much faster were it not for the child-mortality due to alcohol. The relative size of the *net* family goes to show that the abolition of alcohol would not make a difference of 1 per cent. in the increase of the population.

Professor Pearson sums up the results of the investigation by saying that "no marked relation of any kind has been found between intelligence, physique, or disease of the offspring and parental alcoholism, in any of the categories investigated." This conclusion, I repeat, is not final. Finality, in a matter of this kind, is an affair of many years and much research. But as far as the investigation has gone it is dependable; and Professor Pearson,

who invariably speaks with the reverent caution of a true man of science, goes so far as to say that nothing in sight at present seems likely to modify it.

It is a startling conclusion, especially to those trained, as I was, to believe otherwise. To some it may be unwelcome and shocking. It may make upon them the painful impression of an attempt to whittle down the seriousness of the problem of drink.

But truth, if one is but willing to trust it, is never found unfriendly to a good cause. If Professor Pearson's conclusions are finally proved beyond question, the cause of reform will not be weakened but strengthened. The moral burden of responsibility for this national evil will be increased, not lightened. Seen by this new light, the problem will no doubt show many aspects of difference from our present apprehension of it, but all its seriousness and all its insistency will still be there; nay, in fact, they will be redoubled.

We now think of alcoholism as a habit that a young man slips into largely because he gets into the way of bad company and saloons are handy—something, at all events, largely self-cultivated. We hold our social responsibility commensurate merely with the saloon-facilities we offer him, and conceive that this collective responsibility ends with the closing of the saloon. This is about our conception of temperance reform at the present time.

But if Professor Pearson's conclusions are correct, this conception is inadequate. No doubt, a man will not become a drunkard if he can get nothing to be drunk with; but merely keeping him sober does not solve, nor even touch, our real social problem.

Because, according to Professor Pearson, alcoholism is a *symptom*—a symptom of a defective stock. In his scientific language, it is a "somatic mark of a defective germ-plasm in the stock." The disorder then reaches far beyond the individual case; and keeping the man sober by mere mechanical means does not remedy it. He is prevented, certainly, from degenerating into a certain definite type of nuisance; but while that is something, in view of the real problem it is very little. Such treatment merely amounts to suppressing some outward and visible signs of his disorder, but it does not even approach the root of the disorder itself.

Here is a signboard pointing to the maelstrom of error that has sucked in many a statistician—the practice of taking association for causation. Thousands of consumptive parents have consumptive children; therefore, until the germ was caught and detected and the whole theory of the disease revised, we all firmly believed that consumption was inherited. Or, again, when we see a man who drinks and is poor, we infer that he is poor because he drinks. He may be; but, again, he may drink because he is poor.

—From a Review of Karl Pearson's Investigations, by A. J. Nock, in the "American Magazine."

THE REVIEWS.

THE EVILS OF PARTY.

The Earl of Rosebery contributes the following, under the above heading, to the December "Review of Reviews:—

Japan is indeed the object-lesson of national efficiency. Happy is the country that learns it. But not a hundred books or a thousand prefaces will bring this lesson home to our own nation. We have been so successful in the world without efficiency that in the ordinary course of events we shall be one of the last to strive for it without external pressure. We won our empire and our liberties by genius and daring in an inefficient world. Now that one or more nations are keenly striving after efficiency, it will not be easy to maintain our heritage; for the inefficient nation must sooner or later go to the wall. We have muddled through so successfully by character and courage that we are indifferent as to any other secret of achievement.

Three things may move us: obvious decline, sudden catastrophe, or some stimulating example. This last, at least, is furnished by Japan.

Some think we are too old a nation for new departures, that our garment is too old for new patches. It is true that we cannot begin on entirely new lines; we cannot, like an American manufacturer, scrap all our old machinery and begin suddenly afresh. But Japan is, historically speaking, a much older nation than ours, and yet she actually did this very thing some thirty years ago: discarded nearly everything but patriotism, and began a fresh career. But the exception of patriotism was vast and pregnant. For she not merely retained a peculiar devotion to fatherland, but developed it into a religion. "Our country is our idol," says a Japanese editor, "and patriotism is our first doctrine. From the Emperor downwards, the vast majority have no other religion."

How stands it with us in comparison with these Orientals? We have all the raw materials, some of the best. We have courage and brains and strength, but there is surely an immense leakage of power in their development. Politically speaking we begin and end with party. We are all striving to put ourselves or our leaders into offices or expel other people from them. This is not from want of patriotism, quite the reverse; the habit of cen-

turies has made us believe that this is patriotism, this and no other. Do we ever stop to reflect what is the outcome of it all: the net result of millions of words, words, words, of great debates and incessant divisions and spirited autumn campaigns? In truth, exceeding little. "The hungry sheep look up and are not fed." But Brown has made a fine speech, and Jones has surpassed himself, and Robinson has done less than usual, and so we turn complacently from the long newspaper reports to the ordinary bread and cheese of life. And the old State machine creaks on.

The fact is that party is an evil—perhaps, even probably, a necessary evil, but still an evil. It is the curse of our country that so many, especially in high places, should worship it as a god. It has become so much part of our lives that even those who think ill of it think it as inevitable as the fog—so inevitable that it is of no use thinking what we should do without it. And yet its operation blights efficiency. It keeps out of employment a great mass of precious ability. It puts into place not the fittest but the most eligible from the party point of view—that is, very often, the worst. Efficiency implies the ruling of the fittest; party means the rule of something else—not the unfittest, but of the few fit, the accidentally not unfit, and the glaringly unfit. The most efficient and brilliant Ministry on our annals strikingly exemplifies this fact. The office of chief Minister was divided into two parts, strictly delineated: one, party and patronage, managed by the Duke of Newcastle; the other, business and the work of the nation, for which (the elder) Pitt was responsible. By thus cutting himself off from the petty cares of party, Pitt was free to do the country's work. His partner made the bishops and the deans, and the generals and the admirals, and appointed everyone, down to the tidewaiters; while he himself planned victory. By this equitable division work was severed from patronage, and efficiency from party; the result was the most successful Government known to us. But it has found no imitators or successors. And yet, if party be inevitable, this should be one way of escaping its evils.

It may, no doubt, be alleged, and with truth, that party is to some extent fading among us, that party divisions are increasingly unreal, and that the party landmarks are being constantly shifted about. That does not, however, affect the position. There is enough party to last our time, and what has to be done should be done quickly. And, after all, if you get rid of party in one shape, it will turn up again in another. Why, then, it may be asked, break your teeth against a stone? Party is as ineradicable as our climate; it is, indeed, part of our moral climate. Granted. But it is at least necessary to point out that whenever we do begin to aim at efficiency we shall be handicapped by this formidable encumbrance.

There has no doubt been plenty of party in Japan. But party in Japan has not spelt inefficiency; it tends, perhaps, in the other direction. It appears to be a rivalry of faction for the goal and

prize of efficiency. Japanese parties apparently represent a nation determined on efficiency. That is where we differ. We are not a nation determined on efficiency ; we have thriven so well on another diet that we are careless on the matter. We regard our parties as interesting groups of gladiators. Our firmest faith appears to be that one will do worse than the other ; so we maintain the other, whichever that may be. The possibility of a directing and vitalising Government that shall do and inspire great things we seem to exclude from possibility with a sort of despair. We know too well that our Ministers, however great the ardour and freshness with which they set to work, will soon be lost in the labyrinthine mazes of Parliamentary discussion, and that whatever energy they can preserve when they emerge must be devoted to struggling for existence on provincial platforms.

And yet there is work to do—pressing, vital work, which does not admit of delay : work which would fill strenuous years even if Parliament were suspended and not a speech were delivered.

But Parliament must sit, and speeches must be discharged. We must then, at least, learn from Japan how to obtain efficiency in spite of party systems. That is the best lesson she can teach us.

THE ABOLITION OF THE RUSSIAN "MIR."

M. Boris Lebedeff writes the following in the January "Contemporary Review" :—

Communal land-tenure, which has played such an immense part in the history of Russia and has left a deep mark on the character of the Russian people, has been for the last half-century the subject of an acute controversy between its adherents and its adversaries in Russian literature. But it is especially since the promulgation of the edict of November 9 (22), 1906, by means of which the Prime Minister, M. Stolypin, intended to abolish the "mir," that the vast and complicated problem of communal land-tenure has aroused a particular interest all over Russia. The late Premier attached great importance to this edict ; he used to say that under its influence Russia would be entirely changed in twenty years, and that the working of this law could not be stopped "even with cannon shots."

Whether this prophecy will prove to be correct or not, we cannot yet say ; but we must admit that since the abolition of serfdom in 1861, no legislative act more daring and revolutionary has been carried out in Russia. And yet a measure of such importance was passed first in a purely bureaucratic way, without obtaining the sanction of the Duma, and became a proper law, accepted by the Duma, only four years later, on July 14 (27), 1910.

We will not discuss here the controversial points about the advantages and the drawbacks of the communal system. To endeavour to give a true picture of what has been occurring lately in connection with the new law will be the object of this article.

Before the revolutionary movement of 1905-1906, the Russian Government regarded the "mir" with entirely different eyes, and considered it as the corner-stone of the whole political and economical fabric in Russia. It was recognised to be an historical institution, characteristic of the Russan nation, any alteration of which it would be dangerous even to attempt. Only the reactionaries, like M. Katkoff, held a different view, saying that the communal land-tenure hindered the peasant masses from differentiating into a richer class and the proletariat, and thus blocked the way for the development of a large industry in Russia—curiously enough the same view was taken later on by the Russian Social-Democrats. Besides, apart from its historical value, the "mir" was a valuable asset for the Government from the financial point of view. It is known that when the serfs were liberated in Russia they were granted land, for which they had to pay to the State during forty-nine years about £9,000,000 per annum. The village commune, with the "joint responsibility" of all its members, was considered then to be the surest means for collecting this money, as well as the rates and taxes, from the peasants. It was also the most convenient way of keeping them together as a separate class.

When, in the 'nineties, the Government intended to enact some reforms in the peasant laws, the Minister of the Imperial Household, Vorontzoff-Dashkoff, advised against touching the commune. "Before the liberation," he said, "the peasants believed in God, the Czar, and the landlord; now they have, instead of the latter, the 'mir.'" Individual peasants were, however, permitted to leave the commune if they could pay at once all the money they owed the Exchequer for their allotments. This was by no means an easy thing to do, and, in fact, few of them availed themselves of their right.

The Government was, nevertheless, disturbed by the small but steadily growing exodus from the commune, and by the transfer of the outgoers' allotments to speculators. Consequently, in 1893, the Minister of the Interior brought before the Imperial Council of the Empire a Bill by which peasants were forbidden individually to redeem their lands and to leave the commune without its consent. Defending the Bill in his report to the Council, the Minister said that the "mir" was growing weak, and that the process of proletarisation was threatening the great masses of the people. He pointed out that strong measures were urgently needed for protecting the commune, which was the most valuable asset in the hands of the Government. The Bill became law in the same year, 1893.

At that time the Government considered it their duty to stand by the commune and to prevent its weakest members from becoming paupers. The general policy of Alexander III., though strictly

conservative, was in some respects inclined to be favourable to the peasants. The Emperor liked to call himself a "Peasant Czar," and insisted that it was necessary to keep up the economic welfare of the peasant class, and to check the growth of the proletarian class. During his reign the capitation tax was abolished, the redemption payments were reduced, and the excise on salt was diminished; while at the same time political reaction was in full swing, and special "land captains" were introduced with a view of putting peasants under the strong hand of the local administration.

In 1906 the Government suddenly took a diametrically opposed view. It decided to protect the richer peasants—the "stronger elements," as M. Stolypin said in the Duma, by attacking the commune and by bringing administrative pressure to bear on it for the purpose of destroying it. This was the means by which the Government tried now to solve the great agrarian problem, and to calm the uproarious waves of the peasant riots of 1904-1905. The position of affairs requiring rapid measures, the Government abolished, on March 12 (25), 1903, the "joint responsibility of the members of the commune." Then on August 11 (24), 1904, corporal punishment was wiped out at last from the Russian law; and on November 3 (16), 1905, when the Constitution had already been granted, the Government freed the peasants from the payment of what remained still unpaid of the redemption money for their allotments. However, these measures came too late, and they proved to be insufficient, the chief reason of discontent amongst the peasants being the smallness of their allotments.

NEW YEAR BELLS.

" For the Dead I mourn—
To the Living I call ! "

Through the winter night sound twelve muffled beats, followed by a full swelling sound, a mighty peal of solemn yet joyous tones : New Year bells !

Groaning and trembling, mourning and rejoicing, their voices vibrate through the air. Unspeakable sorrow is to be buried, hopeful faith in the future is to be awakened.

Like voices out of eternity the tones beat upon the ear. Everything earthly passes away, but life renews itself continually. And, full of longing, the heart beats towards the new life.

But, like an iron band the past clings round us, and refuses to let us step out freely towards the new life which, in spirit, we see. The bells, indeed, ring and call towards new life, but in the dark cell the prisoner of that which has been sits and rattles in vain at the door leading to freedom.

All the demons of his past surround him : poverty and misery, wrong education, inherited prejudices and diseases, egoism and vices, and the man sinks down in despair.

Dead New Year !

And a dead New Year is celebrated by all those who in the general misery seek only their own salvation. They expect from each New Year that it will fulfil their old, narrow, personal desires. They want a different sort of year, without themselves changing in the least. And yet only he will celebrate a really joyful New Year's Day who is ever ready to exchange his present " I " for a better self of to-morrow.

What would the individual be without the inner communion with the whole great world-process of the development of civilisation ?—A leaf driven by the wind, a tree without roots ! And if he possessed all the treasures of the earth, and were surrounded by the pleasures of all times and seasons, and of all climes, he would still be dead if his heart were not a channel for the great universal wave of progress.

" For the Dead I mourn ! " sounds the New Year bell.

Thousands shudder at its sound. Their wretched, fruitless life, in spite of external glamour, makes it appear that life altogether

is worthless, and in a painful orgy of pleasure they riot through the New Year's night. But out of the depths there come, through the confusion of tones, jubilant sounds speaking of the affirmation of life and its joy.

In the depths life is being newly born.

Already the new world germinates in the womb of the old. Millions of hearts beat faster to welcome it, and millions put their strength at its service.

"To the Living I call!" sounds the New Year bell with its inspiriting rhythm. And everything that is healthy and full of vitality streams together in the one all-powerful aspiration to create for life new, higher forms.

What is rotten and putrid sinks into dust and ashes.

Thrones thousands of years old tremble and totter and fall. The temples of old divinities reel to their foundations. Against the proud hereditary lord the serf rises as a free man. The adamantine resistance of the old tables of the law is broken and riven by the new organic force of young life. Authorities, long respected, tumble from their pedestals. Privileges and prejudices sanctified by time die away before the storm of on-coming forces.

But in the midst of the ruins there arises, more resplendent and beautiful than ever, the Phœnix of humanity, around which jubilate the released prisoners, the freed serfs, and those who were in despair, but now begin to hope once more.

And so the New Year's bells tell of destruction and new birth in changing rhythms.

But, in this uninterrupted play of death and life, humanity slowly moves upwards and onwards towards its self-perfection.

Already, over the decay of the old covenant, the disciples of the new covenant of justice and freedom reach out their hands to each other. Through the thunder of cannon and noise of battle between peoples there comes the sound of the confession of faith in the solidarity of *all* men. But united humanity will, with unchained creative power, make the earth into paradise, freed from the curse of fratricidal hatred.

The New Year's bells say: We call the Living to this new covenant!

Away with all that is vacillating, weak, selfish, and narrow! The Dead decide for the old world, the Living for the new!

Thereupon arises a host of warriors, the lightning of enthusiasm glowing in their eyes, unconquerable courage in their hearts. Millions escape from the chains of slavery, and weld together their common strength into one single, forcible, creative power, which forms the new covenant for humanity.

And, suddenly, to the militant sound of the bells, there is united a bright, jubilant hymn to the freedom and redemption of mankind.

This is how the Living keep New Year's Eve and Day. Each New Year a further step onwards to freedom and light.

He who with a faint heart has despaired of the old life, let him become a fighter for the new. Let that be the change which the New Year brings to the individual. Then the earth will once more be firm and steady beneath his feet, and life will gain a new brilliance and lustre.

Whoso with a brave heart leaves the ghosts of his past behind him and becomes entirely possessed by the strength of the new life, to him the sound of the New Year bells will be as the joyous song of hope and confidence in the future.

But for all the others let their sound bring to mind the words of Goethe :—

Wenn du aber das nicht hast :
Dieses Stirb und Werde,
Bist du nur ein trüber Gast
Auf der dunklen Erde !*

—By M. M. in "Vorwärts."

* But if to this thou dost not hold :
This ever dying and re-birth,
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THE
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GERMAN MENACE OR CAPITALIST RIVALRY?

By J. B. Askew.

The article of our friend Quelch in the January number of "The British Socialist" induces me to attempt at least to make it clear why I do not share his position in this matter.

In the first place, I think Quelch, like many others, when he comes to trace the development of German or Prussian policy, ignores the fact that the Prussian State or German State whose policy he is tracing is itself a creature of the same evolutionary process—in other words, the centre of power in the German Empire has been materially altered since 1870.

No doubt, outwardly, the Junker power remains untouched. The Junker aristocracy still monopolises in great measure the leading posts in the Army and in the Administration, to say nothing of the Ministerial and Court appointments—but under the surface a great change has taken place which would show itself very

clearly should Germany be involved in a great war—above all, a great naval war. It is probably scarcely an exaggeration to say that the leading Berlin banks—above all, the groups of banks which are led by the Deutsche Bank on the one hand and the Dresdner on the other—with the closely allied industrial undertakings, are well-nigh, if not absolutely, the greatest political power in the Germany of to-day.

It is this element, and not the Junker, which is at the back of the German "Welt politik," or imperialism, as it has now come to be called. The development of the German Navy has not been the work of the Junkers, whose attitude was one of sullen acquiescence rather than of cordial co-operation till they saw that it could be made a means of extracting valuable concessions, especially as a means of still further raising the duties on corn and meat. The German Navy has never been, in the same sense as the Army, a happy hunting-ground for the sons of the aristocracy, partly for the reason that, being of quite recent growth, the same traditions have not had time to grow up, and, above all, because the German Navy was compelled to make very heavy demands on the intelligence of its officers.

It is no mere chance that under Bismarck the world policy of modern Germany played only a very small part. Bismarck's policy, in opposition to the present rulers of Germany, was purely Continental. So little did he bother about Colonial development that he was very glad to encourage France to colonise North Africa, in the hope of diverting her energies from Europe, and for the same reason he suggested to Italy to go to Tripoli, and was delighted when England became embroiled in Egypt.* The general idea at the back of his policy was that of winning peace for Germany

* A conversation has recently been published from the papers of Crispi, the authenticity of which there is no reason to doubt. In this conversation Bismarck offered to sell to Italy the German African colonies, and Crispi replied by saying he had meant to ask Bismarck if he could not buy the Italian colonies there. "Times change," is the comment of "Vorwärts."

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in Europe by keeping his neighbours by the ears. Even the Eastern Question was for him only a question of quite minor importance, and it was not even worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier to prevent Russia going to Constantinople. And even when he founded Colonies it was notoriously only a concession to pressure which had been brought to bear on him. His offer to Crispi to sell him the German colonies in Africa was only characteristic of his general attitude.

As regards England, he never pursued a particularly friendly policy towards that country. The idea of national friendship, or, indeed, of any sort of sentimentality in the relations of nations was one which would have been completely foreign to his whole nature. But he always equally avoided bringing England into antagonism with Germany.

And that, it may be said at once, is the traditional Junker policy. It was the development of German capitalism, and, above all, of German high finance and German shipping which brought with it a desire for a Navy to protect that shipping against the all-powerful British rival, as well as a desire for fresh fields of investments for capital.

It was, in other words, the growth of capitalism in Germany that brought them into antagonism with England, while the Junker or Agrarian policy is the greatest obstacle to the development of a German Colonial policy. For instance, so far from Colonial preference are the Germans that Colonial products have to pay the full duty on entering into Germany; and when recently it was proposed to meet the undoubted deficiency in the German meat market by importing meat from the colonies, the proposal had to be abandomed because of the opposition of the Agrarians in Germany, who, in the most cynical fashion, pointed out to the colonies that they could find a better market in the English colonies. A piece of advice which would be unthinkable from the standpoint of our English Imperialists. And the same thing has occurred, so far as I can see, in regard to the Bagdad

Railway. There the opposition of the Junkers has been aroused by the suggestion that this railway might lead to the development of new corn-growing countries in Mesopotamia, which would lower the price of wheat.

For the Editor of "Justice" there is but one alternative to going to war with Germany—that is, submission to Germany at any price; and as his loyalty to the International forbids him to advocate the former, he swallows the latter much as we, as children, used to swallow nasty medicine. Otherwise he sees, in imagination, the German Emperor riding at the head of his troops through the Mall and a Prussian Commissioner of Police clearing the Council Chamber of the London County Council.

Even were that the case, it is not clear that from the standpoint of our friends themselves that that would be a great loss. In fact, it has never been easy to reconcile the views so often expressed in "Justice" by the Editor on the condition of the English working classes or the peoples of India under English rule with the view that either the English workers or the population of India would lose by an exchange of masters, or to see what reason "Justice" has to get uneasy at the prospect of German domination. I must explain that these are not my own views, though as regards India I can hardly believe that it would make much difference to the people of that country whether they pay their tribute to English, Russian or German rulers; but if the iron law of wages holds good, in the form laid down by "Tattler," if their wages cannot sink below or rise above the subsistence level, and the general conditions of their labour are not liable to be altered—and I take it that the iron law of wages as laid down by "Tattler" covers also the general conditions of labour, hours of labour and so on, then what difference can it make to the English worker under which flag he comes?

Or if it is on purely political grounds, then it would be a situation not devoid of humour that the British worker should demand a fleet to protect rights which

he can hardly be persuaded to make any use of. Or that the German Emperor should be burning to destroy the political rights of the tame English worker when he cannot even prevent 4¼ million Socialists votes at home. Any more than that the German Government, who have made a hopeless mess of the Polish Question, and cannot even settle the problem of their French and Danish subjects, wants to add to their difficulties the task of ruling the English and the Irish. That to say nothing of the Dutchmen.

I am far from denying that a foreign conquest of the nature referred to might prove a hindrance to the Labour and Socialist movement in the countries concerned by the impetus which such foreign rule gives to national movements in the ranks of the workers, in which national solidarity with the capitalists of their own nation would tend to take the place of international solidarity. There is no need to deny that, and yet there is no need to exaggerate the importance of such an admission. In general we must trust in this, as in all similar matters, that the reality of the class war will awaken the proletariat to a sense of their own interests. Up to now the great hindrance to the awakening of the English worker has been the feeling that his nation was superior to the poor foreign devil. This feeling has had to be overcome, perhaps even yet exists to be overcome, but of that I will not speak. Would it be so much more difficult to overcome a nationalism based on the contrary conditions—namely, the feeling that the nation as such was oppressed? There is one element that is perhaps more calculated than any other to prevent such nationalism taking deep root to-day in the workers—namely, the growing internationalism of capitalism itself. For instance, in the Morocco crisis French interests were represented by German as well as French capitalists, to say nothing of others, while German interests were equally partly held by French financiers. The universality of the company system makes it possible to have an interest in all countries—to say nothing of the

capacity of the employers to move their industries from one country to another and found branches in other countries.

This growing internationalism of capital, while it does not make war impossible between the nations, will undoubtedly sharpen the class war and make it more bitter, since it makes it more easy for the capitalist to play one country off against another, and, above all, renders the capitalist class much more independent of the workers in every way, and so much the more useless for the workers of any one land to think of a co-operation with the capitalists for patriotic ends. The capitalists will at the most look on such help from the workers as a means of playing them off against the workers of other lands. The institutions which they are supposed to be defending they would sacrifice without a moment's hesitation, and throw their working-class allies without scruple overboard directly it suited their purpose.

That is what makes the arguments of our friends so futile. The question whether the institutions of this or that country are better than those of another is not of so much importance as whether we can trust the bourgeoisie to defend them, and there the answer must be No. So soon as the workers think of using the institutions of their country for the purpose of improving their position, to say nothing of emancipating themselves, so soon do those institutions become a danger to the bourgeoisie.

And that is what we are endeavouring to do when we support the naval supremacy of the English Government. It is hardly necessary for me to prove that the England of to-day is what we know as a bourgeois State. We may grant also that in this bourgeois State the workers have had more political rights than in others, how much more does not matter—the main fact is that the might of the bourgeoisie over the Government remains as yet practically undisputed. It is equally irrelevant whether that political power of the bourgeoisie rests wholly on the ignorance and indifference of the workers or not, since the ignorance of the

workers is in all countries the surest and strongest foundation of bourgeois rule.

But for the sake of those political rights we are asked by our friends to support a policy of naval armament against Germany. Now, assuming for a moment that it was true that those political rights are in danger from the side of Germany, into whose hands are we entrusting their protection? Into the hands of a bourgeois Government, although we openly proclaim our intention to use those rights for the purpose of abolishing bourgeois rule.

And should any one of my readers doubt the power of a bourgeois Government to attack, or even betray, these political rights, then I would reply that there are more ways than one of stealing a horse. A direct attack is not necessary, there are backstairs ways which arrive at the same end. Popular rights are more easily lost than many people seem to be aware of.

And I would like to point out in this connection what opportunities are afforded through the growth of British armaments. There is no doubt that the very growth of armaments implies a diminution of the Parliamentary control, since how is Parliament going to control the military and other experts? And that control will be much less when the whole question is regulated by an Imperial Council of Defence on which representatives from the various colonies sit—a council sitting in private and responsible practically to nobody. And the same applies to the Imperial Conferences. These meetings of the Prime Ministers of the self-governing colonies—by reason of the very fact that their meetings are semi-private, only an authorised report being published and that some months later—can become a dangerous institution and one that opens the way for a large amount of political log-rolling. In these and other ways the form of Parliamentary control would be maintained no less in England than the colonies when the reality had long disappeared, and our bourgeois rulers, while professing loyalty to democracy, would have abolished it.

In reality, however, the Anglo-German rivalry is a purely capitalist dispute between two sets of international financiers which only concerns the proletariat in so far as they will be called on to fight on the one side or the other.

"Justice" recently asserted, on the authority of "Vorwärts," that England is peaceful because she has got all she wants. That we have heard many times in "Justice." Unfortunately there is not the least ground to accept this theory that the desire for expansion has been satiated in our ruling classes. As a matter of fact, the same has been often enough proclaimed, and yet the area of the British dominions in Asia, Africa, etc., has grown continuously, and the dispute with Germany over the Bagdad Railway is largely, if not entirely, the result of the fear that it would interfere with rival plans cherished by Great Britain. That this would involve the annexation of large tracts in Arabia and so on is more than probable. Has not England already virtually divided Persia with Russia? Then, how about the Cape-Cairo Railway? If that is to be built on British territory that will also involve the acquisition, either by exchange or otherwise, of fresh territories. I think those who have watched the activity of our colonial groups, and know what influence these have on the policy of the Government, will not be inclined to accept the statement that England does not want new territories as affording any guarantee that the English Government will not go to war on that account. Were, for example, the Turkish possessions in Asia to come into the melting-pot, will our friend Quelch undertake to say that Great Britain would not take a part in the scramble that would ensue? But it is in these and similar questions that the rivalry between England and Germany consists, and in no way does it matter to the English or German worker which side wins any more than whether so-called German or English financial groups can invest the surplus-value which they have accumulated, or whether this or that company will be promoted in London, Berlin, Paris or

New York. Quite the contrary. Were the English capitalists to realise their dreams England would become a land of dividend-drawing capitalists living on incomes drawn from the whole world. English industry would have died under the competition of these imports, for which no exports would be required. And for the workers in England there would be no place except either as transport workers, shop assistants, clerks, etc., or as domestic servants.

We are always hearing the old refrain that England must have a fleet because she is an island, and, moreover, dependent on oversea supplies to maintain her population; whereas Germany is an inland State, and consequently her fleet is no necessity, only a luxury. It is certainly true that England is an island and Germany an inland State, that England is dependent on oversea food supplies is also true; but in that respect she is not so very different from Germany.

Germany has become, in point of fact, little less dependent than England on oversea food supplies. For this reason: that were that corn which is imported by sea to be brought overland by train, and the same applies to that which might come through neutral harbours, the price would immediately rise to such an extent that it would be beyond the means of the workers. The fact that large supplies come by sea, especially from the Balkans, keeps the price at home down to a very large extent, and, after all, it is the price which matters for the poor.

Besides that, Germany is a growing industrial State dependent on raw materials of all sorts, the price of which determines the power of her manufacturers to compete on the world market, and is on that ground no less dependent on the sea than England.

Can it be wondered if the capitalists are not prepared to have their supplies of raw material, their shipping, and so on, entirely at the mercy of their commercial rivals? For that is what the claim of the English ruling classes to the sea supremacy amounts to; and when these self-same German capitalists claim

the right to protect their commerce at sea for themselves, our masters tell them that their Navy is a luxury and no necessity—and comrade Quelch re-echoes the same refrain.

We need not identify ourselves with the German capitalists in any way in order to see that in this case they have the right on their side, and to reject the arrogance and hypocrisy of the British capitalist claim—above all, when we know that it lies in the hands of the British capitalists themselves to secure themselves against starvation. Let them, as Rothstein says, agree to exclude foodstuffs and the like from the list of contraband articles, and the matter is settled. But that is not what they want. To the British capitalist the question of food supply is a question of minor importance; dear prices don't prevent them buying, and the profits make that good, if they can only damage their rivals. But for the English worker the matter is reversed. He has no chance of promoting companies or getting valuable concessions in Asia or Africa if the British fleet wins. His primary interest is how to get food cheap; the capitalist's is to ruin his rival if possible. That is the difference.

THE ANTI-MATERIALIST CONSPIRACY.

By JULIUS.

It is curious to notice the strong revival there has been in our Press of late of the fashion of abusing the wicked materialist. Poor fellow, he seems to have no friends. Yet, after all, he is a very harmless person. On the lowest plane he may be roughly defined as one who holds that a good feed of bread and beef is more important than all the religions yet hatched. This is an eternal truth, never yet shaken from its solid foundation since the world began. On the higher or scientific plane, a materialist is one who holds that matter being indestructible is, therefore, uncreatable; it can change its form, but each form can only evolve from some preceding form. In short, as Ingersoll put it, a nothing is a very poor material with which to create a universe.

Now, why, in the name of reason, one asks, should it be considered that one who holds these opinions —bread-and-beef theory, or matter-only-from-matter theory—is a criminal of the deepest dye? Why should he be considered beyond the pale? Why is it insinuated that the general adoption of his ideas would be disastrous to civilisation and the human race? Why, faced with the materialist, do the spiritual folk get so exasperated that they are driven to spend half their time abusing his moral character, and the other half denying his existence?

Fury against the materialist is always more or less latent, but at certain periods a hurricane of spite breaks out. When those doughty soldiers of the materialist cause, Darwin, Huxley, and their group of

supporters, were fighting the good fight in the eighteen-seventies, the storm was fearful; but on that occasion it was confined to the openly reactionary side; not until some clever person, whose name is unfortunately lost to history, discovered that the phrase "survival of the fittest" could be ingeniously twisted into a defence of capitalism, thus giving the reactionaries the double luxury of blaspheming the sacred name of Darwin while posing as Darwinians and keeping the intellectually lazy in ignorance of his real doctrine, did the storm die down. It has an occasional spasmodic revival at Church Congresses, but as that sort of thing is expected of Church Congresses it attracts little attention.

The singular thing to note, however, about the latest outbreak of splenetic spiritualism is that it is chiefly in that section of the press which is usually considered, or considers itself, as intellectual, or advanced. The feminist press is full of it. A typical reference was that, in an account in "Votes for Women," of the trial of Miss Helen Craggs on a charge of attempting to fire somebody's house. We are not concerned here with the merits or demerits of the action; there may be occasions when it is good policy to set houses on fire. But in a sketch of the pathetic figure of Miss Craggs at the trial the lady reporter compares her delicate "spiritual" character with the coarse "materialist" jury! One ventures to suggest that if the character of Miss Craggs was of so very spiritual a nature it is strange she did not rely upon moral suasion, or even prayer, as a method of getting the vote, instead of the very material means of matches and benzine.

Should any demur to the implication that the feminist press is in any way on the progressive side we may refer to the "New Age." Ostensibly a Socialist review, this journal is distinguished by its continuous attacks on pretty well everybody and everything connected with the Socialist movement. No doubt the Socialist movement can stand it, possibly it will do it a world of good; but nothing is more calculated to give

one a feeling of hopelessness of everything than a steady course of "New Age." Only one Socialism is spared in its columns, and that is Guild Socialism, a theory to which, we believe, the distinguished editor himself is so far the only convert. The "New Age" is also one of those journals wherein that abandoned criminal, the materialist, is bethwacked right lustily, both editorially and contributorily. We have solemn efforts to galvanise into life ideas that were in senile decrepitude 60 years ago; large talk "about the proved facts of spiritualism"! We gather that the idea of the universe existed before the universe itself; if the materialist ventures to doubt this he is, of course, a doctrinaire. He is, moreover, a bigot, because it is shown no materialist can be a freethinker. One will gather this sort of piffle from almost any average "New Age" issue; in short, that journal reflects exactly the ideas of that prince of snobocrats, the classy University or hospital student, for whom apparently it caters.

One could fill many columns with similar instances gathered from our so-called "intellectual" press. In addition, there are the journalists of the Chesterton-Belloc school, gentlemen who mistake dogmatism for argument, and shallow flippancy for wit; these, also, in the intervals when they are not glorifying beef-eating and beer-drinking, occupy themselves with smiting the materialist hip and thigh, generally taking care to do it from a safe place wherein the materialist is not able, or not likely, to come back at them. Finally, we must notice a leading article in the "Daily Herald." Speaking of "Leaders and Ideas," it says:—

> Pioneers in Britain—like our friends of the "Clarion" this week—express surprise and pain over the fact that Socialism has not made much greater headway, considering the ability of the pioneers and the extent of the propaganda. There is one question they might ponder over. Has Socialism, or have Socialists in this country, been too materialistic in their philosophy and their propagandism? Have they ignored the spiritual in man and life? Have they appealed to the interior man at all? And what proportion of humanity is ever likely to be roused to make a great and long-enduring fight for mere body and bread and butter?

Thus does the "Daily Herald" fondly imagine it delivers the knock-out blow to that modern bête noir, the materialist. The unconscious humour here is worth noting, first asking for an appeal to the interior man, and then protesting against making it a matter of bread and butter—a thing which should appeal to the interior man anyhow. But probably that kind of interior was not within the purview of the Editor's spiritual mind. To anyone with a little knowledge of materialists and materialism, no defence is required against such rant and cant as we have instanced. As to the practical and moral results of applied materialism as compared with applied spiritualism: given the problem of a child at school, fainting away from hunger during the lesson hour, instances of which have been reported to the writer by school teachers. Our capitalist rulers in this case apply the spiritual method, and give the child an hour of religion, ten commandments, morality, and what not. But the materialist would say that the first thing to do is to feed the child. A vulgar procedure, doubtless, but a certain cure for the reprehensible habit of fainting during lesson hours. Let the spiritualist answer wherein does the mental and moral inferiority of the materialist philosophy transpire in such a case? The result is always the same in any practical test of the two outlooks. The obvious truth is that, as all our problems are material ones, they can never be settled except on materialist lines. And the "Herald" asks, "Have not the Socialists been too materialistic?" the fact being that, except for a faithful few, they have not been half materialistic enough; with the result that we have more Socialism of the futile, sloppy, sentimental sort in England than in all the other European countries put together. Even Shaw has descended from his once high estate. He used to say such things as "the only sound Socialism must be founded on a scientific study of natural history," and "never give children moral and religious instruction unless you can be sure they will not take it seriously." Now he goes around

telling people "they must get a religion"—a Shavian Torrey.

Enough has been shown to prove the revival of the old anti-materialist conspiracy, in a quarter, moreover, where most of us, least of all Socialists, would hardly expect it; those that have any remaining doubts, however, are invited to pursue the inquiry along the path indicated and they will find ample confirmation of it.

Now, there must be an explanation for all existing phenomena, and what, therefore, is the explanation of this? Apparently not easy to discover. We venture to suggest that the explanation is quite simple. The first thought that arises is that the spiritual crowd have discovered that the words atheist, freethinker, heretic, Socialist, as terms of abuse, have long ago lost sting, and they are making a determined effort to concentrate on the word materialist, to imbue it with a sinister and evil meaning, in order to have some sort of stone to fling at their opponents. This may be partly a reason, but we think there is a better theory than that. When Labourism could no longer conceal the obvious failure of its policy, the folks who supported it precisely because it was pledged to do nothing politically revolutionary began loudly, and most unreasonably, to complain because it kept that pledge and did *not* do anything revolutionary. There was a great danger that the working class at last would support a revolutionary political policy. At such a moment it is good tactics to let loose a flood of confusion, both in the world of politics and of ideas. Instantly, the whole respectable crowd of pseudo-reformers are up in arms. For God's sake, they cry instinctively, anything and everything but political Socialism. By an opportune stroke of fortune Syndicalism appears: they support it enthusiastically; also Feminism, Trade Unionism, Guild Socialism, Single-taxism, Minority Reportism, anything and everything but Socialism. Meanwhile, the danger, though allayed, is not yet entirely over, and, as they perceive full well that a revolutionary political action is the logical outcome of a thoroughly materialist philosophy,

how could they better fill in the time than by a concentrated attack on the materialist position ?

This explanation may seem far-fetched, but we shall stick to it until a better be forthcoming. By such means is it only too easy to switch the worker off the main track, and we say to him—beware these spiritual gentlemen. While they are unctuously calling your attention to " higher things " you lose sight of the material earth. In other words, whilst you look upward they steal your dinner.

CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

III.

By Dora B. Montefiore.

Having shown from the actual reports of the exploiters themselves what are the conditions under which their cheap native labour is recruited and treated, I will now give an account of the work in the gold mines themselves, and in my concluding article will give facts and figures concerning the dread miners' phthisis, which attacks and kills both white and native workers. Night and day the shifts of coughing white and native wage-slaves, urged by the whip of economic compulsion, slide down the gaping holes that lead to the underground workings. Night and day, and even on Sundays, pound away the mighty stamps which crush to powder the rock that the electric drills and dynamite have shifted underground. The skips that bring up the rock take down the miners and the hammerboys—600, 1,000, 2,000 feet, according to the levels at which they are working. Once down below the scene suggests Dante's Inferno, and the words "All hope abandon, ye who enter here," leap to the lips. As I recall my visit to the various levels of a Rand gold mine, I see again the passages and tunnels, where, with a small lamp in hand, I groped and stumbled. From time to time a tiny gleam of light showed in the distance, and the distant rattle along the rails of a Kaffir-propelled truck could be heard. A shout, a slowing down of the truck, while my guide and I scrambled behind an abutting rock, and soon the truck, its load, and the Kaffir were once more lost in

the gloom. A sudden bend to the right in the tunnel and we splashed through a pool of water made from the steady drip, drip of the rough hewn roof, while slight-looking wattle trunks bent and split under the weight of scooped-out rock. As we groped our way along we could hear a faint, muffled tap, tap, tap, coming, it seemed, through the rock on the left. It was the hammering of a gang of native "boys" working in a neighbouring stope; they were hammering out the holes in the rock destined to receive the charges of dynamite. By and by, through a three-foot-high opening in the side of the tunnel, a staggering whiff of "native" greeted our nostrils. That hole led down to a stope, and, guided by the sound of the hammering, which gradually grew into a clanging din, we reached, by crawling on hands and knees, one of the side chapels of this temple of the great gold god. Wearing fragmentary loin and leg coverings, and moving like the spirits of the damned in the half-revealing gloom, more than a hundred Kaffirs were swinging their hammers, were sweating and shouting on the floor of a stope a few feet high, and as steep as the roof of a church. One white man (once a Northumberland coal miner), sitting apart, guided and controlled their fantastic clamour.

For more than five minutes I sat spell-bound, thinking out the perversity of the situation which forced men to leave the light of day, and to sweat, and toil, and curse in this man-conceived hell, in order that other men and women, whom they had never seen, might have more wealth and luxuries than they could possibly enjoy. I thought of the many shareholders in Rand gold mines, most of whom had never even seen the outside of a mine, and many of whom would never be induced to go down one and learn at first hand something about this human-life-destroying industry. Then my thoughts turned to the exquisite houses of the mine magnates in Parktown, the wealthy suburb of Johannesburg, and the picture of one of these millionaire houses rose up before me as I saw it but a few days before, with its white walls and its red tiled roof, its

terraces and its pergolas, all an exact copy of an old Italian monastery; and I recalled the treasures of art which it contained, and the marvellous Persian rugs and carpets, which alone were insured for £20,000. And I realised that the walls of the house were cemented with human blood, and that human agony, and suffering, and sweat were on its hearth-stone, and were crying aloud amidst all the beauty of its art! Twenty-seven shillings worth of gold is the average value extracted from every ton of rock; and this weird scene at which I was assisting was the first process of blasting or "shifting" the rock. Once brought to the surface, it would be crushed and stamped into finest powder; this powder would then be treated by the many and complicated washing processes, then by the scientific cyanide processes, until the last grain of gold would be extracted, and the residuum of white dust be added to the huge "dumps," which rise daily higher and higher along the whole ridge of the Rand. After the final melting and refining of the metal by fire, there emerge the pale yellow bars of gold for which men fight, and cheat, and sell their souls, and destroy their bodies, and forget the purposes and the joy of life!

But my thoughts were broken in on by the suggestion that we should grope our way across the stope and see the padlocked locker containing the stored dynamite, and watch the Northumberland miner make and prepare the fuses. Each miner works his shift with so many Kaffir boys under him, and he is paid according to results in the amount of rock he shifts and gets to the surface. At a lower level the electric drills, with their dreaded death-dealing dust, were at work. Here the jarring, boring, piercing noises racked the nerves, and added one more terror to this devitalising toil. Streams of water played on the spots where the electric drills were being used, and these are supposed to mitigate the danger of the dust; but in many overhead drills it is impossible to use the water without half-drowning the "boy" who is working the drill, and the safeguard of water has, of necessity, to be

dispensed with. The official reports continue, however, to record "the persistent carelessness of the miners," ignoring the fact that the very nature of the work is a gamble with human life, and could not, under the best of conditions, be made either a safe or a healthy occupation.

And so we continued to grope on through galleries and workings one above the other, honeycombing the ground for miles round, past stopes, and pumps and sidings, and dodging incessantly the little Kaffir-propelled trucks with their blinking lights rumbling through the gloom towards the pit head. As one set of sweat-drenched toilers scramble into the skips to leave work another shift is deposited below ground, and the hammering and the blasting recommence. The mineowners have learnt now that, just as a horse which has done an exhausting day's work will last much longer if he gets a rub down, a warm drink and a decent stable, so also a Kaffir, who is in their eyes a working animal of some economic value, will last better if he is forced after working a shift in the mines to change his clothes, take a warm bath, and take a drink of hot coffee. So instead of letting the "boys" die by thousands of pneumonia (from sudden contact with the cold air above ground), as used to be the case, they are not permitted to return to the compound till they have gone through the ceremonies of the change of clothes and the warm drink, and now they only die of pneumonia by hundreds. The compound is a collection of huts where the natives sleep, feed and live what life they have above ground. The huts stand in an enclosure, and a European official has charge of the compound. The amount of the food values served out to the "boys," and which is known as their "skoff," is fixed by Government. As much as possible the natives of the different races herd together in these compounds, and those who come from tropical parts have huts specially contrived to keep out the cold of a Johannesburg winter's night, for the mortality among these tropical natives is specially high. We looked in at one

of these huts, where Nyassa boys were crouching together in their blankets, seeking warmth from each other's bodies, and death was already written on the yellow, shrunken faces of many of the poor victims of the Rand shareholders' thirst for dividends. There are no statistics collected of the deaths of natives from miners' phthisis, but since it is acknowledged now, in the Report of the Commission instructed to inquire into the subject, as an "occupational disease" which attacks white miners working with drilling machines at the rate of 1½ per cent. after six months' work, we may infer that native labour, with its lesser power of resistance, would provide an even heavier sickness and death-roll from this dreaded disease of fibroid phthisis.

THE MONTH.

The guns have begun to speak again in the Balkans, and what promises to be the last and not the least sanguinary act in the bloody and sordid tragedy there is now being unfolded. This renewal of the awful carnage of war appears to have been what the peaceful Christian Allies and their chief backers most desired. Otherwise they would have made some abatement in the harsh terms they endeavoured to force upon the Turks.

The Turkish Government had conceded all that was demanded, and, indeed, more than they were warranted in conceding, as the rising at Constantinople and the deposition of the Government very clearly showed. But the Bulgarians, Greeks, and Servians were determined to have their full pound of flesh, cost what it may. They had no regard or commiseration for a fallen foe, and in their determination to force the Turks to practically unconditional surrender they have had the support of the Great Powers, or at any rate of those of the Triple Entente—France, England and Russia.

It is, we fear, too much to hope for now, but we should not regret to see it, if the Allies were to suffer that crushing reverse which they have so blandly invited, and which they richly deserve. From the first their attack upon Turkey has been as wanton, as unprovoked and unwarrantable as the Italian piratical expedition into Tripoli. The Macedonian massacres were deliberately provoked or manufactured in order to afford a pretext for the war, but no more justified it than did the pretended wrongs of the Outlanders justify the British filibustering expedition against the South African Republics.

Meanwhile, the statements of reliable witnesses of the horrible outrages perpetrated by the victorious soldiers of the Cross upon the unarmed and inoffensive villagers and townspeople of the land

they have overrun and pillaged give some idea of the kindly tenderness of the gentle Christians whom our Liberal politicians and orthodox men of God have thought well to take under their patronage. The fact is, of course, that these so-called Christian nations of the Balkans are little better than savages trained in all the modern arts of war, and nurtured from their cradles in a fierce hatred of the Turk and the belief that to murder a Turk is a highly meritorious act. The effect of this training and teaching was seen in the reckless daring with which the Bulgarians rushed to the attack, and the fiendish ferocity with which they and their Allies butchered, mutilated, and outraged any unarmed and helpless people who fell into their hands—wounded or prisoners ; men, women or children.

No wonder Sir Edward Grey preserves a discreet silence on this dark and sinister aspect of the war. None of the Great Powers is more culpable in this matter than Great Britain. She had absolutely no interests in the East that could be served by the war, and if our Government had not been entirely influenced by fear of Germany and the desire to propitiate Russia, Sir Edward Grey and his colleagues would surely never have adopted the insane policy of supporting the Balkan States in their attack upon Turkey.

The events in Eastern Europe have many lessons for us here in the West. There are not wanting indications that the rôle of "Sick Man," so long filled by Turkey, is now devolving upon Great Britain ; and we shall be exceedingly fortunate if we escape the fate which is now befalling the Turk.

Turkey's weakness and difficulty provided Bulgaria with her opportunity—an opportunity for which she had been patiently waiting, preparing and training for more than thirty years. Nobody, it is quite certain, would pretend that had Turkey been as prepared as she was unprepared, Bulgaria and her allies would have entered upon this campaign. Bulgaria has become the Prussia of the Balkans. She has succeeded in smashing Turkey in consequence of the unpreparedness of the latter. Turkey had no friends, and those who should have befriended her, even in their own selfish interests, are rejoicing in her discomfiture. In the same circumstances, Great Britain would be crumpled up in precisely the same way as Turkey has been. She is entirely unprepared to meet such a combined attack as that which has been

made upon Turkey, and would succumb as completely under it as Turkey has done. A single naval defeat would prove her Sedan. She has no friends in Europe except those who are either powerless to help her, or would rejoice in her defeat. For France the Entente means nothing unless it is going to be of advantage to her in a war of revenge. To Russia it means nothing except in so far as it serves her ambitions in Europe and Asia by buying off British opposition. In any difficulty with Germany, it is quite certain that the alliance with Russia could not be relied upon, and it is doubtful if even that of France could, unless, as already said, the "revanche" was going to be served thereby.

The Labour Party Conference resulted in nothing. Apart from the criticism of the British Socialist Party men who were present, the Executive went unscathed, and were, indeed, complimented and flattered, and justified in patting themselves on the back. We are assured now, by the I.L.P. section, that the Party is going straight and strong in the future, and is going to show what it really can do now it has made up its mind.

That is all sound and fury, signifying nothing. Some of the Socialists in the Party may be dissatisfied with the tameness of the general body, just as many of the trade unionists are disappointed at so little having been done against the anti-trade union policy and legislation of the Government. But nothing was made at the Conference of this dissatisfaction and disappointment, beyond what was said by the members of the British Socialist Party who were present. The members of the Parliamentary Group could not imagine that anything could possibly be wrong. It was out of the question that they should be in any way to blame, and any criticism to which they might be subjected was simply the outcome of ill-conditioned spite and jealousy.

The fact is that these guileless creatures of the Parliamentary Labour Group really don't know where they are, nor what they are there for. They imagine that they are an independent party in the House of Commons, and yet think it their chief duty to keep the Government in office. They form part of a coalition—the present Government is now commonly spoken of as a coalition Government, and its majority is certainly made up of a coalition—yet the Labourists, who cheerfully accept the responsibilities of the coalition, enjoy none of its advantages.

The Liberals are in office, and the Nationalists are in power. The latter have secured their part of the bargain; their return for supporting the Liberal Government being Home Rule. But what have the Labourists got? Absolutely nothing. Nay, worse than nothing, for they are tricked and cheated and bested at every turn. The Government have snubbed and contemned them, and turned them down on every occasion. Labour Exchanges, Insurance, and now the Osborne Bill, to say nothing of the "Right to Work" and the settlement of the coal and railway strikes—on all these the Government have simply ignored or flouted the expressed desires of the Labour Party.

And the latter have tamely accepted this humiliating position. Never have they had the courage to vote against the Government when there was any possibility of the Government being defeated. And why? Simply because they have conceived it to be their first duty to keep the Government in office at all costs. Home Rule, the Osborne Judgment, House of Lords Reform, the Franchise, Land Law Reform, and a few other items of the Liberal programme must first of all be disposed of, and then—ah! then the Labour Group would screw up their courage to the sticking place, and even risk the defeat of the Government unless some attempt was made to deal with "Labour" questions.

The simple creatures! They either could not, or would not, see that, so long as they maintained that attitude, the Government would always have some measure on hand of such importance that it must not be jeopardised by an adverse Labour vote. If the Labour men propose to wait until the whole Liberal programme has been carried out before they are prepared to defeat the Government, they will have to wait till Doomsday.

The policy of a militant working-class party in the House of Commons should be "agin' the Government" every time and all the time. Instead of saying, as they now do: "We must and shall vote to keep you in office in the hope that you will do so and so," they should say: "We are against you all the time, and shall at once vote you out of office unless you do so and so."

The objection which supporters of the Government have to such a proposition is usually to this effect: "If you adopted that line and turned out the present Government, you would only put in the Tories, who would be even worse; and then what would you do?"

The answer is quite simple : "Turn *them* out!" The presence of an independent working-class party in the House of Commons should not be an assurance of stability to either Liberal or Tory Government, but a source of insecurity and disquiet to both parties. Until our Labourists grasp that elementary principle and act upon it, they will remain a negligible quantity in politics ; and all the talk which we are just now hearing about a new departure and a break from present vassalage to the Liberals will amount to nothing more than talk.

But for this subservience to the Liberal Government, there is one matter upon which the Labour Party might even now make their influence felt. That is the question of the raising of the Plimsoll load-line on merchant vessels by Mr. Lloyd George in his first year of office as President of the Board of Trade. Public attention was first called to this disgraceful crime against our sailors in these pages nearly five years ago. Since then Social-Democrats have been hammering away at it on platforms and in the columns of "Justice," until at last the perpetrators of this nefarious act have felt themselves compelled to make some sort of defence. That means that we have really started the quarry. If the Labourists have any pluck at all, they will now take the matter up and never let it drop until the load-line has been restored. Unfortunately, whatever they may do, the sailors who have been drowned by order of Mr. Lloyd George, in the interest of his shipowning pals, cannot be restored to life ; but a heavy ransom should be demanded from him for the mischief he has wrought.

The withdrawal by the Government of the Manhood Suffrage Bill should clear the way for a full and complete measure of political reform. Any mere extension of the franchise, however reasonable and just, would, under present circumstances, do at least as much harm as good unless accompanied by payment of election expenses and Proportional Representation. Every possible effort should now be made to get these, as well as Universal Adult Suffrage, included in the new Reform Bill.

Previous adventures of the Government in the field of education do not encourage us to view with much enthusiasm the suggestion by Lord Haldane that the next important Ministerial measure should be one dealing with education. That the whole system of education in this country demands drastic reform is, we imagine,

beyond question ; but we are by no means sure of the good intentions of the present Government in that connection, and cannot but regard Lord Haldane's pronouncement as a mere *ballon d'essai*, sent up in order to discover if education would be a better cry than the land to go to the country on.

The County Council elections afford our London comrades an opportunity for propaganda, and for the manifestation of the strength of the movement in the metropolis, of which, we regret, they have not by any means fully availed themselves. In only three constituencies—Stepney, Bow and Bromley, and North St. Pancras—are Socialist candidates being put forward. The fewer the constituencies contested, however, the better should be the fight in each, and every Socialist in London should make it a duty to give help of some kind or another to our comrades who are fighting the districts named. Our candidates stand, first of all, for Socialism, for the whole of the public services being devoted to the public good and general social well-being, and not for the profit of monopolists or the mere saving of rates. Not only the trams, but all the means of locomotion in London—'buses, cabs, and railways—should be the property of the people of London, administered by the County Council for the public benefit. Then our comrades stand for the proper administration of education, and adequate care of the children, and also for the proper treatment of all public servants, a living wage, and a maximum working week of forty-eight hours for all employees of the Council. Socialists all over London should do their utmost to secure a good vote in the districts contested for these items in our programme: for a better-administered, a brighter, cleaner, and more wholesome London—a London for Socialism.

EVENTS OF JANUARY.

AT HOME.

1—New Year "honours" included two new peerages.
Executive of Amalgamated Society of Engineers evicted from head office by members.
6,000 London taxi-cab drivers on strike.

3—Special Labour Conference decided, by 346 votes to 76, to accept the Government's Trade Union Bill "as an instalment."
Driver Knox exonerated.

4—100th anniversary of the birth of Isaac Pitman.

5—Adult Suffrage demonstration in Trafalgar Square.

6—Sir Sydney Olivier appointed Permanent Secretary to the Board of Agriculture.

8—Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace celebrated his 90th birthday.

9—Five thousand dyers struck at Bradford.

10—Lord Haldane foreshadowed "education" legislation.

13—Railway Commissioners awarded National Telephone Company £12,515,264 (instead of £20,924,700 claimed) as the price for purchase by the State.

16—Third reading of Home Rule Bill carried in Commons by 367 to 257.

19—British Medical Association resolved to release practitioners from pledge not to work Insurance Act.

20—City of London Free Traders declared "Preference" dead.

21—Flint Boroughs bye-election: Parry (Liberal), 2,152; Roberts (Unionist), 1,941. No change.
London County Council decided to administer the Shops Act.

23—The Speaker announced that a new Franchise Bill would be necessary if Woman Suffrage were carried.

24—House of Commons went into Committee on Franchise Bill: Woman Suffrage discussed; Lewis Harcourt warmly attacked Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey.

27—Franchise Bill withdrawn.
Glasgow and Edinburgh master printers threatened to lock out employees.

28—Renewal of Suffragist violence.

29 to 31—Labour Party Conference at Lambeth Baths.

30—House of Lords rejected Home Rule Bill by 326 votes to 69.

Polling at Derry bye-election (result declared next day): Hogg (Nationalist), 2,699; Pakenham (Unionist), 2,642. Nationalist gain.

Twentieth Century Press (1912), Limited, prospectus filed.

31—Trade Union Bill read a third time in Commons without opposition.

ABROAD.

6—Peace negotiations suspended.

Herr von Jagow appointed German Foreign Secretary.

8—Resignation of Mr. Deakin, Australian Opposition leader.

Garment workers' strike in New York spreading.

9—Tension between Rumania and Bulgaria.

11—M. Millerand resigned the French War Ministry over the reinstatement of the notorious Lieutenant-Colonel du Paty de Clam.

General Hertzog made a speech warmly attacking General Botha.

13—Bengal Council elections resulted in a crushing defeat for the Nationalists.

17—M. Poincaré elected President of the French Republic with 483 votes; M. Pams received 296 votes, and M. Vaillant (Socialist) 69 votes.

Collective Note of the Powers presented to the Porte: Turkey urged to surrender Adrianople and some of the Ægean Islands.

18—Resignation of M. Poincaré as Premier; M. Briand asked to form a Cabinet.

Turco-Greek naval battle.

22—Turkey reported to be accepting terms of the Allies and Powers.

23—Fall of Kiamil Pasha's Cabinet; Young Turk Ministry with Mahmud Shevket Pasha as Grand Vizier. Nazim Pasha shot.

28—Balkan delegates broke off negotiations with the Turks.

30—Turkey replied to the Powers. The armistice denounced by the Allies.

German Reichstag condemned Government policy in Poland.

FINANCIAL FALLACIES.

By JOHN RICHARDSON, M.INST.C.E

(Continued.)

It may still be said that there are other ways of making money beside working. Of *getting* money, yes; but of making or producing wealth, certainly no!

A robber steals and gets money, but he produces no wealth.

The same can be said of the gambler and stockbroker. A daring speculator may make a successful corner in wheat, and is said to have made several millions; as a fact he has made little beyond work and misery, for as many millions must have been *lost* by others as he has gained: hundreds may have been ruined, and owing to the high prices to which he has raised wheat, thousands may have been starved to death. The main thing to be remembered is this: all the hard work he and others have done has not produced a single grain of corn, and the world is poorer by this loss of wealth wasted, this unnecessary effort.

If the object and effect of any effort is to enrich one at the expense of the many, and the total result is less wealth in the world, then the action is both foolish and bad.

Coal is a useful, almost an essential article of national use. Nature has made it. Workers in coal mines bring it to the surface and enable it to be used; but the owners of the land and the mines, though they may never have done a single useful thing towards raising the coal, step in and claim in royalties and profits on others' labour a large proportion of the value of the coal—in some cases quite half.

The nation as a whole needs the heat and power which can be got out of this coal, and it must be seen that if any means can be devised by which the heat can be more economically turned into power so that only half the quantity of coal is needed, other things being equal, that is a great national gain. The workers could have their hours reduced, or could be employed on some other wealth-producing pursuit; but to the royalty and mine-owner it would mean a loss of one-half of their incomes, and they would resist the employment of the coal-saving invention, their gain arising out of the nation's loss.

Thus it is seen how often the interests of the unnecessary few are antagonistic to the interests of the useful and necessary many.

Every careful inquiry made into the very root of things brings

us to the same conclusion—viz., that all wealth is either a free gift of Nature, or is the result of labour working upon and with Nature's gifts.

It must in justice be admitted, first, that all wealth in the shape of Nature's gifts of every kind belongs equally to all persons now living; and, secondly, that all wealth which is produced by work belongs justly to the workers.

By workers, of course, is meant workers of all useful kinds, not exclusively, though principally, artizans. As soon as the workers of the world realise these facts and act in accordance with them, the world, with all that is in it, becomes theirs. Their ranks are open to all, so none can complain.

The workers of Great Britain produce wealth annually to the value of at least £2,000,000,000—two thousand millions! This wealth is justly though not legally theirs.

Now, the right to possession of anything depends upon force, upon gifts or bequests, upon law or Acts of Parliament, or upon justice.

We will consider them in the above order.

First, Force:—

"The good old rule, the simple plan:
Let them take who have the power,
And let them keep who can."

There are but few, if any, who would defend this right now, though it was largely used in the past, notably by William the Norman, and those who came with him in 1066, when, with his armed companions, he took possession of England. It has been used by numbers of unscrupulous persons since; from those who stole African slaves to those who enslaved free Britons; from so-called noblemen who stole land to the highwaymen and burglars. Aggressive Governments still use force when they make war upon weaker nations; but in modern days they always pretend they are doing what they do, not for greed, but for the good of humanity in some way.

If force is to be recognised as conferring a right to property upon those strong enough to take and keep it, like our old nobility, then it follows that as soon as any other class, say the workers, are numerous enough and strong enough to take possession of everything, they will at least have a perfect right to do so. The present possessors cannot stand upon this right themselves and at the same time deny it to others.

The second right is that of Gift or Bequest. Now, it is a well-known maxim of law and reason that "no one can give or bequeath to another a greater right than he himself possesses." Thus, those who have obtained anything by force, fraud, or favour from those who have no ethical or moral right to it can bestow no moral right to its possession upon anyone else. They may retain it by force or law, but not by equity.

It may be granted that a man has a moral right to give or bestow upon another that which he has made himself; but he can have no moral right to do as one of our profligate kings did when he bestowed the right upon one of his corrupt favourites to extort a shilling from the citizens of London upon every ton of coals brought into the city.

We who now live in the world may, and should, respect and obey the wishes of our predecessors in so far as they are wise and good; but the idea that any man, woman or child now living should suffer pain, loss, or inconvenience because of some foolish or wicked bequest of a dead king or commoner in the far past is so abhorrent to common sense that it cannot be entertained by any true thinker. If a thing be right and good, let it be done because it is right and good; but if it be foolish or bad, then the very antiquity of the wrong makes the need for its abolition all the more urgent.

This brings us to the third class of right—that given by Law.

Law may be taken as the expression of the will, and a measure of the ethical standard of the person, or persons, who make it. It has authority so long as there is physical or moral force to secure its observance, and no longer.

In the early days of Britain's history kings made laws to suit themselves, and stole freely. Later, the great barons demanded the right to share with the king in making laws, and they took care to look after their own interests, and stole wholesale. In the year 1264 Simon de Montfort, an advanced thinker, succeeded in establishing a Parliament, and thus in large measure reverted back to the time before William the Norman, when the people made their own laws, or at least had the right of rejecting or approving them.

Our first Parliaments were composed largely of landed gentry, with a sprinkling of rich men from the cities and boroughs, and again this class made laws to suit themselves—many of them bad ones; but, being laws, all the forces of the nation, civil and military powers, were relied upon to ensure obedience to them.

Since the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832, another class of people have had a voice in making laws; and while up to that time it was property which chiefly engaged the attention of Parliament, after then the liberties and rights of men and women were more considered, but still class interests took first place. Since 1832 there have been several extensions of the franchise, each time accompanied by enlargements of the liberties and rights of the people, yet, up to the present date, there has been no real and adequate representation of the workers in Parliament, though laws have been passed curtailing the power of the peers and imposing small, though much resisted and resented, taxes upon the rich landowners, and other laws resented yet reluctantly obeyed.

It is only now (June, 1912) that we have seen introduced a Bill which, when passed, will, for the first time, enable every man to

vote, while it also abolishes the right now possessed by many rich men to vote many times. There is every probability that it may also confer the right to vote upon all adult women. Then, and then only, may we have real representation of the nation; and in such a Parliament we may expect laws to be passed in the interests of the whole nation instead of in the interests of a few.

Law has established many wrongs, law can also abolish them. All that it is wished to state now is that any new law passed by this new Parliament, however good the law may be, and however much it may be obnoxious to those who have profited by wrong in the past, this law will have the same authority as any of the old ones, and will have all the civil and military forces of the nation to secure its obedience.

Lastly, the best and supremest foundation upon which any right or authority can be established is Justice.

Nothing that has ever been said or written is more true than the well-known dictum of the late President Lincoln: "No question is ever settled until it is settled right."

That which is true is always consistent with itself, and with every other truth.

That which is right is always consistent with itself, and with every other right.

Justice can only be secured when it is based upon truth and is in harmony with right.

Interests, privileges, or so-called rights, whether of peoples, peers or princes, which are based upon custom, fraud, force, or even law, must eventually be tested by the standard of justice, and must vanish away if they do not conform to it.

There is an inherent love of justice in the heart and brain of all men; but ignorance, interest, and prejudice have blinded our eyes to see it. Once seen, however, it can never again be hidden.

Two men or parties may wrangle indefinitely over any problem in theology, ethics, politics or philosophy, but only when *both are wrong*. So soon, however, as the true and right solution is arrived at, if they are honest, all wrangling ceases, both gladly accept the truth, and truth is never exchanged, nor can be exchanged, for error. One error may be exchanged for another error, but the truth upon any question once known and accepted is held for ever.

It is best that society should be established upon a solid and enduring basis, and such a basis can only be found in Justice.

The wealth of the world, which is a free gift of nature, like our water and land, justly belongs equally to all living in the world.

Wealth which is produced by the strength and skill of workers belongs justly to the worker who has produced it.

It is just that all should have an equal opportunity of producing wealth.

It is just that all who produce should have an equal opportunity of using and enjoying it.

The matter may now be drawn to a conclusion. It has been shown that however a fortune of £10,000,000 may be invested so as to secure an interest of 5 per cent. upon it, or a sum of £50,000 a year, that sum is not produced in the shape of money, but of things which are made by workers now living who in some way were under the control of the benefactor during his life, and remain under the direct or indirect control of his trustees after his death.

So long as this body of about 25,000 men are compelled or are willing to do this, so long may the wealth they produce continue to be supplied in this manner, but no longer.

We have shown how legally and justly they may decide to use the wealth they produce for themselves or may decide to devote it to some other, and what they may consider better purpose.

What, then, has become of the great fortune of £10,000,000 when no income is derived from it? As a fortune it has certainly ceased to exist, or, if anything exists representing it, so far from it being a source of wealth, it is a source of "ilth," to use Ruskin's word.

If consisting of houses without tenants, they are rapidly falling into ruin. If on land without cultivators it soon becomes overgrown with weeds. If of factories without workmen the machinery becomes useless and rusts into decay. And thus decay and ruin follows it everywhere; even if it consists of diamonds which are imperishable they have become of little if any exchange value.

So long as a prince or millionaire can enforce his commands upon many thousands of workers he may compel some to supply him with dainty food, others to build him palaces, and others to find and polish gems with which to adorn his person or that of his wife or mistress. A diamond now valued at £100,000 may be prized and owned by him at the cost of others' labour and danger. Taking as we have done the surplus annual labour of a man at £20, this means that 5,000 men have been employed for a year in its production, or the production of the wealth to exchange for it, or, what is the same thing, 100 men for 50 years, or practically their whole lives. Now, when men are released from this compulsion, and are producing wealth for themselves to use or exchange for what they may like better, one can understand them exchanging their surplus food for clothing, or houses for carriages, and so forth, but no one can imagine that any 100 men would give the surplus labour of their whole lives that they might have one-hundredth part of a share in a piece of polished carbon the size of a walnut.

A diamond has some use and some beauty, perhaps as much as a rose or lily, but no very great inherent value. If they all ceased to exist, the world would get on very well without them. Nearly the whole of the exchange value at the present time consists in the known but little recognised fact that the owner of one or more diamonds valued at £100,000 must have had the control

of the labour of 100 men for fifty years, and that he can now exchange the jewel for the life's labour of another 100 men.

Once this power has gone, the exchange value of the diamond goes with it. As an ornament it will sink to the value of a rose or a camellia, as a useful piece of crystallised carbon it will compare with the best steel or corundum.

It is seen, therefore, that in whatever form a large fortune may consist, or, rather, seem to consist, it really consists in the authority to command labour, and that when this authority is no longer possessed the fortune ceases to exist.

It must be noticed also that this great change may take place without any of the so-called robbery of the rich, and without any real wrong or injustice having been done to any person or class.

The liberties of people have been so far established now that chattel slavery has been abolished. Propertyless people now work for the benefit of others because the alternative is starvation, or living by begging or stealing, and in this way owners of property can always hire labourers or workers to produce profit for them. When, however, the alternative to working for the profit of another is the freedom to work for oneself, the case will be very different. Hired labour will gradually become scarce, then expensive; but in thus having its exchange value raised, a perfectly peaceful and ordinary thing is taking place, just as a rise in value of gold, corn or railway stock; no one has a right to complain. It would be manifestly unjust and palpably absurd to ask a successful artist, lawyer, or merchant to come and dig potatoes, carry bricks, or paint walls for 20s. a week when he can get so much more than that in an easier and pleasanter manner. No one can reasonably complain of their refusal. And by the same reasoning, when all workers have the right and privilege of producing wealth for themselves easily and abundantly, they will naturally and rightly refuse to work for the benefit only of others who give nothing in return—for that is what the non-worker does now—absolutely nothing! It is true the worker now gets wages with which he can obtain wealth in the form of food, etc., but, as has been clearly shown in the preceding pages, this wealth came as a product of some other workers. When all material wealth goes to the industrious worker, its real producer, there will be absolutely nothing left to the idle non-worker.

It may be stated, and with truth, that many rich men work as hard, and even harder, than those workers whom we have described as wealth producers.

This may be frankly granted. Twelve and a-half hours a day is pretty long for a producer; nevertheless, a cotton speculative merchant may work much longer than this. He may be occupied not for 12½ but 16 hours a day; he may have to study daily many newspapers from all countries in the world; he must know the exact number of acres sown with cotton in America, Egypt, India, and elsewhere; he must know daily the state of the weather and

the progress of the crops, from sowing the seed till the bales of cotton arrive in Liverpool; he must know where every bale is in the world, and who owns it, as far as possible. In order to gain the knowledge, he can give himself no rest. He must be in constant telephonic or telegraphic communication with his agents and correspondents everywhere; he cannot even eat a meal in peace; the tinkle of the telephone bell may call him away a dozen times from his lunch or dinner; his days must be long, for his correspondents live to the east and west of him, and, owing to the difference in time between the East of Asia and West of America, there is scarce time left for him to sleep. At the end of a year such a man may be ruined, or he may have gained a million.

What we want to point out, however, is the fact that the world is not a farthing better for all this work. The speculator, his clerks, his correspondents, the operators of the telegraph and telephone have had a busy year; but as a consequence of all this work there is not a pound more cotton in the world, nor a single extra yard of calico. If all that they have done had remained undone, the world would have been no poorer. All he has gained someone else has lost, and the world has lost, also, all wealth consumed by him and his tribe of dependants and satellites. The most ignorant and ill-paid coloured worker who has hoed a single square yard of the land or gathered a single pound of the cotton has helped in the production of more wealth than the speculative merchant.

Exchange of goods between producers for their mutual use and enjoyment is good and rational, and those who organise the exchange with as little trouble and expense as possible deserve a fair remuneration for their trouble; but trading in goods or labour for the trader's personal profit may be, and generally is, most pernicious and wasteful.

(To be concluded.)

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN FRANCE.

By COMPERE-MOREL.

I.

Michel Augé-Laribé, to whom we already owe a number of interesting works on the agrarian problem in France, has recently published a book, well furnished with examples, on the development of French agriculture.

In this work, which consists of 300 pages, the author examines the principles and factors which influence the evolution of agriculture; he attempts to determine their present strength, and as far as possible their future effects; he tries to discover the economic and social causes of the phenomena he has observed; he draws the consequences of these phenomena and suggests remedies for such evils as exist.

In his introduction Augé-Laribé emphasises the difficulty of his undertaking: "In order to give a picture of agriculture in France one must be possessed of the technique of a fine draughtsman.

"As the natural conditions of production are sometimes so extraordinarily different, even within those districts which, geographically, are sharply outlined, the methods of work vary even between one village and the next, even indeed between one landmark and the next inside the boundaries of a parish. In view of these differences, to generalise would lead to mistakes. This is clearly shown by the annual budget-debate in the Chamber. Each time a Socialist deputy mentions special facts in order to draw the attention of the Chamber to the hardships endured by the rural workers, peasants and small farmers, opponents are to be found who state that the conditions alluded to do not coincide with what they themselves have observed. It is probable that the general conclusions at which we shall arrive will appear incorrect to those who are only acquainted with a limited portion of the agriculture of France."

It is a good thing that Augé-Laribé recognises the difficulty of the task he has undertaken, and finds it necessary to base every work on the agrarian question on monographic studies.

Seeing the great differences in our methods of production, the very variable conceptions of large, medium, small and very small property, the different value of the land, the rival systems of working, and the unequal wage conditions in the country, it is impossible to generalise or set up average calculations. Nevertheless, the author of "The Development of the Agriculture of France" has given us a serious work, built up on a solid plan.

In order to show how agriculture was formerly carried on, and through what changes it has passed, the author begins with the old method of working by the family ; he describes its peculiarities and its survivals ; shows the gradual transformation to modern agriculture, the technical progress of the eighteenth century, the importance of various methods of manuring and of agricultural machines, and points out, like others, the domination of capital.

He quotes Proudhon and Le Play, speaks with enthusiastic praise of the family communities, which almost completely realise the theoretic idea of family industry ; but he has to admit that if there are still here and there in France agricultural undertakings where the proprietor and his family produce all that is necessary for the whole family's keep, they are very few and far between, and no longer count in comparison with the number of undertakings where the production of commodities has superseded production for family use. And, like ourselves, Augé-Laribé finds himself forced to the conclusion that modern agriculture has become an industrial and commercial undertaking, quite dependent upon capital. He admits this with so much emphasis that I cannot forego the pleasure of quoting him :—

"We have repeatedly remarked that modern agriculture is dependent on urban economic groups, and we shall make the same observations when we examine in what way the mode of sale of agricultural products has changed. Formerly these products went direct to the consumer. The crops were brought to the local market and bought by the consumers. Later, the middle-men arose ; commercial people, as dealers and speculators, and often also as bankers, stepped between the agriculturists and the consumers. The usury made the peasant feel how oppressive is the yoke of the power of money. He was no longer the sole lord of his fields, he must squeeze out the interest on his debts. In modern times his dependence has increased to the extent that the progress of science has caused the rise of factories to revolutionise agricultural production.

"The distilleries, starch factories, sugar factories and refineries, the great mills, the milk and butter trade, the great champagne stores, the brandy depositories, the breweries and jam factories have dictated to the consumers both prices and conditions of purchase. The peasant who works for the neighbouring factory, and is bound to it by a detailed contract, has ceased to be the free producer he once was. The ownership of land, which ought to make him free, enslaves him ; he is no longer anything but a worker of the capitalist régime.

"This is the state of things in modern agriculture. We say it is 'industrialised' and 'commercialised' because it has been obliged to imitate the methods of production and exchange which obtain in industry, and are characterised by division of labour, production of commodities with a view to sale, competition between the producers, and the domination of capital.

"It is industrialised because it has added to the auxiliaries that the agriculturist needs for production; because it has passed the frontier boundaries at which the law of the decreasing produce of the soil begins to take effect; because it makes use of the division of labour inside the undertaking, and increases and regulates the production.

"It is commercialised because the harvested fruits of the field are almost all destined for sale, because it lays less value on the quality than on the quantity of the product, even (according to M. Gide in his statements about common wines) producing 'shop articles,' because it has created types of commodities which answer to certain classified categories, and are sold according to pattern, because the exchange of the agricultural products is organised, and has regular rates, which control the home market, and which are subject to the influence of the world market" (pages 40 to 42).

Our thoughts have never found better expression. And we have never shown more clearly the dependence of modern agriculture upon capitalism, the industrial and commercial ruler of transit, of the market, and of credit. It is undeniable that the agricultural producers, as in all countries where the new agricultural technique has effected an entrance, are subject to the power of money.

The peasant may be the real owner of the land he cultivates, of his agricultural buildings, his cattle, his field implements; he need not be a pennyworth in debt, nor be acquainted with mortgages and exorbitant interest, and yet he is still economically dependent, for it is quite impossible for him to dispose according to his own wishes of the fruits of the soil which he owns, and which he has fructified with his labour.

In order to sell his product he must apply to the middle-man, the merchant, the speculator, and, as these are the only purchasers, who control the market and determine the market rate, he is forced to accept the price they offer him, and must, moreover, think himself lucky to find a market, which it is becoming more and more impossible to make for himself.

II.

Having determined the causes of the revolution in agriculture, Augé-Laribé raises the question as to where this revolution will lead, and what will be the next stages.

He consults statistics, and informs us of the result. The cultivated lands have decreased from 25,587,861 hectares in 1882 to 23,615,220 in 1909, while cattle-pastures have increased from 1,711,116 hectares in 1882 to 5,204,550 in 1909; the vineyards have decreased from 2,196,799 hectares in 1882 to 1,686,942 in 1909; and the gardens, orchards, etc., from 1,271,754 hectares in 1882 to 1,220,150 in 1909.

The decrease in the cultivated areas has not, however, resulted in an approximate decrease of agricultural products. The new technical accessories cause, on the contrary, a continual growth in

production. In 1882 there were 7,191,000 hectares sown with wheat. The average production between 1876 and 1885 amounted to 101,690,929 hectolitres. In 1909 the sowing covered 6,596,000 hectares—595,000 hectares less than in 1882; the average production, on the other hand, rose between 1906 and 1909 to 121,213,957 hectolitres, an increase of more than twenty million hectolitres. This, then, is a steady increase of the output. The same phenomenon is found in examining the cultivation of sugar beet-root, potatoes, and wine. Cattle-breeding also shows an increase: from 1882 to 1892 the collective weight of living cattle increased by one hundred and fifty-three million kilogrammes.

The increase of production is to be ascribed to the new methods of cultivation, the application of modern agricultural implements and of a hitherto unknown technique, and was especially evident during the years in which agricultural machinery made its victorious entry into the rural districts, and the number of tons of artificial manure attained a magnitude hitherto unknown.

The number of ploughs, axes, sowing, mowing, and threshing machines, hay-tossing machines and horse-drawn rakes increased between 1882 and 1892 from 3,765,569 to 4,321,401, and the use of artificial manure, which in 1899 had reached 1,766,300 tons, rose in 1909 to 2,309,891.

Irrigation was energetically set on foot; the bringing into cultivation of lands hitherto not cultivated; the draining of marshes; and everywhere wide tracts of country were opened up for growing vegetables and for gardens, which export hundreds of thousands of tons of young vegetables, fruit and flowers.

After giving these figures, Augé-Laribé expresses himself as follows on the present state of agriculture in France:—

"We have tried to answer the question as to the extent to which our agriculture is industrialised, and can say that the agricultural machines have increased, that the cost of cultivation and the product of the soil have grown considerably, that those peasants who cultivate gardens do so very intensively, in this respect even rivalling the great capitalist undertakings.

"The aspiration of the agriculturist to imitate the technique of industry cannot, therefore, be denied. Still, our investigations have not so far shown that any considerable proportion of the total number of institutions are on a large scale, or highly perfected small works. If we would compare the number of institutions which continue to work in the old-fashioned way with that of the modern industrialised works, the examples would be missing. Still, failing general information, figures and statistics, we have, in travelling, made personal inquiries, questioning the agriculturists of the various districts. They warned us not to draw hasty conclusions, and are of opinion that agriculture has not yet become an exact imitation of industry, and that one does not yet find in the country the same embittered competition, the same crushing of the weak, the same superiority of large capital, as that which ruins the economic life of the small industrials and small tradesmen."

This conclusion does not agree with what the author has already expressed as his opinion.

How does capitalist concentration affect agriculture? Does it only manifest itself in the form of the concentration of land ownership? Have we ever asserted that one can determine to what extent capitalism dominates agriculture by comparing the number of institutions worked on the old system with those already industrialised? Have we ever said that the power of capitalism in the agricultural sphere shows itself exclusively in the growth of large works, large agricultural factories, or perfected small concerns?

On the contrary, we have always emphasised that capitalist concentration has manifested itself in various ways, as follows: (1) By concentration of landed property; (2) By the growth of mortgage debts; (3) By the industrialisation of agricultural production. Augé-Laribé, too, admits the industrialising and commercialising of agriculture, but then forgets what he has just proclaimed, and goes on to say that the information he has collected on his travels from agriculturists of the different districts shows that "agriculture has not yet become similar to industry," etc. We, too, know very well that the development of agriculture in a capitalist direction has not yet attained that of industry, and not one among us would dream of asserting that France possesses agricultural factories which can rival the weaving factories of Roubaix, the spinneries of Rouen, the ironworks of Maubeuge, the glass factories of Carmaux, the iron foundries of Creuzot, etc., and that there are agriculturists who employ thousands and thousands of wage-workers on their estates!

The question is put wrongly. It ought to be expressed thus: Is agriculture being revolutionised in the direction of capitalism or not? Is the soil becoming more and more cut up? And will the small owners, the farmers and semi-peasants be in a position, now and in the future, to live a life worthy of human beings on the little allotments over which they dispose?

The author of "The Revolution of Agriculture in France" answers this in the affirmative; but he is still not clear as to the real position of French agriculture. The information he has obtained in travelling, by questioning the agriculturists of different districts, has convinced him quite as little as the agricultural industrialisation and commercialisation to which he himself has drawn attention. He hesitates between two opinions. What does he do? He says: "As our attempts to determine the degree of the industrialising of agriculture, and to inform ourselves by getting useful statistics about the domination of capital in the country, have led to no definite conclusions, we must try to judge the domination of capital according to its effects and its economic and social results." And he attempts to gain knowledge of the effects of the division of property and of the different methods of exploiting the soil.

(To be continued.)

PIERRE LOTI AND TURKEY.

The celebrated novelist, Pierre Loti, whose descriptions of Turkey are so enchanting, asked by "l'Humanité" to express his views on the present situation there, sent the following letter :—

Monsieur le Directeur,—You ask me to give you my impressions of the new phase of the Turco-Bulgarian tragedy. How should I refuse it to your paper, which has the rare privilege of being one of the few to remain impartial and not to injure the vanquished? But your amiable request arrives somewhat late, for all that my conscience and my indignation oblige me to say I have already said—in the "Gil Blas," the only one of the papers I approached which had the courage to comply and to break through the conspiracy of silence on the atrocities perpetrated by the very Christian arms.

Besides, on the subject of this "supreme pressure" (to speak like you in euphemism) which Europe is preparing to exercise against dying Turkey, I should find nothing to say so true, so beautiful nor so irrefutable as what was said by Ahmed Riza and Halil Bey, to whom you last Sunday extended the hospitality of your columns, and I should also have difficulty in remaining, like them, resigned and parliamentary.

By what iniquity does Europe, desirous of insuring peace, which it needs so greatly, bring all its pressure and threats to bear on that unfortunate, distressed Turkey, which has already ceded so much, and never on the Bulgarians, who, on the contrary, have ceded nothing, feeling themselves sustained by a colossus in arms at their back, and who have never for a moment departed from their intransigence and their arrogance? How shall one fail to be horrified at all the meanness on the part of nations supposed to be civilised, in driving to the utmost limits of despair a people to which they formerly promised so much, and which to-day addresses itself to their justice and their pity? Not only justice, common-sense, and the principle, so often invoked, of the grouping of races, command to leave to Turkey that heroic town and province of Adrianople, which are full of tombs and of souvenirs of Islam, and which are entirely peopled by Mussulmen. But there is also, and above all, this which maddens the poor Turks, which would be enough to render sublime their most unreasonable obstinacies and their most sanguinary revolts : their brothers who are going

to be bent beneath the hateful and ferocious Bulgarian dominion, what will become of them? In spite of the false promises of Ferdinand of Coburg, millions of Mussulmen, abandoned beyond the new frontiers, what will they have to expect but a continuation of these coldly systematic massacres, these attacks, which even the armistice was not able to interrupt, and which will soon have transformed the country around Adrianople into one vast field of death? (I say this because I know it; and, in spite of the rigid censorship which stops the news, in spite of the lies of a certain subsidised press, the whole world will soon know it, too.)

With what painful stupefaction have I seen our country, through devotion to the Slavs, associate itself, even to the point of militancy, with this unqualifiable "pressure"! . . . . The eminent man who directs us—and with so much integrity, goodwill and genius—will doubtless recover possession of himself, will once more remember, I dare to hope, the generous traditions of France before going any further on this path, which does not seem to coincide with our traditions. To carry to a finish the destruction of Turkey by forcing the cession of Adrianople would be to sully our national honour, and also it would also irremediably prejudice our interests, give the death-blow to our secular influence in the East, to our millions of educational institutions, and our various industries, which, since the time of Francis I., have flourished there in complete freedom, in that Turkey which was so completely tolerant, which loved us to the point of almost having become a French-speaking people.

THE REVIEWS.

PRIVATE PROPERTY AT SEA DURING WAR.

The Right Hon. Sir Ernest Satow, G.C.M.G., replies in this month's "Nineteenth Century" to Lord Avebury on the above question. In conclusion, he says :—

The question whether the right of capture is worth retaining as a practical means of putting pressure on the enemy is primarily one for the naval authorities to weigh and determine. They will not, of course, lose sight of such factors as the relative amount of our mercantile shipping (i.e., number of ships, not tonnage) as compared with the merchant fleets of all other nations, the danger from attack, the possibility of defence of our property ; the proportion between the sea-borne and land-borne commerce of other nations, the advantages and disadvantages of geographical position. It must not be supposed, because the Naval Intelligence Department has not taken the public into its confidence, that it neglects to consider these aspects of the question, and to advise the Cabinet accordingly. We need not trouble ourselves about the opinions of a celebrated writer on early institutions merely because Mr. Choate has discovered him to be a "great international lawyer." It has often been demonstrated that "the ruling of jurists prove facts of law, but have no value whatever in relation to points of policy." Reference is frequently made to Lord Palmerston's utterances at Liverpool in 1856, which were addressed to an audience of merchants and shipowners, and subsequently, "after further reflection and deeper thinking," retracted in 1862 in the more disinterested atmosphere of the House of Commons. In Parliament allegations of inconsistency with previous language are often resorted to as a weapon of debate, but surely it is unusual to assert that first thoughts are best. That the late Lord Salisbury should have promised Government support to a resolution in favour of "immunity" if one were moved in the House of Commons is certainly remarkable, but there are the best of grounds for affirming that his language to Lord Avebury in 1889 was not founded on any full and official consideration of the matter. The assumption of the ex-Lord Chancellor that "food is not to be regarded as contraband, except when specifically destined for military pur-

poses," can hardly be maintained any longer, since the old rule on which it was based has been departed from. The political question is one for Governments to consider. The instructions to the British Délegation at the Hague pointed out that—

"The British Navy is the only offensive weapon which Great Britain has against Continental Powers. The latter have a double means of offence; they have their navies and they have their powerful armies. During recent years, the proportion between the British Army and the great Continental armies has come to be such that the British Army operating alone could not be regarded as a means of offence against the mainland of a great Continental Power. For her ability to bring pressure to bear upon her enemies in war Great Britain has, therefore, to rely on the Navy alone. His Majesty's Government cannot, therefore, authorise you to agree to any resolution which would diminish the effective means which the Navy has of bringing pressure to bear upon an enemy."

Speaking merely as a layman, who has no private means of learning whether the policy of the British Government in this respect has undergone any change since 1907, or what the plans of the Admiralty may be for the protection of our own commerce, and for forbidding the ocean routes to the merchant shipping of any possible enemy, the writer would only venture to say that he regards it as impracticable, and useless were it practicable, to agree to the American proposal unless the law of contraband be abolished entirely; this as a sine qua non. Also, as a logical sequence, the law of commercial blockade, which is as much an operation of war against neutral commerce as against the economic life of the enemy, be abrogated.

A universal agreement not to convert merchant ships into cruisers at sea, which would be an abuse of the proposed immunity from capture, would be necessary.

The humanisation of warfare by an international agreement not to use floating contact mines, whether anchored or drifting, which during a war and afterwards constitute a danger to neutral shipping and obstruct the right of passage over the common highway of nations, is indispensable.

The universal prohibition of the discharge of projectiles, explosive and non-explosive, from air-craft ought to form part of the compact.

There would still remain two dangers to be guarded against. First, that merchant ships will inevitably be utilised as transports in time of war, because no nation can possibly maintain as large a fleet of transports in time of peace as would be required for the purpose of invading the territory of an enemy who cannot be got at by land; and, secondly, that Great Britain, having given up all methods of putting pressure on an enemy by means of her fleet, would then have to seek other means of carrying on war efficiently. For, pace the pacifists, there are no signs that wars have come to

an end, and consequently the only guarantee of safety, even for a pacific nation as we are told ours is, lies in the capacity not only to ward off a blow but to return it on the assailant's body with interest, and to harass him in every possible way until he is driven to abandon the contest.

PATRIOTISM OF HUMANITY.

Sir Francis Younghusband has the following in this month's "Contemporary Review":—

If we note what is occurring in Japan, China, India, Persia, and Turkey, we cannot fail to be struck by the increasing influence which Europe is now exercising upon Asia. And we shall also be impressed by the way in which the good opinion of European nations is sought, and by the efforts which are being made to copy European standards. Much of European civilisation is intensely distasteful to Asiatics. But they are feeling that, if they are to keep any position in the world, they must approximate to the standard of civilisation which Europe is setting. We have, then, to try and arrive at some conclusion as to the kind of lead which we Europeans should give the world.

To those who have lived their lives with men of other ways of thinking than their own, with men of other religious beliefs, customs, habits, views of life, we Europeans do not appear by any means so free from superstitions, so unfettered by custom and tradition, so liberal in our ideas, so widely tolerant, so warmly sympathetic, as we might be. Nor does our civilisation in a single particular appear to have reached anywhere near perfection. It may or may not be better, on the whole, than other civilisations. Personally, I am still prejudiced enough to think it is. But it is as yet very crude and very raw and very immature. And it is so far only skin-deep. It has not yet sank into the marrow of our bones.

We are accustomed to think of our civilisation as old, and to speak as if we French and English and Germans were peoples in the fulness of years and wisdom and experience. But we are beginning to realise that we are children in comparison with the Chinese and Hindus. And we have to go the still further step of recognising that Chinese, Hindus, and all the rest of the human race are in the veriest infancy of their development. If we stand a two-foot rule on end, and take it to represent the period which has elapsed since man first appeared, it will be only the top inch that will represent the distance of time since the dawn of civilisation, and only the last eighth of an inch that will denote the period of European civilisation.

The length of time since man began to live on the earth, and

the shortness of time since the dawn of civilisation, and especially European civilisation, are points to which particular attention must be paid; for if taken together with the consideration that man will in all probability continue to live on the earth for a million years yet—and who knows how much longer still?—they have an important bearing on the subject now before us. Ideals of human development and human association, and the interrelationship of Europeans and Asiatics, which it would be sheer waste of time to contemplate if only decades were available for their realisation, are worth consideration if centuries are at our disposal. We must think in centuries. And it may prove to be wiser to be guided by ideals which we erect in the bright future before us, rather than let ourselves be dumbly herded along by traditions from the dark past behind. Wisdom may lie in front, not behind. The past may influence, but the future should decide. It is only ten thousand years since civilisation began to dawn. A hundred times that little period would only bring us to a single million years of civilisation, which is but a brief epoch in the whole earth history. Clearly, then, immense changes and developments lie before us. We may be crushed into another star, or the earth may explode, or some destructive microbe may get loose, or swarms of some pestilential insect may render human life impossible. But these are only the barest possibilities. The probability is that the human race will exist and advance for some millions of years yet. Setbacks there will be. Individual nations will rise and decline and disintegrate; but only, like Italy and Greece, to reintegrate into fresh nations. The race as a whole will advance. And that in the year 1,001,912 A.D. there will be an unimaginably higher civilisation in the world than there is in this year 1912 A.D. is a strictly justifiable inference we may draw from the processes of the past.

We do, in fact, feel that in every direction, whether in politics or in art, in mechanical invention, in science, in society, or in religion, in every single aspect or factor of civilisation, there is unlimited scope for improvement and advancement. In not one single direction can any nation or any individual say that no room for improvement is discernible. . . . .

* * * * *

Having, then, recognised that change is inevitable, and that pioneering work has to be done, we may expect to find that both Asiatics and Europeans will have to work together towards a higher civilisation, which will transcend any of the existing forms. There may be no specifically European civilisation, or Indian or Chinese civilisation, but simply civilisation. As Sun-Yat-Sen declared in his inaugural proclamation, we will all co-operate in the up-building of the civilisation of the world. And the unifying principle which will serve as a bond between East and West will in that case be found in a common aspiration towards a higher civilisation in which all will share.

UNREST AND PROGRESS.

Mr. R. Gunn Davis has an interesting contribution under the above title in the "Westminster Review":—

The cry of the people, so far as it is a cry, is for a little more of the better things of life; and it is a cry which should be met and encouraged. Steady social concession would make for social improvement, for if wealth were more widely distributed in a judicious way, it would be found generally that social improvement would keep pace with economic improvement. It is the growing desire for such improvement in life, and nothing else, which is the cause of social unrest, and this social unrest is the harbinger of progress, because it is the motive power which is bringing, and will continue to bring, better and more rational standards of life for rich and poor alike. The fault of the people is not that they have asked too much, but that they have asked too little. This has always been the fault of their demands. They have always asked barely what was immediately required, and their demands, when they have been acceded to, have been acceded to grudgingly. If they have asked barely what they have required, they have got barely what they have asked. Neither their needs nor their demands have ever been generously met. In the past the working classes have taken short views. . . . . The people are beginning to understand their relation to society. They have always been well told of their duty to society, and society has always taken care that they have performed those duties fully. The matter of society's duties to them has been little thought of. Indeed, society has never realised that it has serious duties to perform to the poor. But the poor are coming to realise it, and this is why the present unrest is wider and deeper, less instinctive, and more rational than any other unrest.

BRITISH MUSEUM 19 FEB 13

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Alscot, Gt. Marylebone Street
Noble, Gt. Marylebone Street
Whitehouse, Marylebone Lane
Bouchier, South Street, Marylebone
Stockley, Paddington Street
Welch, Seymour Street
Smith, Gt. Chapel Street
Varley, High Street, Bloomsbury
Varley, Charing Cross Road
Henderson's, 66, Charing Cross Road
East, High Street, Bloomsbury
McKenzie, Endell Street
Samuels, 175, Strand

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Dearman, Regency Street
Field, Vauxhall Bridge Road
Toby, Morton Street
Rossitter, Morton Street
Stone, 310, King's Road, Chelsea
Jesson & Sons, 129, King's Road, Chelsea
Huggett, 370, King's Road, Chelsea
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Elliot, 320, Lillie Road, Fulham Cross

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Dunn, Old Kent Road
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Fox, 181, New Kent Road
Field, 279, Tooley Street

North-West.

Pittman, High Street, Notting Hill
Watts, Silver Street, Notting Hill
Turner, Silver Street, Notting Hill

North.

Stevens, High Street, Islington
Canham, Camden Passage, Islington
Thomas, Penton Street
Cooper, Pentonville Road
Miller, Holloway Road
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THE
BRITISH SOCIALIST.

Vol. II., No. 3. MARCH 15, 1913.

SOCIALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM.

By H. QUELCH.

There is, necessarily, so much in Askew's article of last month with which I agree that it is somewhat surprising that, with so much agreement on general principles, we should differ so widely in our conclusions.

But Askew not only disagrees with me, he does not even agree with himself. Thus he sets out to show that the danger which we are now contemplating is not a German menace, not a danger to European peace due to the imperialist aggressiveness of Germany—or, rather, Prussia—as a world Power, but simply capitalist rivalry. He then goes on to show "the growing internationalism of capitalism itself," and winds up by defending "the German capitalists," who, he says, "have the right on their side in this case"!

I readily concede to him that, to hold this view, "we need not identify ourselves with the German capitalists"; although in a similar case I should be

charged with the silly notion that British capitalists, and the British ruling class generally, are better than their German brethren. Nevertheless, it does seem to me that it is inconsistent to talk of German capitalists having "the right on their side," and to ascribe the present unsatisfactory relations between the two countries to "capitalist rivalry," pure and simple, while at the same time insisting on "the growing internationalism of capitalism itself," and pointing out, what is perfectly true, that in the Moroccan crisis the capitalist rivalry was not between French capitalists on one side and German capitalists on the other, but between groups of capitalists of various nationalities on both sides.

Mere capitalist interests, it is quite clear, cannot be held accountable for present-day antagonism between the great European nations. The "growing internationalism of capitalism" makes for peace between them, at any rate. When it is a question of a raid upon a backward and comparatively defenceless people, it is, of course, another story; but even then the robbers generally agree beforehand, and are not so foolish as to waste their substance in bootless quarrels among themselves to their mutual hurt.

In the past, when capitalism was much more definitely national than it is to-day, the capitalists of one country might easily reap an advantage by making war upon and defeating another. Nowadays, however, all that has changed; and just as capitalism has changed from competition to combination, so it has also developed from nationalism to internationalism, and its interests are now so inextricably bound up and interdependent that any blow sustained by any capitalist country is felt by the whole capitalist international.

For these reasons I cannot accept Askew's view that the present unsatisfactory state of the relations between England and Germany is due merely to capitalist rivalry. Neither can I agree with his theory of the origin and development of those relations; and I am bound to say that it would have been more to the

purpose had he deigned to reply to what I advanced, instead of formulating the theory which he has put forward, and which, as I have shown, is not in agreement with his own premises.

I am not concerned in this connection with theories, and have none to advance, except when it comes to suggesting a policy for the Socialist International. I, therefore, formulated no theory, but simply set out the facts of the present situation and traced that situation from its origin; and I did this, not from any motive of idle curiosity, but in order to discover if some more practical and positive policy than that hitherto pursued is not possible for the International Socialist movement.

The outstanding facts, as I see them, and, as I think, even Askew will agree, are these: For years there has been a feeling of malaise, of uneasiness, apprehension and dread of open conflict between England and Germany, sharpening occasionally into actual and acute crises. No one, I imagine, however much he may otherwise differ from me, will dispute that statement, or will be prepared to assert that, on the contrary, the feeling between the two countries has been all that could be desired. And this malaise has existed without any very strong feeling against either nation on the part of the other. Certainly I am prepared to maintain that whatever of Anglophobia there may be in Germany, there is no popular feeling whatever in this country against Germany or the Germans, but that, on the contrary, both are held in higher esteem now than ever before in my lifetime.

Whence, then, comes this feeling of uneasiness and apprehension? So far as the people of this country experience it, I am sure that it is due to a fear, and, as I think, a perfectly well-grounded fear, that Germany, as an Imperial Power, is planning, and has for some years been planning, and preparing for, an attack upon this country. That is my own firm conviction, and one upon which I have no more doubt than I have of my own existence.

I do not believe that this plan is engendered by hatred of England, any more than I regard it as the outcome of mere capitalist rivalry. The destruction of British naval supremacy has become necessary to the carrying out of Prussian policy, and the realisation of Prussia's ambition—the hegemony of Europe. So long as England was prepared to acquiesce in that policy, that is to say up till about thirteen years ago, this rivalry and antagonism did not exist, although the capitalist and commercial rivalry between the two countries was certainly more rather than less keen than it is to-day.

Askew says that German policy has changed; that it is no longer that of Bismarck, but of the German bankers. He also tells us that Bismarck "never pursued a particularly friendly policy towards" this country. Such an idea, he says, was completely foreign to the nature of the blood and iron Chancellor.

With the latter statement I quite agree. That, however, in no wise tells against my exposition of his policy of endeavouring to secure the co-operation of England—first, in "bleeding France to the white," and secondly, of isolating her; with the object, in either case, of rendering her impotent and making the "revanche" impossible. Nor does Askew's estimate of Bismarck's policy tell against my explanation of the change of attitude which followed on the death of Queen Victoria and the "Entente" with France.

That change of attitude did not betoken any change of policy, but was, on the contrary, entirely in consonance with the policy already pursued. Hitherto England had been at least complaisant. Now, by the Entente, she became antagonised, and the British fleet was transformed from being either a negligible quantity, or a possible instrument in the realisation of Prussian ambition, into a formidable obstacle thereto. Hence the change of Germany's attitude. The policy, notwithstanding the change of disposition, remains, fundamentally, the same; and that policy is European and not Colonial.

I know it is the fashion nowadays to put forward the "Colonial question" as the occasion for German naval expansion, and as the bone of contention between the two countries. This is mere make-believe, and I am astonished that our friends in Germany should be deceived by it. As our friend Köttgen, who may not agree with me on other points, has agreed with me in maintaining elsewhere, Germany is not keen on acquiring colonies, and is not a colonising nation. Moreover, when we are told that this is the fount and origin of the trouble; that Germany wants a colonial "place in the sun," from which England, like a big bully, excludes her, we ask, "Where is it?" Hyndman and I asked this question of our German comrades when we met them in Brussels last October with a view, if possible, of arriving at a common line of action in both countries. But we could get no reply. We are constantly told it is a colonial question; but neither the German Government nor any German Party will tell us where or what this colonial question is. Let Germany formulate her demands, or proposals, and we British Socialists, anti-imperialists as we are, will ensure that at least those proposals get full publicity and fair consideration. I do not believe, indeed, that any Government here could possibly withstand any reasonable proposals made in this direction.

But Germany has no such proposals to make, and the idea that she has a grievance in this regard is a mere pretence to excuse that naval expansion, which has no other justification. "Colonial policy" is used in her case to mark aggressive imperialism, just as the glamour of British imperialism was used to cloak the sordid design of the international gold-grabbers in South Africa. The commercial interests of Germany, as represented by the Deutsche or the Dresdner Banks, or the alleged need for German colonial development, are no more the real occasion for German naval expansion than were the alleged wrongs of the Outlanders, or the need for the maintenance of the honour of the British flag, the real reason for the criminal raid

upon the South African Republics. Neither German "high finance" nor German shipping, any more than "colonial policy," although each in turn is used as the excuse by German jingoes, is the real cause for German naval expansion. The high finance, by reason of its internationalism, is, whatever there may be to be said against it on other grounds, an influence making for peace and against international rivalries between capitalist States; and on at least one notable occasion, in a recent time of crisis, German bankers, it is alleged, intervened with effect to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. Further, it would be quite impossible—an impossibility admitted by naval authorities—for either Germany or England to maintain a navy sufficient for the protection of its commercial shipping or trade routes. If that were possible the suggested proportion of English naval strength to German, of sixteen to ten, would be ridiculous in view of the disproportion in the mercantile marine of the two countries. But such protection is quite out of the question, and from that point of view, if there were not the other considerations to which I have referred elsewhere, England would be immeasurably the gainer by surrendering the right of capture. That, however, is another question; but a dispassionate view of the facts shows quite clearly that neither "high finance" nor the development of the German mercantile marine affords any adequate explanation of German naval expansion.

Nor, as I have attempted to show, does colonial policy give this explanation. Askew reminds us that Bismarck had no colonial ambitions. Nor was he alone among European statesmen of his time. English Ministers, too, spoke glibly of "cutting the painter" with the colonies, and they might even to-day well do so. Great Britain derives no advantage whatever from her colonies: rather, on the contrary, are they a source of responsibility, risk, and expense. The expression the "British Empire" is a misnomer. There is no British Empire outside these islands, except India, and, to a certain extent, Egypt. The colonies are for all

practical purposes independent democratic States, contributing nothing whatever to the Empire but enjoying its protection. From an imperial point of view, we could say with regard to the colonies as the man said who went to a party in a sedan-chair out of which the bottom had fallen—"But for the look of the thing I might just as well have walked." But for the look of the thing—imperially—we might just as well be without the colonies.

Nor is the contrary idea—that of making the Colonies an integral part of the Empire—one that is growing with commercial development and Colonial expansion. It is true that we nowadays seldom hear the phrase "cutting the painter." On the other hand, it is only the Tory-Protectionist who still cherishes that idea of a Colonial Empire, which was for ever shattered by the revolt of the North American Colonies a hundred and forty years ago. Chamberlain's scheme of an Imperial Zollverein as a bond of union found no support, and shrivelled away into a narrow sordid protectionism for these islands. Our bourgeoisie are almost to a man Free Traders and Anti-Imperialists. The illusion that "trade follows the flag" does not weigh with them, nor have they any racial or national prejudices for or against those whom they exploit or with whom they trade.

Neither Colonial policy nor commercial rivalry affording a sufficient cause, or anything more than a plausible pretext, for the German naval expansion and Anglo-German antagonism, we are forced to look in another direction for the cause, and I trace it to the policy of Prussian ascendancy in Europe of Prince Bismarck. As I see it, the cause is not commercial, or economic, but political; and I maintain that here, in this connection, the rivalry is not, as Askew says, "a purely capitalist dispute between two sets of international financiers," but one in which German naval expansion is deliberately aggressive and that of England —necessarily determined by that of Germany—essentially defensive. That is not to say that the English

ruling class is any better than the German, but simply to insist on the self-evident fact that England has, and can have, no aggressive ambitions to satisfy in this connection; while Germany admittedly has. The instances which Askew advances to prove the contrary of this are strangely inadequate. The hostility to German control of the Bagdad railway was no evidence of territorial ambition, but of apprehension as to another menace to British rule in India; the suggested "annexation of large tracts in Arabia" is pure speculation, while British policy in Persia has been distinctly pro-Russian and anti-imperialist. If anything were wanting to demonstrate the reality of the German menace to the minds of our present rulers, it would have been supplied by British policy in Eastern Europe since the accession of King Edward. Surely nothing but the most abject fear of Germany would have forced us into the humiliating agreement with the Russian despotism and the grovelling subservience to Russia in Persia and elsewhere.

In this connection Askew denies my assertion, in agreement with a statement made in "Vorwärts" some years ago, that England's policy is one of defence, because she is like the gamester who doesn't want to play any more because he has won all he wants, or expects, to win. But if that is not the case, then there is nothing whatever in the other argument that England bars the way to Germany's "place in the sun." If England is not already in possession of what Germany desires, then there can be no question of necessary rivalry, it is only a matter of bargain; and, therefore, once more Germany, instead of throwing out menaces, should state plainly what she wants of that world which is still before both her and England "where to choose."

Askew, however, asks us to believe that England—already in possession, it appears, of all the "places in the sun" worth having—is still aggressive, expansive, bent on annexation in Europe, Asia, Africa, America and elsewhere; while at the same time we are enjoined

that, in the present case, German capitalists "have the right on their side," and that it is idle to suppose that "the German Government, who have made a hopeless mess of the Polish Question, and cannot even settle the problem of their French and Danish subjects, wants to add to their difficulties the task of ruling the English and the Irish." In other words, we are asked to believe in the non-aggressiveness of the naval expansion of Germany, which has no need of a Navy except for aggressive purposes, and in the aggressiveness of that of England, to whom a Navy is a necessity of national existence. And this although England voluntarily conceded self-government to the conquered South African Republics, and the English Government is even now engaged in granting Home Rule to Ireland; while, on the other hand, Prussia holds Alsace-Lorraine in an iron grip, rules Schleswig-Holstein with relentless rigour, and vies with Russia in the ferocity of her treatment of the Poles!

Askew's special pleading notwithstanding, I still maintain that in the naval rivalry between England and Germany it is the latter which is the aggressor. An attack upon Germany by England is quite out of the question. Even if the English Navy blew the whole German Fleet out of the water, it would have no more effect upon Germany than the defeats of Colenso, Spion Kop and Magersfontein had on this country. Such a decisive naval defeat for England, however, would be her Sedan, her downfall. Even our pacifists recognise this. Indeed, it is their chief argument against our proposal of a Citizen Army. They say that the Navy is not merely our first line, it is our only line of defence. Once that is defeated, once England loses the command of the sea, she is conquered, and there is nothing left for her but to capitulate.

I agree with that opinion (although not with the argument as against a Citizen Army), and for that reason I regard the maintenance of an adequate Navy as one of the first duties of any British Government. I do not *advocate* this, however, and, as I have said

repeatedly, would not, personally, vote a penny for the Navy, for quite a number of reasons, until the Government adopted a different foreign policy.

Here Askew does me a gross injustice, by a misrepresentation at which I should, perhaps, rejoice, seeing that so palpable a misrepresentation is a striking indication of the weakness of his own case. He says that for me "there is but one alternative to going to war with Germany—that is, submission to Germany at any price"; and as my loyalty to the International forbids me to advocate the former (i.e., war with Germany), I swallow the latter. Any more grossly unjust misrepresentation I have never seen or heard of in my life! *I*, an advocate of war with Germany, when I have never ceased to denounce such a war as one of the most terrible and criminal calamities that could possibly happen. What I have said is that, in the present circumstances, there are the proverbial three courses open to this country—the continuance of the present competition in armaments; war with Germany; or practically unconditional surrender. I do not, as I have said, for a variety of reasons, and, if for no other, because my loyalty to the International forbids it, advocate the continued Naval expansion on the part of this country; but if I did it would not be because I advocated or desired war with Germany, but for precisely the opposite reason—because I wish to avert it. I cannot for a moment suppose that Askew believes anything so monstrous as he here asserts, which is on a par with the declaration of those Anarchists of a baser sort who say that those of us who hold my opinions on this subject would travesty the appeal of Marx, and, instead of "Workers of the World, Unite," would cry "Workers of the World, fall to and cut each other's throats."

Believing, as I do, in the old maxim, "si vis pacem, para bellum," and that a strong British Navy is the best guarantee of peace in Western Europe, I could just as reasonably accuse Askew, and those who think

with him, of desiring war. To me any weakening of the British Navy is simply an "invitation à la valse" to Germany. But I do not therefore accuse Askew and the others of desiring war, and of only being deterred from advocating it by their loyalty to the International. Mistaken as I think them, I believe them to be as sincerely desirous of peace as I am myself. I thought we, as Socialists, were all agreed that it is our duty to "seek peace and ensue it," and that the only difference between us was as to how this was to be done. Notwithstanding Askew's extraordinary statement, I am fain still to believe this to be the case, and that we believe it of each other. Indeed, I do not believe that there is any considerable body of opinion either in Germany or England in favour of war. I believe, however, that Prussian policy has for its aim the hegemony of Europe, and that, short of conceding this, England must either risk war, or continue to maintain such a Navy as will make any attack from Germany hopeless.

Askew says that even were surrender to Germany the only alternative, it is not clear "that that would be a great loss." If he really thinks that then there is nothing more to be said. But I did not suppose that to be the position of the Socialist International. I thought that we were internationalists, not anti-nationalists, and that we stood for the autonomy of every nationality and the right of every people to manage its own affairs. Otherwise, why our support of Home Rule for Ireland, our demand for the establishment of self-government in India, and for the evacuation of Egypt? Why, too, our passionate protests against the partition of Persia, and Russian and Japanese aggression in Mongolia and Manchuria? If the Prussian suppression of Dutch, Belgian, Danish or English national autonomy would be "no great loss," I do not see that any of these other suppressions of nationality is of any great moment.

It may well be that neither "the English workers or the population of India would lose by a change of

masters," although Askew's interpretation of the "iron law of wages" is a travesty of that law as laid down by "Tattler"; but man does not live by bread alone, and, important and fundamental as are the economic conditions, they are not everything in the life of a nation. Askew's argument would justify foreign despotism in every part of the world. How often have we been told that the people of Ireland and the people of India are incapable of self-government, and are much better off under British rule than if left to themselves? Every individual I have met who has spent any considerable time in Egypt since the British Occupation — including Liberals and Socialists opposed to that Occupation—has assured me that the Fellaheen are far better off now than before. All that, however, does not, to my mind, justify the continuance of British domination in Ireland, India, or Egypt. I hold that it is better that a people should manage its own affairs badly than that some foreign Power should manage them well!

And I see no other way by which the people are to fight out the class war and to emancipate themselves. It is not merely a question of change of masters. It may even mean no change of masters at all! Askew admits that a foreign conquest "might prove a hindrance to the Labour and Socialist movement in the countries concerned by the impetus which such foreign rule gives to national movements in the ranks of the workers." We see that in Ireland and Poland, to say nothing of other countries in which the class antagonism is completely overshadowed by the national movement. But that is by no means the worst effect to be apprehended from the ascendancy in Europe of a great militarist Power like Prussia. I can quite imagine, as I endeavoured to show in these pages some time ago, such ascendancy meaning not a change of masters at all, but a consolidation of the power of the whole master class throughout Europe, and the cold, iron suppression of every revolutionary movement in any part of the world. Askew sneers, as he may well

do, at our sheep-like submission in this country, and questions the utility of free institutions to a people who lack either the sense or the courage to make use of them. But at any rate here in England we have those institutions, and, if they chose, the people here could throw the capitalists off their backs. Under Prussian rule that would be as much out of the question as successful revolt is for Russians or Russian Poles. With all her faults England is the one country in Europe in which revolutionaries can to-day find asylum. The smaller and weaker nations in Europe—even Switzerland—can be, and are, bullied by their more powerful neighbours into surrendering refugees. The Russian Social-Democrats had to come to London to hold a conference. Under Prussian rule that one asylum would disappear.

And just here I come to a point where I am in most cordial agreement with Askew. I do not, for a single moment, "doubt the power of a bourgeois Government to attack, or even betray, the political rights" of the people. Nor do I question their inclination to do so. That, in my opinion, is as great a cause for apprehension as any menace from without. *I do not trust our governing class.* Just as, I take it, we Socialists would welcome the invasion of German, or French, or any other Socialists to help us to overthrow capitalist rule in this country, so I can quite understand that the bourgeoisie would quite willingly welcome and invite the intervention of Germany, or any other reactionary Power, to suppress revolt here and to rivet their yoke more firmly on our necks. It has been done before. The rulers of a people have always been the first to betray their trust and to surrender to a foreign enemy. Our capitalists have no patriotism, or what they have is in their breeches pockets; and just as they are quite ready to import blacklegs to beat down native workmen, they would be quite willing to import mercenary troops or foreign princes for precisely the same purpose. All that, however, is no argument in favour of surrender to

Germany; quite the contrary. It simply shows that the proletariat, strange as it may appear, have more to lose by the suppression of national autonomy than have their masters. Neither is it an argument against the maintenance of an adequate Navy, which cannot be used, as could a professional Army, for purposes of domestic suppression, and which, in existing circumstances, is essential for national defence and national autonomy, and is the only alternative, if war is to be avoided, to national surrender.

A PLEA FOR CATHOLICITY.

By J. ZIMMERMAN.

The Socialist movement is agitated; in fact, one cannot recall when it was not divided into two parts. The greatest trouble has been in trying to maintain peace inside, instead of resisting outside attacks. Always one section resents an outbreak and the other is angry because its outbreak is challenged. Both are too blinded by what they feel vitally at the moment to appreciate the attitude of the other side and look disinterestedly upon the movement as a whole.

A movement always tries to maintain the semblance of unity, and while successful advances its objects. But movements generally reach a stage at which internal conflicts take place. Then, they are engaged in fighting inside battles and their aims are overlooked. Movements from their birth are engaged in stifling any internal outbreak. As the movement grows the outbreaks become more frequent, until finally the opposing sections quarrel and there is a division of forces. They become separate parties and within these the same thing happens. Usually those who lead the revolt in the old party suppress any show of independence in the new.

This is true of nearly every movement, and as these movements do not maintain unity, it must be admitted they do not succeed in that binding all of like aspirations together which is their professed object, so that, although their goal may be reached, they fail as associations of people with a common end. To take an instance: The Suffrage movement is divided into many sections, therefore as a movement it is unsuccessful, although women will get the vote ultimately.

Movements are the associations of persons who wish to alter something in the superstructure of society. They do not go beyond their ideal, and when their objects are attained they cease to exist. It is perfectly natural for those who have the same single interest to bind themselves together to advocate it. But Socialism involves every interest in life, and Socialists do not wish to alter one thing in the superstructure of society, but are concerned with the whole. Other movements must be rigidly exclusive; as they have a definite single object they must suppress anything which will enlarge their scope; but, as Socialism covers the whole of life, any movement for its propagation should welcome every human activity. Because movements devoted to a single object are exclusive, they frown upon new ideas, and, as new ideas will arise, the movements gradually disintegrate. But the Socialist movement should reflect the attitude of the economic revolt against capitalism in the intellectual world, and ought to encourage every phase of Socialist thought and activity which would later be comprised in the Socialist State. In short, the Socialist movement should be cultivating the intellectual material for the Socialist State.

The natural failure of movements is of the most important concern to Socialists. We seek to change the entire order of society, and therefore our concern is with life in all its phases. We see human development stultified and want to allow it the fullest expansion. We know the fit people for a Socialist State are those able to appreciate and develop the possibilities life affords.

In order to bring about Socialism a movement has been formed. That movement is concerned solely in reasoning about the workings of society. It sees an object and thinks that by everybody reasoning alike about society's present organisation that object will be realised. It overlooks everything else. The desire is to include everyone within that movement and to promote nothing but its particular aims.

Now, if movements fail because they are inevitably concerned with a single phase of life, it behoves us to consider Socialism in the light of this conclusion. Are we right in forming a movement, hoping thereby to reach Socialism?

Secondly, why is the Socialist movement subject to the fate of every other? If we are moving towards a full realisation of life, why do we exclude everything that does not conform to certain definite economic theories only dealing with one part of life?

It shows that we are not accommodating, that we cannot sympathise with any new activity, nor do we understand what causes the outbreaks in our movement. We are merely concerned with a single phase of life—the economic. We do not wish to understand that revolts within our movement are a natural result of the spirit we foster. Nor do we desire to strengthen that spirit and make it prevail in everything. We preach revolt, yet we cannot see it will display itself in our own movement. Really, we desire to enforce unanimity; we believe that revolt, up to a certain point, is permissible; beyond that it must be suppressed. In fact, we are become a movement, suffering the fate of movements, and ceasing really to advance our aims.

Socialists reason about life abstractedly and fail to qualify practically in any part of it. They become solely conscious of their ideas, and cannot see beyond them. In their propaganda they wish to impose their beliefs upon others, and are irritated because they fail. They see their failure, and unable to understand the cause, continue their propaganda more vehemently. Socialist philosophy has been antagonistic to Socialism. Instead of seeking to fit humanity for its highest functions it seeks to make them reasoners about the workings of society, and makes them failures in life's activities.

Syndicalism, because it lays stronger emphasis upon abstract reasoning about the construction of society, is less likely to succeed. Man does not

reason perpetually about the circumstances under which he lives. Only certain temperaments are qualified for this. Life's activities proceed unconsciously, and a theory which insists upon us being ever conscious of life's processes denies one of the fundamental truths of human existence.

The appearance of Syndicalism is a natural consequence of the Socialist movement; it is the latest revolt against its ruling ideas. It is an eruption immediately assuming the form of another movement, and will pass through the same evolution as all others. It will not gain the adherents the Socialist movement continually loses, because it is even more intent upon purely theoretical considerations, and has its limitations in a greater degree. If the Socialist movement were more accommodating, all elements of revolt against ideas could be included; and in that case Syndicalism, or any other sign of Socialistic "free thought," could work out its influences within the movement. At present, the only result of Syndicalism is another agitation of the Socialist movement and an obscuring of its aims.

Socialists must realise their movement is but a nucleus. It cannot be more than a propagandist body. Those best fitted for propaganda work must not suppose the advocacy of economic theories the sole means of bringing about Socialism, for, as life consists of more than economics and as Socialism covers the whole of life, it necessarily follows that the propaganda of economic theories is but a fraction of the work before Socialists. Moreover, if they confine their attention to the economic field alone, they fail to convert those whose interest in life is other than economic. Music, literature, drama and art generally should be recognised by Socialists as their co-workers, for, if society as a whole is to move towards Socialism, that movement must be felt in all its activities. It is difficult to divert people from the manifold currents of their lives into one purely economic, and the Socialist movement by so doing restricts the scope of its activities. Although

some people see clearly the basis of society, all live in the structure, and the majority are not concerned with the foundations. The Socialist movement must not seek to impose its ideas; humanity does not live on ideas. Eruptions are inevitable in movements because new ideas will find an outlet.

The Socialist movement must give up its narrow economic theories and make its appeal as wide as life. So long as it is a movement concerned with economics alone it will not be that influence for Socialism it should be. We must remember that movements die but humanity lives. Most important for the realisation of Socialism is the knowledge of life's possibilities by humanity.

CAPITALIST DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

IV.

By Dora B. Montefiore.

I have already alluded in this series of articles to the dangerous nature of Rand gold-mining from falls of rock and earth, dynamite explosions, and the disease known as miners' phthisis; but few English people know how terribly prevalent among miners exposed to the inhalation of silicious rock dust is this scourge of fibroid phthisis. It would appear that the fine silicious dust, when inhaled, gradually cuts away the delicate hairs and membranes in the nostrils which serve to protect the lungs from the inroads of minute foreign matters, and that once this natural protection is removed the deadly dust has free access to the lung-cavity, where it collects, and changes the spongy matter of the lung tissue into a solid mass as hard as white cement. At first the voice of the sufferer is affected; then he coughs constantly and is short of breath; then, as the disease gains ground, he has to admit he is ill, and frequently unfit for work; finally, he takes to his bed, and dies a horrible, tortured death, gasping for every breath, and, at times, tied down in his bed to prevent him flinging himself on the floor in his efforts to reach an open door or window. Such a scourge has the disease become among white miners, as well as among natives, that a Medical Commission has at last been appointed by the Union Government of South Africa to carry out investigations in connection with the disease; and a short time before I left the country

their report was completed, and was presented to the Government. The findings of that report were of an even more startling nature than was expected; and I want the English public to realise that all the facts and figures I am about to give refer to white miners only. It is for white miners only that a sanatorium is provided by shareholders who are pocketing their cent. per cent. out of the sufferings and death of their fellow creatures. And this sanatorium does not deal with a tithe of the cases that every week require treatment and nursing.

The Commission, during its investigations, medically examined over 3,000 men who had been engaged in mining in the Transvaal. Of these, rather more than 1,000, or over 30 per cent., were found to be suffering from fibroid or miners' phthisis. The facts collected went to show that even after six months' work with drilling machines the disease could be detected in 1½ per cent. of the men; after 30 months, more than one-fourth showed symptoms; and after four years' work with electric drills over 40 per cent. were affected. Four and a-half years lifted the statistics to nearly 55 per cent.; and five and a-half to nearly 64 per cent. Six and a-half years raised the percentage to 70, and for each additional year of service it rose, until at ten and a-half years it exceeded 80 per cent., and at fifteen and a-half years it attained 100 per cent. Of the men examined by the Commissioners, 1,100 were South Africans, and over 300 of them, or 27 per cent., were affected by the disease. England contributed 1,300, of whom about one-third were affected. The remainder included miners from Australia and various other parts of the world. There are, of course, underground, besides the machine rock-drillers and hammermen, many skilled mechanics, engine-drivers and engineers, and these men also at times contract the disease. For hand miners the figures are not so bad; nevertheless, this section of the men examined showed over 20 per cent. affected after 30 months' work. At five and a-half years the

percentage exceeded 30 per cent.; at nine and a-half it passed 40 per cent.; while at the tenth year of work 60 per cent. was reached.

According to the 1911 Annual Report of the Chamber of Mines, the Executive, on their own confession, do not claim to be "credited with humanitarian impulses," so we can hardly expect that a movement will come from that quarter for checking this deplorable loss of health and life. But, surely, when the true facts of the mortality caused by the exploitation of the workers in this modern industrial warfare are brought before the workers of the world, some concerted movement will be made to encourage and support the Rand miners in their projected strike.

Not only are these unfortunate workers robbed of health and life, but their wages are being seriously reduced, and an organised attempt is being made by the magnates to train and prepare a body of young Dutch workmen (some of them lads of only 17 or 18) to scab on the skilled miners should a strike break out. The trustified power of these magnates is almost irresistible; mine managers, officials and miners are dismissed and replaced with autocratic despotism. None can feel that his job is safe; none dare stand up against these Czars of finance. To add to the difficulties of the Rand miners, the old craft union ideals pit the interests of one set of workers against those of another, and as the underground engine-drivers refuse to come out the possibilities of a successful strike of the miners are much diminished.

Instead of the so-called "Labour" Party in South Africa educating the workers in real class-consciousness, and pointing out to them that the industrial interests of all workers are identical, we find a "Labour" candidate (who is now a "Labour" Member) appealing in his election speeches and literature to the worst form of racial prejudices among the workers, and promising, if he were returned to Parliament, to prevent "corrupt Dutch politicians from replacing English workers on the railways by Dutch

workers." The objective of any party in South Africa which claims to educate industrially and represent the people should be to organise all the white workers, of both races, and the coloured and native workers in one solid union and party, so as to present a united front to the industrial tyranny of the Randlords. *There is no other possible hope for the skilled workers of the Union.*

The workers' standard of living is being steadily undermined in all the States, while in Cape Colony it is a case of absolute competition with the coloured man and woman. The railways are State-owned throughout the Union, and the minimum wage for railway workers is 3s. a day. Such pay as this means that the standard of wages among railwaymen is not a high one, and we find many railwaymen married to coloured women because their weekly wage will not keep a white woman at the standard of living which she demands. The Government employs white women to keep the newspaper and bookstalls on the railway line in Cape Colony. I found that one of these women (a widow) was supporting herself and five children on the 16s. a week which was the wage paid by the Government for this work. Her hours were from 7 in the morning till 6 at night. That woman and her children (who are to be some of the future citizens of Cape Colony) are bound to fall to the level of the standard of living of the coloured people, because, on 16s. a week, the rent they can afford to pay compels them to inhabit coloured quarters, and to mix with the coloured population. In the slums of Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban, "poor whites," Chinese, Armenians, Malays and coloured folk swarm and breed among unspeakable surroundings. The irresistible laws of economic compulsion compel them to herd together in corrugated iron hovels, from which slum landlords extract fabulous rents. In a word, there is no country in the world where capitalist development is being so rapidly and so ruthlessly accomplished. On the one hand, monstrous accumulations of wealth, filling the pockets of a few thousand people, many of

whom have never even seen South Africa; and on the other hand, the most sordid and helpless poverty, to the level of which even skilled workers are being steadily crushed. And to further bemuse and enslave these skilled workers the three capitalist parties—Unionists, Nationalists, and Political Labourists, who thoroughly understand each other when it comes to exploiting labour, offer their nostrums at election time to the working men voters, and, when once sure of their £400 a year, betray and further enslave them till next election day comes round. South Africa is not only at the present moment helping to raise, through her cheap and rapid output of gold, the cost of living all over the world, but she is serving as an object-lesson to industrial workers of every country as an up-to-date expression of concentrated and intensive capitalist development, which must, in the very nature of things, hasten on there, as elsewhere, the Industrial and Social Revolution.

THE MONTH.

Point is given to our article on international relations, and to previous articles on the same subject, by the sudden militarist development in Germany. Just when everybody was talking peace; when there was hope of the cessation of hostilities in the Near East, and our home pacifists were congratulating themselves on the reassuring declaration of von Tirpitz that he would be quite content with a proportion of ten to sixteen of sea power as between Germany and Great Britain—just then Europe is startled by the announcement that the German Active Army on a peace footing is to be increased by over two hundred thousand men, and that a credit of fifty millions sterling is to be immediately called for, in order to enable this and other increases of German military power to be made.

France, not unnaturally, has taken the alarm at these extensive preparations on the part of Germany, and proposes a return to the system of three years' service with the colours, and what amounts practically to the enrolment and encasernement of the whole of the young manhood of France.

The Socialists of France and Germany have issued a manifesto against this militarist outburst in both countries; declaring against war; against any quarrel between the peoples; against any increase of armaments and in favour of the Armed Nation as against the Prætorian Army.

It is to be observed, in this connection, that our French and German comrades do not propose disarmament; they recognise the necessity, in existing circumstances, of national armament for the national defence; but they want it to be really "national," and democratic—the "levée en masse," as our Belgian comrades term it, of the nation, for the defence of the national soil, the national autonomy and the national organisation against foreign

aggression. Their quarrel with militarism is that it is wasteful, undemocratic, aggressive and unpatriotic. That it imposes a blood tax on the common people, not for the protection of interests in which the common people are concerned, but for the profit and aggrandisement of the master class; that it is inefficient for defence, while being menacing, provocative, subversive and aggressive.

In all this we are in entire agreement with our Continental comrades. But all this does not carry us very far. We are all agreed in condemning war and militarism; but the mere condemnation of war and militarism does not help us to a means for avoiding these evils. Armaments depend upon policy. The Socialist International has recognised this to the extent of declaring against secret diplomacy, and the treaties and alliances between the different Powers for which that diplomacy is responsible. But it should be the business of the International to formulate something more definite than a mere negation. The object of the articles we have given in the "British Socialist" has been to suggest the broad lines of such a policy, and in order to do that the chain of causation out of which the present situation has developed has been traced from a definite point in modern history.

That point was the conclusion of the Franco-German war, and the annexation by Germany of Alsace-Lorraine; and it is quite easy to trace the present developments back to the same source.

It cannot, we should imagine, be for a single moment contended that the financial demands now being made by the German Government for military expansion—demands at which the whole German bourgeoisie shudders with apprehension—are due to commercial rivalry or colonial ambitions. Not at all. The practical extinction of European Turkey and the rise of Bulgaria presents to Germany the menace of a great Slav, anti-Teutonic Power on her Eastern frontier. At the same time she feels by no means safe from France. There is little doubt that the pacific policy which Germany has admittedly pursued all through the Balkan conflict was due as much as anything to a fear that, had she become embroiled as the ally of Austria against Russia, France would have seized upon such an occasion as her opportunity. Quite naturally Germany feels it necessary to guard against any such contingency arising in the future. Hence the proposed enormous increase in her land forces.

That being so, it may be suggested that Germany's action is purely defensive, and should, therefore, occasion no alarm in France. Unfortunately, that is not the case. German militarists know quite well the advantage of the offensive-defensive; they have no mind to brook for ever the contemplation of France, armed to the teeth, always menacing their Western frontier, and waiting only for an opportunity for the "Revanche"; and they are as absolutely committed as ever to the Bismarckian policy towards that country. That policy aims at the crippling or isolation of France, and it is fairly evident that other dispositions, apart from the strengthening of her Army, are being made by Germany to give effect to that policy. It is authoritatively stated, for instance, that the late King of the Belgians had undertaken to offer no opposition to a German Army moving across Belgian territory to an attack on France; it is on record that the Dutch Government were prepared to fortify the Scheldt against England on behalf of Germany, and it is said that the recent feting of the King and Queen of Denmark in Berlin had for object an arrangement between Germany and Denmark which would practically bring the latter within the German Confederation.

The question here arises as to what influence the Socialist Party in either France or Germany can have on policy. There are only two ways of escape from the present ruinous rivalry in armaments: One is by the barbarous, brutal and bloody arbitrament of war, the other by an understanding and agreement between the two countries. But an agreement for Germany means surrender on the part of France. "No agreement," says Germany, in effect, "is possible until France fully and frankly accepts the Treaty of Frankfort."

For our part we do not believe that France is more reconciled to the Treaty of Frankfort than she was forty years ago. We are even inclined to doubt if the people of Alsace, for all their German origin, are more reconciled to the annexation than they were forty years ago; and we are still more doubtful if any party in France, even the Socialist Party, would dare to advocate that the annexation by Germany of Alsace-Lorraine should be nationally accepted as an irrevocably accomplished fact.

On the other hand, although we do not for a moment call into question the pacific sentiments of the great body of the German people, and regard what our German comrades have done to keep

the peace as being beyond all praise, we doubt very much if they, or any other Party in Germany, dare advocate the revocation of the Treaty of Frankfort and the surrender of Alsace-Lorraine to France.

That is the whole case in a nutshell. Here is no question of colonial expansion, of places in the sun, or of commercial rivalry. The retrocession of Alsace-Lorraine would profit the French bourgeoisie as little as the retention of the two provinces has benefited, or will benefit, the bourgeoisie of Germany. It is doubtful, indeed, if the purely commercial classes in either country care twopence about the matter, one way or the other; but "what we have, we'll hold," is the motto not only of English jingoes. Nevertheless, short of a surrender, on one side or the other, on this knotty question of Alsace-Lorraine, no peaceable way out of the present imbroglio seems possible.

This momentous question only concerns us as a nation in so far as we are bound by any treaty obligations to France, or any other European nation affected; or in so far as we are interested in the independence of Belgium, Holland, and Denmark, and in resisting Prussian domination in Europe. It has been publicly stated that in the event of hostilities England is pledged to send an expeditionary force to the assistance of France. But the people of this country have never been consulted in the matter; and they certainly ought to be informed as to the obligations to which they are committed. It is possible that a majority of the people here would wish to be pledged in some such fashion, and would be delighted at the opportunity of participating in a European war. That may be the case. But we don't think it is. We believe that the overwhelming majority of the people of this country are favourable to the maintenance of a strong and adequate Navy solely for national defence; but would obstinately oppose any military intervention in Europe, or any other act of aggression. And we once more maintain that, whatever their sentiments may be on the subject, they ought to be informed as to our real relations with France and Germany, and ought to be consulted before being committed to obligations which may land them in a costly, bloody, fratricidal and disastrous war before they are aware of what is being done in their name.

We demand, therefore, the abandonment of secret diplomacy, and also the abolition of a professional army, an instrument alike

of aggression abroad and of suppression at home, and the universal military training of all citizens—the nation armed—free from military law, as an instrument for national defence and for the maintenance of national liberty.

Special importance should be given to our demands in this respect by the utter and admitted failure of the Territorial Scheme. On the one hand this failure is being exploited in the interests of some form of conscription; on the other attempts are being made to stimulate so-called "voluntary" service to make up for the deficiency. It is for us to vigorously oppose both. We are against any form of conscription or compulsory military service—open or covert; and the so-called voluntary system is voluntary only in name. Hunger and unemployment are its recruiting sergeants, and of the men in the ranks of the Regular Army to-day at least 75 per cent. have been forced to "volunteer" by economic pressure, and are as truly conscripts as the soldiers of any continental country who have been compelled to serve by law.

As might have been expected, Suffragettist militancy is at last leading to reprisals. Perhaps the Suffragettes will now learn—if they are capable of learning anything—the folly of a minority with every legitimate means available appealing to mere lawlessness against the public. In such an appeal the minority is bound to get the worst of it. Mrs. Pankhurst and her obedient followers seemed to think it fine fun that the law should be unable to punish them for breaking up meetings, smashing windows, burning people's letters, setting fire to buildings and committing violent and unseemly assaults upon individuals. They will, however, have reason to regret the impotence of the ordinary law once the public take matters into their own hands and invoke the jurisdiction of Judge Lynch. Mere criminal outrage is a dangerous game: it is a game which both sides can play at, and one which invariably favours the stronger side.

The elections for the London County Council resulted pretty much as was anticipated. Not more than 50 per cent. of the electors voted, but of those who did vote a majority declared in favour of the Moderates; and, strange to say, the Moderate majority is as near as possible proportional to their majority of votes. The very small Socialist vote recorded afforded no criterion whatever of the strength of the Socialist vote in London. That can only be arrived at when one Socialist candidate is put forward

in every electoral division, and some sort of vigour is put into the contest from a Socialist point of view.

The threatened railway strike has been for the time being averted. It would, indeed, have been a monstrous thing if the whole of the railwaymen had been put to the trouble and cost of a strike because one of their number had been punished for refusing to break an important and salutary rule. The solution of the difficulty is, perhaps, the best that could be arrived at in the circumstances; but neither Richardson nor his fellow-workers should be permitted to suffer any loss—rather should they be rewarded—for the course they took over the matter.

EVENTS OF FEBRUARY.

AT HOME.

4—M. J. Murphy (Nationalist) elected unopposed for East Waterford.

5—House of Commons read the Welsh Church Bill a third time by 347 votes to 240.
House of Lords read the Trade Unions Bill a second time.

6—Result of miners' ballot on a five-days working week: For, 231,741; against, 171,270. Executive decided majority not sufficient.

7—House of Commons passed a Vote of £1,825,000 for a grant in aid of the National Health Insurance Act.

8—Suffragettes' raid on Kew orchid houses.
Thirteen miners killed and others injured by fall of large water bucket at Rufford Colliery, near Mansfield.

10—News reached London of death of Captain Scott and two comrades in an Antarctic blizzard on March 29, 1912, two others having died previously.

11—House of Commons went into Committee on the Railways Bill.

12—Mr. Maxse, editor of the "National Review," reported to the House for refusing to give information on the Marconi contract to the Select Committee.

13—House of Lords rejected Welsh Church Bill.

14—Fusion of three railwaymen's unions agreed upon.

15—Strike of Grimsby transport workers.
Fog and black rain in London.

19—Polling at Chorley bye-election (result declared next day): Hibbert (Unionist), 7,573; Jackson (Liberal), 5,606. No change.
London working bakers addressed an ultimatum to their employers.

20—Trade Union Parliamentary Committee decided to ask unions to ballot on 48 hours week.

21—Midland Railway directors refused to reinstate Guard Richardson (Normanton), who had refused to break company's own rules against overloading of train-brakes.

22—New buildings opened at Ruskin College, Oxford.

24—Mrs. Pankhurst arrested on charge of being concerned in the attempt to blow up a house at Walton Heath which was being built for Mr. Lloyd George.

26—Bradford dyers, after seven weeks' strike, accepted employers' terms.

Mr. Cecil Chesterton appeared at Bow Street Police Court on charge of criminally libelling Mr. Godfrey Isaacs over the Marconi contract.

ABROAD.

3—Balkan armistice ended; war resumed.
M. Tokoi (Socialist) elected Speaker of the Finnish Diet.

5—Bombardment of Adrianople continued; fighting near Gallipoli.
Retired officer hoaxed the Strassburg garrison to turn out to receive the Kaiser.

6—Montenegrin attack on Scutari repulsed with heavy loss.
Grand Admiral von Tirpitz accepted the ratio of 10 German to 16 British battleships.

7—Socialist Bill for the revision of the Constitution rejected in Belgian Chamber by 99 votes to 83.

8—Counter-revolution began in Mexico.
Eight months of Mr. Channing Arnold's sentence of a year's imprisonment at Rangoon (for defaming a district magistrate) remitted.

9—Coup d'état in Mexico.

10—The Katsura Ministry in Japan ended amid fatal rioting.

11—Schuhmeier, Socialist deputy, assassinated in Vienna.
President Madero reported under arrest in Mexico City.

12—Belgian Socialists and trade unionists fixed April 14 as the date of the general strike.

15—Rumano-Bulgarian negotiations again at a critical stage.

18—M. Poincaré, the new French President, installed at the Elysée.

19—Admiral Yamamoto formed new Japanese Cabinet.

20—M. Delcassé appointed French Ambassador at St. Petersburg.
Great fire in Tokyo.

22—Ex-President Madero murdered.

27—French Finance Minister introduced Bill for extending military expenditure of 20 millions sterling.
Four motor bandits sentenced to death at Paris; others to various terms of imprisonment.

FINANCIAL FALLACIES.

By JOHN RICHARDSON, M.INST.C.E.

(Conclusion.)

What, then, is to become of the non-producer? Well, he must be educated into better habits. Some men are said to be born idle or tired; this may be true, but the average man likes employment, and if not employed usefully will invent useless ways of working. A fox-hunter will rise early, ride hard all day, working equally as hard as a postman. A society woman during the London season leads a busy, hard, and anxious life.

There are a thousand ways in which rich and useless people work hard doing things which do not need doing. On June 26, in this year 1912, no fewer than 10,000 ladies in London, many of them of very high rank, dressed as flower-girls, sold penny paper roses in the streets of London. This was for a charity; but it was hard work on a hot day, and the work lasted for many hours. The most useless people now do something when they like. And this is what will happen to the many thousands of non-producers. When the useful producing class cease to produce wealth for them, they will have to produce it for themselves; and, having only to produce it for themselves, and not for a useless crowd of dependants, paupers, imbeciles and criminals, they will find the task quite easy.

The "simple life" now often adopted by them for motives of health, amusement, or economy, will then be their natural life, and they will learn to enjoy it. The burden of life is not heavy if everyone helps to bear it, but it is reasonable and necessary that all should share the burden if it is to be made easy and pleasant for all.

No one who is familiar with a business will doubt me when I say that at least one-half of our work is wasted, on account of the competitive system which makes it more costly to sell than to make most things.

No one familiar with production will doubt the statement that, granted it were all put under a management which had to consider production for use only, nearly everything that is now made could be produced as well or better in one-half of the time; so that working hours could be reduced by one-half or, say, to four hours a day, while wealth was enormously increased. And it follows that if our army of idlers and non-producers joined the ranks of

the producers the hours of labour need not be more, and probably would be less, than three hours per day; and the lives of all but the few selfish and greedy would be much healthier and happier.

What we set out to establish, and what we think our readers will see, is the fact:—

(1) That the owner of £10,000,000 does not possess it, and, therefore, cannot leave it to others, in sovereigns or even in things, to any large extent, if at all; but that it consists almost entirely in the authority to compel about 25,000 men to do his bidding all their lives, and their successors after them.

(2) That the authority is so unreasonable and unjust that, once understood, it cannot be maintained.

(3) That it is getting to be understood all over the world, and that as soon as wealth producers produce wealth only for themselves the supposed great fortunes of the rich will vanish away, and, "like the baseless fabric of a vision, leave not a wrack behind."

(4) That Labour working on, and with, the free gifts of nature produces all the wealth in the world, and that Labour should enjoy all the wealth it produces.

(6) That, in a wisely organised State, the wealth of each might be enormously increased, while the hours necessary for its production might be reduced to less than one-half.

(7) That in such a State none would be rich or have enormously more than others, and none, absolutely none! need be poor, but all would be wealthy.

CONCLUSION.

In the foregoing part of this article, I have dealt principally with facts, facts which can be proved to be such, but which have not hitherto been generally admitted, together with some which may be strenuously denied—for instance, the statement that "all may be wealthy."

There is a vast difference between wealth and riches.

To be wealthy is to be in a state that is "well"—well in body, well in mind, well-fed, well-clothed, well-housed, well in the enjoyment of the present work, study, and recreation, and well in the prospect of a happy future.

All may thus be "wealthy."

To be rich is merely to have a great deal more of everything, or of most things than others have—that is, as we have seen, to have the command of the labour or services of many men. A man may be so diseased in body that he suffers constant pain; he may have a feeble or defective mind; he may have no sense of the good or beautiful, be insensible to scenery, and deaf to music, but still be rich. Such a man cannot, however, be rightly termed "wealthy."

Wealth is a blessing, and may be enjoyed by all without detriment to any.

Riches may be, and often are, a curse, and the richer the few become the poorer are the many.

Riches and poverty can only exist together, and are the twin monsters which curse the world.

All our wars are waged in the interests of the rich, who, but for their desire to preserve or increase their riches, would leave the world in peace. And but for their poverty the poor men could never be induced to slaughter their fellow men in thousands.

London alone has an army of over 50,000 prostitutes, many of them leading a brief life of luxury, then dying in misery. But for the riches of the rich, this army could not be maintained; and but for the poverty of the poor, the army could not be *obtained*.

Many more illustrations could be given, all pointing to the same conclusion. These, with but little reflection, will occur to all who may read these pages. Enough has been said to show that the object to be desired is the wealth of all, not the riches of a few.

It has been shown how all wealth is either a free gift of Nature or the result of labour expended on Nature's gifts.

Few realise how much comes from Nature alone, and how it is immensely more valuable than the result of man's labour. For instance, that substance which has the highest intrinsic value in the world, that for which a man would give all else he had rather than be deprived of it, is, without doubt, the air we breathe. This, the most valuable thing, is, at the same time, the cheapest: it costs us nothing, being Nature's free gift to all.

Air is so abundant that, taking the atmosphere at only five miles deep, we have a reservoir containing no fewer than a million cubic miles—an almost infinite quantity, which is being replaced as fast as it is being used.

In spite of this inexhaustible supply, landowners try to monopolise it; and we find a large proportion of the population of our cities spend their days in the unhealthy and often poisonous atmosphere of crowded factories, and their nights in the stuffy and foul atmosphere of crowded slums. All this that they may increase the riches of the rich.

Amongst the other great gifts of Nature are water, sunshine, and the power of growth and reproduction among all living things —plant and animal. The wealth resulting from these natural sources is immensely greater than that produced merely by man's labour; yet without this labour wealth cannot be produced in the form in which it can be best used and enjoyed by human beings.

In spite of this fact, the labourer is deprived of nearly all he produces beyond the amount absolutely necessary to keep him alive and in working order.

The rich people of England, after indulging themselves in extravagant and even scandalous pleasures, have remaining of the wealth produced by the workers no less a sum than 200 millions every year.

This means that somewhere in the world another 250,000

workers have become economically their slaves: bound to do their will; to work under their conditions however bad, at wages however small; or starve to death!

At this time of writing (July, 1912) this compulsion by starvation is manifestly taking place wholesale in the East End of London, amongst the transport workers, and in the forests of Brazil and Peru.

In front of this damnable wrong and terrible cruelty philanthropists are impotent. The strongest Government in the world is powerless. Capital, as it is called, but slave-ownership as it is, laughs at all remonstrances of Church, State, and public opinion.

Such a scene was witnessed in London quite recently as stands alone in the history of the world.

Some twenty-five thousand starving workers assembled on Tower Hill, in the heart of the wealthiest city in the world, surrounded on all sides by immense and almost immeasurable stores of wealth, all created by themselves and their fellow workers, and they and their families were dying of hunger.

These despairing ones had appealed to man in vain, and in their misery they publicly appealed to God,

With bare heads and uplifted arms, with one voice they cried in agonised tones, "God Almighty strike Lord Devonport dead!"

It seemed as if a deaf ear was turned to their cry; yet, who knows? Death, the avenger, will surely come to Lord Devonport and all his tribe. They will have to give place to men of purer manner, higher lives, for "though the mills of God grind slowly, they grind exceeding small."

Let us turn back from surveying the miseries of the poor, and look at the troubles of the rich. What to do with their annual accumulation of 200 millions they know not; but there are great financiers who know. One favourite way is to lend it at high rates of interest to foreign monarchs, evil tyrants like the Emperor of Russia, that he may have more armed murderers to kill his best and bravest people, and compel the others to pay the interest on his debts; or sensualists like the Sultan of Turkey or Khedive of Egypt, so that he may have magnificent palaces built for his prostitutes, and be able to give heavy bribes to his vile satellites who minister to his whims and pleasures. Interest is paid for a short time, then the people may revolt, as they did in Egypt under the noble dead Arabi Pasha, in 1882. The financiers were strong enough to compel even Gladstone's Government to declare war, bombard Alexandria, and act in the mean capacity of bum-bailiffs for the financiers. Interest on the scandalous debts incurred by the Khedive is extracted from the people, and an expensive English Army is imposed upon them to compel them to pay. This sort of thing goes on always. Wars are always got up in the interest of the financier. They don't care which side wins, or what loss and misery the war may cause in the world. Both sides want to borrow money, and the financiers have these annual savings to

lend. Both sides agree to pay good interest, and we are fools enough to keep up a big army and enormous navy to compel the payment of the interest. It is not often that they let the cat out of the bag; but one of our most successful generals, who had just concluded a campaign, was entertained at a banquet by the Master Cutlers at Sheffield some years ago. In responding to the toast given in his honour, he said: "What did we go to war in Egypt for? It was to secure a safe investment for British capital." Inadvertently he spoke the truth. Since that time scores of thousands of men have been at work in Egypt. Lord Cromer and others of his class may speak with pride of the great works of irrigation and cultivation which have been done in that country. Certainly they are great, some of them even magnificent; but for whose benefit have these thousands of workers toiled and died? Not for their own—they have been poorly paid; not for the sake of the Egyptian worker—he is as badly off as ever; not for the sake of the British worker—he is even worse off than before. Who, then, has gained? The capitalist, the financier, and Lord Cromer and his fellows who have been tools in their hands, to improve their property and extract more wealth from the workers.

It comes to this, then. The workers of the world have not only to maintain themselves, but have also to maintain in much better condition their task-masters and slave-drivers. They have also to pay for the police, the army, and the navies of the world, which are used to keep them hard at work.

The industrious workers have not only to minister to the natural needs of the rich idlers, but also to their unnatural vices, senseless follies, and hideous crimes. There is no wrong, however glaring; no crime, however terrible; no sacrilege, however scandalous, which has not been committed in the interest of the rich. Ignorance and superstition have kept the people in darkness. But a great light has come; the people's eyes are being opened, and they are awaking to their rights. Even among the rich themselves there are many who are horrified and ashamed of the present state of things, as all will be when they get to know the truth.

Riches and poverty are twin monsters; they can only exist together, and together they will perish. With riches will perish pride and arrogance, greed and corruption, cruelty and oppression.

With poverty will vanish away servility and shame, want and weariness, anxiety for the present and fear for the future, "for each man shall then dwell under his own vine and fig-tree, none daring to make him afraid."

Being free from care, and with abundant leisure, all may then give themselves to thoughts of higher things: Art and science, poetry and philosophy. Pure literature and true religion will flourish as never before, and the vision of the Seer will be realised and the prayer of the Prophet answered, for the Kingdom of God will come, and His will be done on earth even as in heaven.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN FRANCE.

By COMPERE-MOREL.

(Conclusion.)

III.

In order not to get lost in the labyrinth of the classifications and differentiations of rural ownership, Augé-Laribé questions the dead and the living, the Conservatives and the Socialists, M. de Foville, M. Réne Henry, the Finance Minister, M. Hippolyte Passy, M. Souchon, the late French Labour Party (Parti Ouvrier), the Minister of Agriculture, etc. What is the small, the medium, and the large property? Is it to be classified according to its area, the value of the soil, the income it produces, the value of the schedule, the social position of the owner, or according to the number of persons employed in the concern?

The author sets himself this question, vacillates to and fro, seeks loopholes of escape, and finally, after all, relies upon the official agricultural statistics which he had previously represented as defective, inexact and out of date.

The official statistics label the holding of less than 1 hectare as very small; those of 1 to 10 hectares as small; 10 to 40 hectares as medium; 40 to 100 as large, and those of over 100 hectares as very large.

On page 103 the author gives the following table:—

Categories.	Number of Holdings.			
	1862	1882	1892	1908
Very small (less than 1 hectare)...	—	2,167,667	2,234,405	2,087,851
Small (from 1 to 10 hectares) ...	2,435,401	2,635,030	2,617,558	2,523,713
Medium (from 10 to 40 hectares)	636,309	727,222	711,118	745,862
Large (from 40 to 100 hectares)...	145,167	142,088	105,391	118,497
Very large (over 100 hectares)...			33,280	29,541
Total ...	—	5,672,007	5,702,752	5,505,464

However "defective," "inexact," and "out of date" these figures may be, to use the polite epithets of M. Augé-Laribé, he,

nevertheless, uses them, and attaches importance to them. M. Ruan, the Minister of Agriculture, also made use of them in the "Musée Sociale," of March 14, 1909; and he discussed them with me in the Chamber. They must, therefore, be worth something. And on the strength of these statistics I assert the capitalist concentration of land, which was foretold by Marx, and which also now and then strikes the eye of Augé-Laribé.

In 1892 the number of small concerns up to 10 hectares amounted to 4,852,963; in 1908, on the other hand, only to 4,611,564; thus from 1892 to 1908 a decrease of 241,399 small concerns had taken place.

In 1908 the medium and large concerns of 10 to 100 hectares and over reached the number of 893,900, while in 1902 they only amounted to 849,789; that is an increase of 44,111.

Thus 241,399 small and very small concerns disappeared in the course of 16 years; that is equal to an annual decrease of 15,087, a monthly decrease of 1,257, a daily decrease of 41. If that is not land concentration, I do not know what is! There now remains the question of the extent of the area.

In 1892 and 1908 the concerns, not reckoning heath and waste land, covered the following areas:—

	1892. Hectares.		1908. Hectares.
Very small property	1,243,200	...	1,228,597
Small property	10,383,300	...	11,559,342
Medium property	12,946,400	...	14,825,298
Large property	18,579,700	...	16,270,556

As I already set forth in my last book on the agrarian question in France, a comparison of these figures shows that in 1908 the small and very small properties covered an area of 12,787,939 hectares, while in 1892 their area only amounted to 11,626,500 hectares; this, then, constitutes an enlargement to the extent of 1,161,439 hectares. The medium and large concerns, on the other hand, which in 1892 covered an area of 31,526,100 hectares, had gone back in 1908 to 31,095,854 hectares, a reduction of 430,246 hectares.

According to this the small and very small concerns would have diminished in numbers but increased in area, while with the medium and large concerns the contrary is the case.

We do not deny this. We know very well that the medium and large property has lost in extent in some "departements," because great companies, the shareholders of which are known among the peasants as "the black band," have bought land in order to re-sell it in small lots at an enormous profit.

But a considerable portion of the 1,161,439 hectares by which small property has increased its area—not the very small property, for this has lost 14,603 hectares from 1892, when it amounted to 1,243,000 hectares, to 1908, when its area had diminished to

1,228,597 hectares—it has won by heath and waste land; for in 1908 the area of all the concerns (not including heath and waste land), amounted to 43,883,793 hectares, as against 43,152,600 hectares in 1892 (also exclusive of heath and waste land). Thus in the course of 16 years 732,193 hectares of waste land have been converted into profitable cultivated land.

The question of the extension of the size of the area of the individual concerns is, moreover, rather obscure; we have no detailed examples of it. In regard to the diminution, to the extent of 430,246 hectares, of the large properties—properties of 40 to 100 hectares and upwards—it would be interesting to learn if this applies to properties of 40 to 100 hectares, or to the very large properties of over 100 hectares. This one ought to know.

Neither can we draw reliable conclusions until we know whether this decrease of area takes place at the expense of the concerns of 40 to 50 hectares in size, which almost belong to the medium class, and which de Foville classes in this category, or the concerns belonging among the very large properties of 100, 200, or even 300 hectares. At any rate, we can easily determine, by the help of older and more detailed statistics, that during the period between 1882 and 1892 the total area of the concerns of more than 100 hectares grew, while the category of 40 to 50 hectares, which approach the medium size, lost very considerably.

Anyhow, both the earlier and later statistics confirm the fact that the small and very small peasants were thrown back more and more into the proletariat, and that in France, the land of small properties, 4,611,564 small and very small concerns of 0 to 10 hectares cover an area of 12,787,939 hectares, while 893,900 medium, large, and very large concerns occupy 31,095,834 hectares.

But Augé-Laribé, who is, above all, anxious to prove that the small agricultural property is not in danger and can hold its own with advantage against the encroachments of capital, forgets to speak of the land-tax and the mortgage debt, which, after all, must be taken into account.

He has omitted to tell his readers that the number of taxed properties has decreased between 1884 and 1905 by 687,945 units by going down from 14,220,972 to 13,533,026, and that the amount of these quotas before 1884 presents the following results:—

8,585,323 quotas on 2,574,599 hectares on concerns of 0 to 1 hectare.

4,628,060 quotas on 14,901,816 hectares on concerns of 1 to 10 hectares.

698,326 quotas on 12,700,087 hectares on concerns of 10 to 40 hectares.

163,092 quotas on 19,211,772 hectares on concerns of more than 40 hectares.

That makes 13,213,883 quotas on 17,476,445 hectares for con-

cerns of 0 to 10 hectares, and 861,418 quotas on 31,911,859 hectares for concerns of 10 to 40 hectares and over.

Now, as regards the mortgage debt, it amounts, as admitted by the Minister of Finance, Klotz, to more than fifteen millions, a sum which characterises sufficiently the social position of a large number of our small peasant proprietors.

All these circumstances are of weight, if one would judge the agricultural movement in France, and it is a matter for regret that Augé-Laribé has ignored them in a work which he wished to do conscientiously.

IV.

Further on, Augé-Laribé comes to the question of the rural population. As it would be difficult to avoid seeing that the towns, with their tentacles, draw larger and larger masses of people away from the country, the author admits this phenomenon, but does not believe the evil is nearly as serious as it is generally assumed to be. In spite of the percentual relationship of the urban and rural population in 1864 having been 24.4 for the first and 75.6 for the second, in 1906, on the other hand, only 57.9 for the rural and 42.1 for the urban population, the author preserves his equanimity, and has faith in the future, and hopes to keep the peasant in the country by means of easier, pleasanter, and better-paid work.

"There is but one means," he says, "of improving the lot of the workers, and thereby retaining them in the country: one must assure them regular work. Agriculture alone cannot do that; but it can attain it in conjunction with industry. The country workers would no longer go to the towns if works were erected on the land properties for manufacturing the raw agricultural products, distilleries, starch factories, cheese factories, etc., and other factories, such as brick works, etc., where work need only be carried on at times when there is not much to do in agriculture. The permanent wages would induce the country workers to stay. This plan could, it is true, only be carried out by very large and rich concerns. The most effectual means of keeping the peasants and rural workers in the country consists, then, in the main, in still further intensifying the work of agriculture, in industrialising and specialising it still further, and, on the other hand, in bringing the large landowners and their capital into agriculture." (Page 164.)

Is there not a strange contradiction here? The author will not admit the superiority of carrying on agriculture on a large scale; he contests the undeniable, immutable fact of the weakness of the small owner, who, in consequence of the old-fashioned implements, want of capital, and the want also of chemical, physical, and botanical knowledge, cannot make the most of his soil and his labour. Then, suddenly he admits that the industrialising of agriculture is necessary, and that large, rich agricultural concerns are needed in order to restore the prosperity of the land; but is

unconscious that by the proclamation of this technical necessity he is pronouncing sentence of death on the family industry.

Although it is clear, also, that the workers leave the country because they are not happy there, Augé-Laribé does not credit the wretchedness of the peasantry. He assures us that in agriculture neither capitalists nor proletarians are to be found—the two important points on which Marx built up his Socialist theory—and asserts that he has nowhere seen agricultural workers or day labourers who lead a miserable life without pleasure or recreation. Therefore, Augé-Laribé also finds the description of the peasant conditions exaggerated which are contained in my report at the Congress of Toulouse. I regret extremely that M. Augé-Laribé did not see the numerous answers that we received some years ago in reply to our general inquiry. I wish he could read what those concerned said about their life, which consisted only of work and privation. On the greasy kitchen table is to be found as the only dish the eternal bit of bacon ; the night is spent with the animals in the stable, breathing in the unhealthy aroma of the dung ; the work goes on from the earliest morning till the coming of night, in rain or baking sun. And for this a wage of 2, 2.50, or 3 francs, which is even reduced on holidays. Of course, I know it is not like this everywhere ; but if among the 86 French "departements" we seek those least populated, we shall there become acquainted with the sad conditions of our peasants. Now, as regards our activity and our propaganda in the country, Augé-Laribé subjects it to a rather sharp criticism. Like all his contemporaries, he is a little surprised and startled that we should have been able to press forward in the country, and that real land-owning peasants should have voted for the Socialist deputies. Among the reasons which might favour a Socialist propaganda adapted to the needs of agriculture, the author mentions the increased wants of the peasant, who already, in a certain sense, is getting the taste for luxury, and whose burning love for the land and its care, whose physical and moral power of resistance, have become gradually weaker.

He further acknowledges that a portion of the peasantry has sunk to the proletariat—not, he says, because of the capitalists in the country, but because the small peasants mutually destroy each other, and that on that account we have a following in the country.

But where Augé-Laribé really is deceiving himself enormously is in supposing that the tillers of the soil, the small peasants, would only become Socialists when capitalism had robbed them of all their land and forced them down into the proletariat. This mistake is unpardonable. The small owner is turning towards Socialism, and will always do so, because he realises better than Augé-Laribé that he is only a powerless plaything in the hands of the capitalist power, against which he cannot possibly fight.

In order to accept Socialism, one need by no means be without house or home. Every producer who is not enjoying the full fruit

of his labour, and everyone who comes to realise that he is being cheated of part of the reward of his industry by others who have the advantage of possessing large capital with which they dominate the market, will unavoidably be attracted by our theory, the application of which would, first of all, have the effect of delivering him from the idlers who are robbing him. Then come the advantages of united action: mutual insurance organisations, agricultural co-operative associations, which have already increased from 10 to 1,000, making the peasants familiar with the idea of higher forms of property than the present one. United action appears to them as an economic necessity for existence, the struggle for life becomes an anachronism. Each day they see more clearly that they have enough to do in taming and subduing Nature without wasting their time, strength, and intelligence in injuring each other.

And in order to bring to our Party the enormous number of small farmers, semi-peasants and small owners, we need only live their life with them and make it clear to them that from the moment they manure their land till the day comes when they send their harvest to market, they do not cease to pay tithes in the most varied forms to a great number of parasites whose only function is to live—and to live well—on the labour of others. These land cultivators, in whom a healthy common sense often makes up for the want of higher education, easily grasp the fact that only the common ownership of the means of production can assure the maximum of welfare and of material and intellectual pleasures.

Therefore, Augé-Laribé is wrong in his conclusion that Socialism can only unite the wage-workers. It also encircles, and will encircle, all those who, without being proletarians, belong to the world of labour. The revolution that is taking place in our agricultural France is characteristic. Not only have we there—where there is a large rural proletariat—Socialist deputies, but also among the peasants where small properties still exist. I even dare to assert that nearly all the Socialist deputies representing country districts were for the most part elected by semi-peasants, farmers, and small owners. The rural wage-workers, especially the farm servants, are so dependent on their masters, and so given over to alcoholism, that disease of misery, that we have but few voters among them. One can easily find out this, for neither the Beauce nor the Brie voted Socialist, although these two granaries of France employ a considerable contingent of rural wage-workers on their large landed estates.

In spite of my various objections, I must indeed recognise the good intentions of Augé-Laribé, but permit myself, in conclusion, to give him the advice to occupy himself more with the study of our writings, of which, to judge by his numerous allusions to us, he has a very superficial knowledge.

If people would make themselves better acquainted with Socialism before they fight it, we should surely have fewer opponents.

THE REVIEWS.

HERVÉ AND THE ANARCHISTS.

Ever since I left the college halls, twenty years ago, I have been a Socialist, a Collectivist. In common with the whole International Socialist Party, I have dreamed of a social organisation in each country, under which all the means of production now controlled by trusts or great private enterprises for private profit shall return into the hands of the nation as a whole, which shall manage and operate them for the benefit of all, by the aid of its industrial federations or, in the case of local municipal services, by the aid of the communal administrations. Each nation thus transformed, I saw it federated with other nations in one vast social republic, a United States of the World, an International Federation of Labour.

But, while the immense majority of the Socialist Party in all countries seemed to expect the Co-operative Commonwealth to come into being through the normal operation of the Parliamentary system, Hervéism—or what was called by that name—incessantly reminded the French working people that force still remains the great midwife of social change.

History knows no instance of a privileged class permitting itself to be dislodged from power without defending its privileges by violence. Violence from below has thus far always responded to violence from above. It would be rash for us to believe that it will be otherwise in the immediate future, seeing that we have classes in each country, forming, as it were, two sharply separated castes, mutually hating each other, or—what is even worse—not even knowing each other.

The exclusively legal and Parliamentary method had this danger: that it does not prepare the oppressed for the inevitable revolutionary use of force.

By pointing out this danger and some others involved in the purely electoral and Parliamentary action to which too many Socialist leaders confine themselves, by mercilessly chastising the weaknesses of the Parliamentary Socialists, by exalting the spirit of revolt and direct action and bringing again into repute the old insurrectional tactics of Blanqui, Hervéism attracted the sympathies of the handful of Anarchists who are to be found in every Latin country. For the same reasons it won the favour also of

certain unions affiliated with the General Confederation of Labour, the leading positions in which are held by Anarchists (notwithstanding the small numbers of the latter), and which they have helped to inoculate with their fierce hatred for Parliaments in general and for the Parliamentary Socialists in particular.

Thus, although Hervéism in my own mind was only a reaction against the too exclusively electoral and Parliamentary character of the Socialist Party in France, it appeared in one of its aspects, contrary to my intention, as a synonym for anti-Parliamentarism.

Thinking things over during my twenty-six months behind the bars, I came to see the danger to the working class involved in this swing toward anti-Parliamentarism, and to feel that it must not be pushed further by an excessively bitter criticism of the Parliamentary Socialists.

GUSTAVE HERVÉ, in the February "Metropolitan."

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE MINIMUM WAGE.

Professor A. C. Pigou, of Cambridge, has the following on the above subject in this month's "Nineteenth Century and After":—

THE THREE CHIEF FORMS OF MINIMUM WAGE.

The various proposals that are associated with the term "Minimum Wage" have one point in common. They all claim that, in certain circumstances, the State should prohibit the payment of a rate of wages (whether by piece or by time) so low as would in fact have been paid apart from State interference. The circumstances in which State interference is desired and the level of wages which should constitute the official minimum are, however, very different in the case of different proposals. The reason for this is not merely that the means suggested by one thinker for the attainment of a given result differ in detail from those suggested by another, but that the results aimed at are themselves essentially various. It is not, I think, practicable to conduct any useful discussion of the minimum wage problem unless account is taken at the outset of this fundamental fact. The policy of the minimum wage is not a single policy. It includes three different policies aiming at entirely different ends and susceptible of defence and attack along entirely different lines. As a preliminary to any detailed inquiry, it is essential that these three policies should be sharply distinguished from one another.

The first of the three is illustrated in a New Zealand law, which provides that no workman over twenty shall be employed in a factory at a weekly wage of less than 17s. Here the end sought is to prevent the payment anywhere of a rate of wages too low to provide the recipient with means of subsistence. The funda-

mental idea is embodied in the Papal Encyclical Rerum Novarum of 1891: "There is a dictate of Nature more ancient and more imperious than any bargain between man and man—that the remuneration must be enough to support the wage-earner in reasonable and frugal comfort." The second policy is illustrated in the demand sometimes put forward for a law that should compel all the employers in a trade to pay their men not less than the rate customarily paid by "reputable firms." Here the root claim has nothing to do with poverty or with the securing of earnings adequate to subsistence: its sole concern is with equality. The third policy is illustrated in the recent Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act. Its purpose is to prevent the efficiency wage paid to the same man from varying for accidental reasons between different times. Thus, the three policies rest upon entirely different logical foundations. The first is advocated as a means towards the attainment of a minimum standard of life for all, the second as a means to promote equality among the efficiency wages paid to the same people at different times. Of course, the three policies are not separated from one another in practice in the rigorous way in which they can be separated in analysis. This circumstance, however, in no way militates against the view that the distinction, upon which stress has been laid, is of fundamental practical importance.

Subsequently, the establishment of a subsistence minimum wage involves a State decree that the lowest grade of workpeople, if employed at all, shall be paid a wage bearing to their efficiency a higher ratio than wages in general bear to efficiency in general. There can be little doubt that the broad effect of such a decree would be simply to cut off and destroy a large part of the work at private industry formerly undertaken by inefficient men. In a few peculiar occupations, no doubt, which have become specialised to the inefficient and the products of which are subject to an inelastic demand, it might happen that a considerable proportion of the labour-force was retained at an increased wage-rate. In the long run, however, it seems clear that the demand for labour in general is highly elastic, and that different grades of labour are capable of being substituted for one another. Hence, ultimately, the enforcement of a minimum rate, in respect of workers whose efficiency was not before high enough to be worth that rate, will act, in the main, to throw those workers out of employment. If they continue to work at all, they must do so under the guidance not of private industry, but of the State authority entrusted with the care of the poor. The work they accomplish in these conditions is likely, all experience shows, to be practically negligible in amount. Hence the policy of the minimum wage will not render anybody capable of independent self-support who was not capable of it before. It will merely render entirely idle, and throw entirely on the Poor Law or on friends and relations, a number of persons who formerly were—or, at all events, ought

to have been—partially supported from those sources, while they at the same time did a certain amount of productive work. There is no social advantage in this. On the contrary, it seems plain that there is considerable social disadvantage.

INDIA'S "UNTOUCHABLES."

Saint Nihal Singh has a very interesting article on the above in this month's "Contemporary Review." He says:—

Not long ago, at Kohat, nestling on the border of Afghanistan, the two-year-old son of a well-to-do Hindu fell into a well. The cries of the panic-stricken ladies of the family attracted the attention of a man who was cleaning the street outside. He immediately rushed to the spot, and volunteered to go down into the well and bring the boy up. Although no other male was within hearing, and no female was willing to jeopardise her life in the attempt to rescue the little fellow, the "sweeper" was not permitted to save the child, since, being "untouchable," his "touch" would pollute the water. By the time a man belonging to a higher caste could be brought to the scene of the accident, the poor boy was drowned.

This tragedy, in a dramatic way, calls attention to the fact that the term "untouchable," as applied to over 50,000,000 Indians, is in no sense merely euphemistic. This sad occurrence, to be sure, is an extreme example, showing the length to which the pariah can be carried. But the fact remains that in matter-of-fact twentieth century Hindustan, every day in the year, every one of these millions of human beings, in every part of the vast country, is prohibited from touching a "twice-born" (a Hindu belonging to the Brahmin, Kshatriya, or Vaisha castes, members of which wear the yag-o-pveet, or sacred thread), or even a Shudra, as he would defile the person of the "superior" being. A man who has been so polluted will be required to perform purificatory rites—take a complete bath, change all his clothes, and wash, or have washed, all the garments he wore when he was made "unclean" by coming into contact with one beneath him in the social scale. To-day there are still certain districts where the "untouchables" are not permitted to tread upon the high road frequented by their social "betters," or even let their shadows fall upon members of the higher castes, and where they must preserve a prescribed distance between themselves and the "twice-born."

. . . . . .

In some parts of the land the higher castes hurl the most revolting epithets at the pariahs. . . . . In some localities the "untouchables" may not own property, but are forced to live as tenants at will, and can be evicted at the whim of the landlord.

Time was, not so very long ago, when, if the owner of the land sold or mortgaged his property, he also disposed of or pawned the pariahs living on it, sometimes pledging for a few shillings a human being who was compelled to bear an abominable name, such as is shouted at a liar, a thief, a drunkard, or a traitor, merely because of this business transaction in which the abused person had no voice. Until he was redeemed, the man thus made over as security for a loan was the property of the usurer who had advanced money on him. In the interior, where British laws cannot be rigorously enforced, these conditions still prevail, and the depressed classes live in actual slavery.

. . . . . .

The average "untouchable" lives in a squalid, windowless little hut, made of palm leaves and mud, its single doorway usually so low that an adult must stoop to enter it, containing no furniture except a few crudely baked earthen pots, a brass or bronze pan or two, and some dirty cotton quilts or old blankets. Often there is no bedstead of any description, the whole family sleeping huddled up on the bare dirt floor, which, in conformity with Hindu custom, is very frequently plastered with cow-dung. A few rags cover their persons, and these are worn day and night, and are seldom or never changed, being discarded only when they fall to pieces. The women are fond of trinkets made of brass and other base metals. Their meals are scanty and unpalatable, and often they are compelled to drink dirty pond water, since they are not permitted to go near the wells used by the higher castes, and cannot afford to have one for their own exclusive use. On account of the filthy conditions in which they live disease is rampant among them. According to the census of 1901, eighty-eight out of every hundred thousand people of the depressed classes are afflicted with leprosy, a percentage unequalled by any other Indian community. . . . .

In order to maintain their wretched existence, the "unapproachables" must work like cattle, for long hours, exposed to sun, cold and rain. Those who are not engaged in agriculture follow only such trades as are too abhorrent for other Hindus to engage in. Some, for instance, must clean the streets and remove night-soil from the houses. Others must skin the carcases of dead animals, tan the hides, and make boots and shoes—all "untouchable" trades. These occupations are hereditary.

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ANTI-POLITICAL ECONOMICS.

By H. W. Inkpin.

Socialism has little to fear from the positive teachings of Syndicalism. Notwithstanding their large output of articles in a certain section of the Press, the advocates of Syndicalism will have to show some common agreement on object and method, and some evidence of their influence over the working class, before they can claim to have established a new movement.

It is impossible, however, to regard with equanimity the assault of the Syndicalist upon political action. Here the demoralising effect upon the Socialist Party of a teaching negative of its very raison d'être is only too apparent; whilst the futility of the Labour Party has prepared the ground for a much more general acceptance of the case against political action. It is not enough to say of Socialists who are abandoning their belief in political action that they have never understood the principles of Social-Democracy: an active defence of those principles is urgently necessary if they are not to suffer even a temporary eclipse.

To the claim of the Syndicalist that working-class political action has failed, the obvious retort of the Social-Democrat has been that, not having been tried, it cannot have failed. The Syndicalist has seen the wisdom of abandoning that method of attack. He now challenges the Socialists upon theoretical and more fundamental grounds. He recognises that the record of the Labour Party cannot be held up as an example of working-class political action in the Socialist meaning of the words, and he shifts his ground. His argument is no longer merely empirical, "political action *has* failed"; he has had time to give it scientific expression, "political action *must* fail."

Among the many articles in this strain that have recently appeared in the "Daily Herald" was one in which the writer concluded an attack upon political action in the following words: "So long as the economic conditions of capitalism remain, so long will the expression of those conditions remain capitalist. Never yet has the political change preceded the economic change. Always the economic change *caused* the modification of the political superstructure. The political machinery of a given economic epoch cannot respond to the demands of the newer economic system superseding." Now, we have here nothing more than a statement of economic determinism with which few Socialists, certainly none of the Marxian school, would disagree. Consequently, if the Syndicalist can legitimately deduce from it his views on political action, he can claim to have convicted Socialists out of their own mouths.

The best test of the adequate grasp of any theory, as of the value of the theory itself, lies in its application. Here the value of economic determinism is not in question. Let us see how the Syndicalist applies it. "So long as the economic conditions of capitalism remain, so long will the political expression of those conditions remain capitalist." The economic conditions of capitalism, argues the Syndicalist, will remain until such time as the means of production are in the possession

and under the control of the workers. Therefore, to suggest, as the Socialist does, that the political power of the workers can be used to transfer possession and control of the means of production from capitalists to society, is tantamount to saying that a political change can cause a change in the economic basis of society—that whilst the conditions have remained capitalist, the political expression of those conditions has become Socialist, a palpable absurdity. "The political machinery of a given economic epoch cannot respond to the demands of the newer economic epoch superseding." Therefore, we must wait until the economic conditions of capitalism have been changed by some other means—until, that is to say, the workers have acquired the means of production—and then set up an entirely new political machine.

Thus runs the argument that the Syndicalist imagines he can deduce from economic determinism. Underlying it is a fundamental fallacy, i.e., that it is the bare fact of *possession of the means of production* that determines the economic character of any given period. By economic conditions the Syndicalist means nothing more than ownership, and consequently he regards a change of ownership as a basic change in economic conditions which it is futile to try to effect by political means. As a matter of fact, ownership is quite a secondary feature, which has often throughout history been changed by political action, and can be so again. Let us turn to Marx, whom the Syndicalist so glibly accuses us of not having properly understood, and see what he has to say on the question. "In every historical epoch the prevailing *mode of economic production and exchange*, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch." Here we have a definition of economic conditions both comprehensive and fundamental. It is "the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange" that determines the character of any historical epoch, including the

form of ownership. This definition at once enables us to declare that Socialism does not propose to change economic conditions by political action, even though it aims at altering the form of ownership. What Socialist, however enamoured of political action, ever thought of changing the mode of economic production and exchange by political means? On the contrary, every Socialist recognises that the transfer of capitalist ownership to social ownership by the political power of the workers can only be effected when the capitalist mode of production has reached that stage of development which demands such transfer and renders it effective; in other words, that political action is only a means whereby the form of ownership which has outlived its usefulness may be brought into consonance with the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange. Whether the transfer to social ownership be brought about by political action or by industrial action, or by both, it can only come as the completion of a change in economic conditions which has already made capitalism a thing of the past. Regarded in this light political action, so far from clashing with economic conditions, is an instrument by which those conditions express themselves.

Having decided that it is the mode of economic production and exchange, and not the form of ownership, which prescribes the limits to the possibility and effectiveness of political action, we must now enquire whether or not the mode of economic production and exchange, whilst remaining nominally capitalist, is, in fact, undergoing, by the operation of its own laws, such a radical change as to demand and sanction a new political expression. Such an enquiry is altogether foreign to the method of Syndicalism, which, regarding the form of ownership as the determining factor in economic conditions, is altogether blind to that idea of development which animates all modern Socialist theory. Whilst Socialist economics are essentially dynamic, Syndicalism is static, providing only for the cataclysmic substitution of one form of society for another, and

admitting of growth and progress in one direction only—that of industrial organisation in trade unions. But it must be patent to anyone who takes the trouble to consider the matter that the mode of economic production is in process of constant change and development. Would anyone assert that the capitalism of to-day is the capitalism of 50 or even 25 years ago? Do the vast accumulations of capital and the irresistible growth of trusts and combines which we are witnessing signify nothing? Or are not these things the outward signs of an immense change, amounting to a revolution, in the mode of economic production? The joint-stock enterprise of recent years affords an illustration of how the form of ownership has undergone a change in order to bring itself into line with economic development, and, in its turn, has influenced that development. And all this progress inevitably takes one direction, is irresistibly laying the economic foundations of the Socialist Commonwealth.

Through lack of this conception of development, the Syndicalist fails to understand his own speciality, industrial action. He sees in this simply a growing recognition by the workers of the fact that they are being robbed, and an effort on their part to put an end to this robbery by solidarity. But the workers have always been robbed, and not infrequently throughout history have revolted against their oppressors; yet the wisest among them did not contemplate the possibility of ending the oppression by social ownership of the means of production. Was it merely the absence of solidarity that excluded the possibility of social ownership, and have things changed only in so far as increasing solidarity has rendered social ownership a practicable proposition? Or have we not rather to see in both the growth of solidarity and the practicability of social ownership a reflection of the constant development of the economic basis of society? To divorce, as the Syndicalist does, the growth of class-consciousness from its foundations and economic development, and to regard it as the product of mere revolutionary propaganda, is simply to

reduce the class struggle to sentimentalism. Socialism explains the growth and development of the class struggle as a reflection of the growth and development of the economic system of which it is the product. Solidarity and organisation, direct action and political action, alike would be impotent to secure the overthrow of capitalism were they not the instruments forged by capitalism itself to carry one step further the inevitable progress of economic development.

Political action, therefore, as an expression of the class struggle is no inversion of the real order of things in which the economic change precedes the political.

The fact is that economic conditions are changing, and, consequently, to confine the workers to industrial action is equivalent to denying to those changing conditions any political expression. Certainly, "So long as the economic conditions of capitalism remain, so long will the political expression of those conditions remain capitalist." But the existence of a working-class political party is itself a reflection of capitalism; and its growth is the measure of the development, and ultimately of the decay, of the capitalist system. In the failure of the capitalist parties to deal by legislation with the social evils created by capitalism in its final stages we are witnessing the failure of "the political machinery of a given economic epoch" to "respond to the demands of the newer "economic system superseding." The demand for the control and reconstruction of the political machine by the workers is nothing less than the demand of the economic conditions themselves.

To conclude and to sum up the foregoing argument: The antagonisms inherent in capitalist production express themselves, stage by stage, in the antagonisms of political parties and institutions. Only so long as the capitalist remains a dominant and necessary factor in production will the capitalist parties be able to retain control of political institutions. Production is fast reaching that stage when the capitalist will be not only unnecessary, but actually a hindrance to further progress. Even now to a considerable extent he

functions merely as the parasitical recipient of rent, interest and profit. His control of the political machine is becoming as anomalous as the control of the States-General by the clergy and nobility in France at the end of the eighteenth century, and is being used to the same end: the bolstering up of an effete system. When production required to be freed from the shackles of Feudalism, it was the political power of the middle classes which, acting in harmony with economic development, finally overthrew the old system. Similarly, the political power of the working classes, acting strictly in harmony with economic forces, will remove the barriers that capitalism is now raising against the further development of production.

"SPLENETIC SPIRITUALISM."

By John Jackson.

"Fury against the Materialist is always more or less latent," says "Julius" in the February "British Socialist," and possibly herein lies the reason why a splenetic Spiritualist (the adjective is "Julius's" own) ventures to reply to his article on "The Anti-Materialist Conspiracy."

The Materialist, we are told, is a harmless enough fellow, who thinks that a "good feed of bread and beef is more important than all the religions yet hatched." So that is a Materialist? Nothing very lofty in that, but I accept it. If he is harmless, he is also trying; for, unfortunately, he not only thinks that a good feed of bread and beef is worth "all the religions yet hatched," he also thinks the feed is worth all the revolutionary proposals of Social-Democrats, and he retorts to all your appeals for greater vision, "Half a loaf is better than no bread." His vote he regards as worth what it will fetch in beer. Alas, our poor brother! While of course fury is unjustifiable, yet it is impossible to view him without *some* shade of emotion.

One would think that the appeal of Socialism was to provide the individuals working for it with access to unlimited beef and bread, but, after a twenty years' sojourn in the ranks of Social-Democracy, I cannot call to mind a single individual who placed it as low as that. That sort keep their subscriptions for the tangible beef and substantial bread. No; before a man enlists in the revolutionary army there must be a certain mysterious element that you cannot weigh,

taste, or handle, that for want of a better term we call "soul."

But our friend says that is only the definition of a Materialist on the lowest plane. On the highest, or scientific plane, a Materialist is one who holds that "matter being indestructible, is therefore uncreatable; it can change its form and can only evolve from some preceding form." True; but what if that preceding form is not matter at all? And as for the indestructibility of matter, physicists now hold it to be a mode by which some underlying reality (again not matter) manifests itself. One wonders where "Julius" has been hibernating all these years since the end of last century. He is evidently thinking of the solid pellet theory of matter, our good old friend of lang syne, the atom: that ultimate particle of matter which couldn't be cut in half. That, by the way, wanted an effort to imagine; for we cannot with our minds conceive of such a pellet without mentally being able to halve it. But there is little need to smash the atom now. It has gone after the flat earth theory, and heat-a-substance theory, making way for ideas more in accordance with the facts. Matter is now traced to the non-material. A stress and strain in the ether (in all probability electrical), these tiny stresses revolving round a common orbit, and you have the new atom. Thus matter arises in the non-material or etheric states, or, as a splenetic Spiritualist would say, in a spiritual state, and the Materialist Monist of the nineteenth century has given way to the Spiritual Monist of the twentieth. Instead of the well-known sentence from the Belfast Address of Prof. Tyndall, "In matter I see the promise and potency of life," we have it now entirely reversed—in the etheric or spiritual world we have the source of the material world. Remove the strain and stress of the etheric and non-material electrons that form the atom of matter, and, hey, presto! the "indestructible" matter has vanished, as it has been found to break up in the laboratory. That is not to say there is not some ultimate substance; that the material universe is made out of

nothing. It is only to affirm that the original substance is not matter in any definition of the term, or anything that can appeal to the senses.

Matter is a mode of manifestation of this original substance, which is called spirit. If this name offends, change it (there is an anti-spiritual fury equally with the anti-materialist). The name matters little. It does not affect the fragrance of the rose to call it a cauliflower. That for which the name stands is only important. What this spiritual substance is in itself is as big a mystery (same mystery, in fact) as what its more familiar mode of manifestation—matter—is in *it*-self. To say a thing is made of clay, or wood, or iron is but to disclose the interesting fact that such are the names we agree to call those particular substances. We are no more forward, however.

Nor is the Spiritualist called upon to account for the existence of this etheric substance. In all thinking a start must be made somewhere. Even Descartes' saying, "I think, therefore I am," starts with the "I" assumed. And all science starts with the unprovable and very doubtful assumption that things are as they seem to the senses. Test after test of the unreliability of the senses could be given. But, as I have said, a start must be made somewhere, and we assume, just to get a start, that things are what they appear to be. The budding scientist of materialist bent is apt to forget this is only an assumption.

One is astonished to hear Huxley and Darwin referred to as "those doughty warriors of the Materialist cause." Can "Julius" have ever read Huxley? Let me quote one of his doughty warriors, Professor Huxley, from his essay on the philosophy of Hume and Berkeley:—

"It is worth any amount of trouble to know by one's own knowledge the great truth that the honest and rigorous following up of the argument which leads us to Materialism inevitably carries us beyond it.

"To sum up. If the Materialist affirms that the universe and all its phenomena are resolvable into

matter and motion, Berkeley replies, True: but what you call matter and motion are known to us only as forms of consciousness; their being is to be conceived and known; and the existence of a state of consciousness apart from a thinking mind is a contradiction in terms.

"I conceive this reasoning to be irrefragable. And, therefore, if I were obliged to choose between absolute materialism and absolute idealism, I should feel compelled to accept the latter alternative."

And if it may be urged that this is an unwilling and halting testimony against the Materialist position, there is yet more definite evidence in his essay on "The Physical Basis of Life." The title looks unpromising enough to a Spiritualist, but here he states, in characteristically terse and unequivocating fashion: "I am no Materialist, but, on the contrary, believe Materialism to involve grave philosophical error."

Thus the doughty soldier of the Materialist cause deliberately throws it over. So far as Darwin is concerned, he regretted keenly in after life that he had failed to keep in touch with poetry and other immaterial things (I had almost written spiritual), and had become only a machine for registering facts.

I am not concerned with defending either the "New Age," or the "Daily Herald." They may or may not deserve all the materialist fury of "Julius." Nor am I concerned overmuch about the ideas that were in decrepitude 60 years ago—the "proved facts of Spiritualism." If they were decrepit then, they are fairly vigorous now, at all events. As the author of "The Law of Psychic Phenomena" (not a Spiritualist, by the by)—Mr. Hudson—says: "To deny the phenomena is not to prove oneself a sceptic, but ignorant."

Says "Julius," in making the point that applied Materialism would feed a hungry child, while applied Spiritualism would give it an hour of religion: "Given the problem of a child at school fainting away from hunger. . . . . Our rulers apply the spiritual method and give the child an hour of religion, Ten Commandments, morality, and what not. The Materialist would

say the first thing to do is to feed the child. Let the Spiritualist answer wherein does the mental and moral inferiority of the Materialist philosophy transpire in such a case?"

The answer is that our "rulers" are materialist in outlook, and very far from being spiritual. The child's spiritual welfare is made the cloak to conceal their own material interests. They may observe the outward forms of religion and render it lip service, but since when has that been religion? It was the "rulers" and outwardly religious who made short work of Jesus. His concern for children needs no pointing out here. The Socialist striving for the physical needs of the child is of his school, though impatiently rejecting all forms in which his teaching finds expression. We used to carry bannerets inscribed "Feed my lambs" at Free Maintenance demonstrations. The Spirit breathes where it lists.

Let him ask any Spiritualist, say that doughty soldier of Spiritualism (and a good Socialist to boot) Alfred Russel Wallace, if he would give a hungry child spiritual philosophy or food? It is sheer arrogance to assume that a Spiritualist is less zealous than a Materialist in desiring physical well-being and comfort for all. There may exist some individuals who fancy they are highly spiritual, affecting to despise the bodily side of our nature; but the seers of profoundest insight, the poets and prophets of the race, have never been guilty of this. Rather have they glorified the body, and the religionist who despises the body and its functions, from the standpoint of his own religion is blasphemously calling "unclean that which God hath called clean." A physical body has to have food. A steam engine has to have fuel; but shovelling coals in its furnace is not the end to which the engine was created; and the consuming of food—though essential—is not the purpose of life. Socialism itself is not an end, only a means to an end—Life.

> "'Tis Life whereof our nerves are scant;
> Oh Life, not Death, for which we pant,
> More Life and fuller, that we want."

Towards the end we are let into the secret of the anti-Materialist conspiracy. The innocent investigator is floored by these sentences, each following on the heels of the other:—

"Now, there must be an explanation for all phenomena [the "conspiracy"] and what, therefore, is the explanation of this? Apparently, not easy to discover. We venture to suggest that the explanation is quite simple."

One would quite naturally think that a simple explanation would be easy to discover. Whisht! In plots and dreams (and mare's nests) things go by the rule of contrary. The simple explanation is that the "spiritual crowd have discovered that Atheist, Freethinker, and Socialist have lost sting, and so they concentrate to imbue the word Materialist with a sinister and evil meaning on purpose to have some sort of stone to fling at their opponents." It's so simple!

It is mystifying then to be told that the simple explanation is only the first thought, and may be "only partly the reason." If we follow the clue further it turns out that the failure of Labourism is somehow in it. The plot thickens. The poor old Labour Party! Who would have thought that those meek and inoffensive gentlemen were in it. However, they are only indirectly in the conspiracy. Fearing that the workers would adopt revolutionary Socialism because of Labourism's failure, the "spiritual crowd support Syndicalism"!

The murder is out! Tom Mann and Guy Bowman support Syndicalism so as to head the workers off a Materialist philosophy, because they know full well that revolutionary political action is the outcome of that philosophy!

One is irresistibly reminded of the prophet Baxter in all this blood-curdling plot. It is a good job "Julius" is not a hard-shell Baptist, for there is no knowing what he would do with the Book of Revelations and the Labour movement. He seems aware in part of his incoherences, for almost his last sentence is: "This

explanation may seem far-fetched." Far-fetched? O "Julius," thou hast said.

I will sit in meekness at the feet of anyone who will show me the inconsistency between the spiritual view of life and the principles of Socialism. A Spiritualist can accept the materialist conception of history and indeed affirm that our sublimest attributes have evolved from "the prevailing mode of economic production." A man may be a Spiritualist and yet content to work side by side with so-called out-and-out Materialists? The term Materialist is used far too loosely. Our language is very inadequate in terms to express shades of difference in ideas. One word has to do duty for many and often contradictory ideas. "Julius" gives Materialism two implications: that of a man intent on beef and bread, and the holder of a certain scientific philosophy. So far from Philosophic Materialists being Socialists necessarily, all too frequently they are its bitter assailants, with their "survival of the fittest" dogma. I am aware of brilliant exceptions. The truth is that those in our ranks who cursorily dub themselves Materialists have seldom analysed that pessimistic philosophy and are but simply revolters against the cosmic ideas of the Old Testament. I judge a man less by his beliefs than his actions. He can believe in ghosts, like I do, or ridicule them as he likes, but the test of his sincerity ever is, how far does he sweep himself aside at the call of the universe, life force, God, or whatever name you give the impulse we feel to make things better than we found them?

I have spent ten years in the chilling deserts of Materialism, and don't regret a second of it. I am not going back, however. I have learnt its lessons and passed on. In its place I have a philosophy that is a source of strength to me. I would it were to more of my comrades. I hold it to be the finest antidote to pessimism and world-weariness there is. It reveals our essential relationship to this mysterious universe, and shows that Death, so far from being the cessation of our glowing hopes and cherished ideals, is an orderly

step to a greater and fuller life where consciousness is no longer hampered by the limitations of the physical body. There are a few heroic souls content to labour with no sure conviction that their work for humanity will endure, but most of us are like the Irishman who asked: "Why should I work for posterity? What has posterity done for me?"

Let a man have the assurance that not an effort, not a thought is lost, and that he will see of the travail of his soul, and he will labour cheerfully. If beef and bread be all, why, John Burns has succeeded, and the idealist has failed. The human mind, to its eternal glory, revolts from such a conclusion, and Spiritualism, with its revelation of the essential spiritual nature of man, proves Burns to be the ghastly failure, and the idealist to be gloriously right. However, I am not one of those who would compass heaven and earth to make a proselyte. Indeed, I have only made one Socialist a Spiritualist, and he came, Nicodemus like, to me. Experience of phenomena evoked in his home circle convinced him where my argument left him cold. The appeal is ever to the facts.

The "beef and bread" Materialist Socialist is a negligible quantity. Where a man or a woman are spending their energy in self-denying labour for the common good — whatever their philosophy — to my thinking they are far less materialist than the pious believer, who never lifts a finger to help his fellow beings, and spends the whole of his time in collecting the "material" for his own comfort and that of his dependents.

I trust that I have not been too splenetic, but I feel that Social-Democrats would be better set to work to get the powerful influence of religion on the side of Socialism. Indeed, the two are one to those who give more than a surface glance. So far from a religious man who is a Social-Democrat being a curiosity, it should be our business to point out that a religious man who is *not* a Social-Democrat is a curiosity. Why, I ask in mild astonishment, should we antagonise those

who, however blindly, are groping their way to us? Brethren, behold I show you a more excellent way.

Socialism, in my judgment, is less an economic than a moral revolt. The economic side—important as it undoubtedly is—is but the form in which the deep passionate cry for just human relationships finds expression. Men do not commonly spend their lives for an economic creed. The Manchester school had no martyrs—only victims.

Christianity, in its opening stages, was a revolutionary movement, with a menace to the powers that be; and was treated as such. There are not wanting signs that it is swinging back to that position. Church Congresses do not only "belabour Darwinism."

Had it been a religio-philosophical cult only, it would have been tolerated by the easy-going Pagans, much as the modern Liberal Whigs contemptuously tolerate Labourism. Failing to suppress it by persecution ranging over a considerable period, the ruling powers astutely made it a State religion, and so killed its revolutionary proclivities.

To-day, sectarian Protestantism is dying; religion is not. In the Roman Church there are Modernists. In Protestantism the cry for re-adjustment to the intellectual environment of the age is heard, and not only dogmatic lumber will be "scrapped" in the newer synthesis. The relation to commercialism is being scrutinised uneasily also.

In the serenest and sunniest skies of orthodoxy there is a cloud no bigger than a man's hand.

HUMAN NATURE AND SOCIALISM.

By JOHN BILSBOROUGH.

I.

If we are to give credence to the theories of a section of our friends the enemy (enemy in the sense that they who are not with us are against us), Socialism can never be established because of the manifold imperfections of human nature; that we have projected a theory of society which cannot exist save in a community of angels, or such-like beings. According to another section of the enemy, human nature is the same in every individual the world over, and is utterly vile. "There is none righteous; no, not one." These latter, with characteristic sapiency, will also aver that Socialism will be the first step towards the utter deterioration of the human stock. (An unchangeable commodity which deteriorates!)

Our opponents assume, with the confidence to which ignorant dogmatism is peculiar, that while they know everything worth knowing about human nature, we are totally misinformed thereon. I think the boot is on the other foot, and I propose to adduce evidence to show that our opponents' estimate is very wide of the mark.

What is human nature? I think that any definition contrary to that which says man's nature is his disposition, his characteristics, his psychic or conscious self, is not permissible. The soul of a man is his brain, or the workings of his brain. Without brains man cannot live—take away his brain, and you have an inanimate corpse, as dead, or almost as dead, as a coffin-nail. The brain is the seat of reason, but it fulfils other functions besides: it controls all his actions, save,

perhaps, the instinctive or involuntary. Only the heart and possibly the stomach are independent of cerebral authority.

Man sees with his brain through his eyes; hears with his brain through his ears; smells with his brain through his nose; speaks through his mouth only at its behest.

Smith says something to Jones which makes the latter angry (N.B.—It is Jones's brain that is angry), and he takes reprisals. What happens? Jones's brain sends a message along certain nerves to certain muscles of his right arm, hand and fingers; the hand doubles up into a fist, the arm is drawn back, then the fist shoots out in the direction desired by the brain, and Smith receives it on the nose. And it all happens in the fraction of a minute. Truly, the animal nerve system is the most rapid and efficient telegraph service in existence.

But man's brain works only in accordance with outside circumstances. Thus, if one saw a sovereign in the roadway, one would hasten to pick it up. But if the sovereign was not there, the idea of picking it up would never occur to one. And man cannot imagine anything the existence of which he is not aware.

The brain is the seat of wisdom, which man cannot acquire save by the use of reason and logic. The more man uses his brain—his reason—the wiser he becomes, and as his wisdom grows, so does his sense of duty to his fellows. As a rule, the wisest men are the most humane and gentle, and polished of manners. They are the most considerate of the feelings of others; the most tactful, the most honest and just. On the other hand, the least enlightened and most ignorant are also the most cruel, spiteful, servile and bestial. The difference between Ingersoll and Torquemada was a difference of brain-power.

Use of the brain produces convolutions therein. The brain of a philosopher has more convolutions than that of a savage; the human brain has more convolutions than the simian brain, which may seem a remark-

able statement when we consider the Anti-Socialist, the non-political trade unionist, and other mental freaks. Man has more intelligence than monkeys. The nature of man is his brain, and priests and parsons unite in saying that man's nature is totally depraved. Where they make a mistake, however, is in judging the rest of humanity according to their own mean standard of intelligence and morality. Strange to say, they are for ever trying to reform us. Now, if human nature is as vile as they say it is, how, in the name of reason, are they to accomplish that end? They ask us to read their Bible, their religious tracts, and other things, *to put good thoughts into our heads.* But if our brains are utterly depraved, how can we think good thoughts? And what is the good of asking us to come to church and be "saved"? If we are as bad as that, we are unsaveable. And what says the theologians' "infallible" Bible? "Man loves the darkness because his deeds are evil." Such crude blasphemy should suffice to send the hot blood of indignation to the cheeks of every intelligent being. I am really astounded that anyone outside a lunatic asylum can be got to believe it.

But I think that the "forked radish" who first coined this insulting, senseless and libellous aphorism must have uttered it in a moment of irritation at having his house burgled. It may be that burglars love the darkness because it favours their nefarious designs, but burglars are exceptions. I think, on the whole, that there are more good qualities than bad in human nature, and I have excellent reasons for that belief.

Society is based upon mutual trust—upon fellowship without which we should be, as it were, a community (!) of Ishmaelites. But no; without fellowship we should perish, for then there would be no sexual relationship. Mutual trust is the very basis of our existence, as primitive man was not slow to discover, for, in obedience to the dictates of the first law of nature—self-preservation — he combined with his fellows to resist the common foe, and out of this social instinct have developed society and nations, laws and customs.

And why do we have law and its appurtenances? Ostensibly for the repression or prevention of evil deeds. Does not that prove that we prefer good to evil? And if we prefer good to evil we cannot be wholly bad, for the wholly bad cannot understood goodness. Is it not, then, strange that the traducers of human nature should pray: "Lead us not into temptation"?

But it will be argued that the need for laws proves that men have to be restrained from evil deeds. Why, for instance, does the burglar burgle? He burgles for a living. But he might do honest work. He might, but if he did he would displace someone else, who might, in turn, also become a criminal. The burglar is a product of the profit system, which is based upon a margin of unemployed labour. Get rid of this unemployed margin, and the burglar will be left without the need and excuse for burgling. Men do evil only when they have something to gain thereby, but that they will do good merely for the sake of doing it is, I think, indisputable. "Virtue is its own reward."

Jones has a good dinner in front of him, but Smith has none. Jones knows that Smith is famishing, so he offers the latter some of his. Jones is good-natured. But no one would think of stealing someone else's dinner, unless he or she were very hungry.

A man sees a child in the middle of the road, and he knows that that child may be knocked down and injured, perhaps killed, by some passing vehicle. He knows he can save that child without risk or injury to himself; will he make the attempt? Certainly he will, though he knows he has nothing, save applause, to gain for doing it. But who ever heard of any sane person wilfully setting fire to a house, without the object of gain?

Goodness and badness in human nature are due to good and bad conditions respectively. We do not expect plants, flowers and animals to thrive under unfavourable conditions, yet that is what many people expect of human beings. The wonder is that, con-

sidering the horribly immoral social conditions that now obtain, human nature is as good as it is.

But the traducers of human nature must speak for themselves. They must not include us Social-Democrats in their sweeping condemnation of mankind, for we love Truth, Justice, Freedom, and Common Sense—all good things, while we detest and despise falsehood, injustice, slavishness, and cant—all bad things, which proves that we are innately good.

Is love an indication of spiritual depravity? The average man loves what we love, and hates what we hate. He also loves his wife, his children, and his country. He loves work (not drudgery), leisure, pleasure, pictures, flowers and music.

> "The man that hath no music in himself,
> Nor is not mov'd with concord of sweet sounds,
> Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils;
> The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
> And his affections dark as Erebus.
> Let no such man be trusted."

Shakespeare evidently knew much more of human nature than all the lying, theological hypocrites who ever vilified their betters. Their constitutional inability to appreciate the innate goodness of mankind proves them to be the most mentally depraved section of the community. They unintentionally class themselves as "undesirables."

The utter depravity of human nature! Was it that which sent Florence Nightingale and her trained nurses to the Crimea? Was there nothing commendable in Joan of Arc, Elizabeth Fry, or Grace Darling? Were Shakespeare, Bunyan, Milton, Lord Shaftesbury, Plimsoll, Dickens, and a host of other like natures unmitigated scoundrels? Have we no churches, hospitals, National Lifeboat service, or other institution, good, bad, and indifferent, according to the point of view? We have, and in spite of the priestly dictum to the contrary, we must, therefore, conclude that human nature is innately good.

(To be continued.)

THE MONTH.

The war cloud has again been darkening Europe, though for the moment it appears to have drifted by. Montenegro, the first of the Balkan States to begin the attack on Turkey, is, with the help of the Servians, still besieging Skutari, the one important Turkish fortified town holding out against the Allies. The Bulgarians hold Adrianople, the Greeks Salonika, the Servians Monastir, and Montenegro naturally wants to show that she also has made a capture. But the Powers foresee trouble which they obviously wish to avoid for the present. Austria does not want her way through Albania to the Ægean Sea closed entirely by the occupation of that territory by the Balkan Allies. Hence she favours an autonomous Albania. Later on an opportunity may be afforded her similar to that of which she took advantage when she tore up the Treaty of Berlin and definitely annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is a prospect not at all pleasing to Russia, and there is little doubt that she has been secretly egging on Servia and Montenegro to thwart the policy of Austria as far as possible. It has been mainly the antagonism of these two great Powers that has rendered the Balkan war so dangerous to the peace of Europe.

But Russia has now come down against Montenegro. For once the Concert of Europe has sounded a note in unison. The blockade of the Montenegrin and Albanian coasts extending from Antivari on the north to the mouth of the River Drin on the south was begun on April 10. What effect the blockade can have on the operations against Skutari it is difficult to see. It might possibly be used to stop the landing of Servian troops and guns and munitions at San Giovanni di Medua, but it is reported that a cargo of war material from Russia, including eighty truckloads of munitions of various kinds, and eight 6in. howitzers has been landed, and that the major portion is already on its way to Virpaza, at the north-west head of Lake Skutari. If so, it is not at all wonderful that the presence of the international fleet has failed greatly to impress King Nicholas.

Meanwhile, it is interesting to note the changed feelings of some of the pro-Balkan Liberals towards Albania. When that

territory was under the control of Turkey, the Albanians always had their profound sympathy as against the Turks. Now that it is a question of an autonomous Albania as against its division among the Balkan Allies, the pro-Balkan Liberals are calling out that the various races of mountaineer brigands cannot be trusted with independence.

By the time this number of the "British Socialist" appears, the Belgian strike for Universal Suffrage will have been declared. It is generally spoken of as a strike for Universal Suffrage. It is really a strike for the abolition of plural voting. There is Manhood Suffrage in Belgium to-day. Every male of twenty-five years and over has a vote. That was obtained in 1893. But the plural voters still remain. They possess one, two, three, and even four votes, according to their property, position and education. It is behind these plural voters that the Catholics and reactionaries are safely entrenched. Hence the determined struggle of the Belgian workers to force forward the abolition of this system which now obstructs and threatens their onward march.

There is no question of the practical unanimity of the Socialist and organised workers in Belgium to strike on the fourteenth of this month if the Government does not give way at the eleventh hour. At the Congress of the Belgian Socialist Party held at Brussels at Easter, there were 1,331 delegates present, and 1,300 of them voted in favour of the general strike. The strike was opposed by Vandervelde, Bertrand, Huysmans, de Brouckère, and a few other well-known Belgian comrades, but the opponents of the strike knew they were beaten from the start, and while wishing to place their views before the assembled delegates they declared their readiness to range themselves with their comrades in the struggle which would inevitably take place. The minority are to be congratulated on a splendid display of organised party discipline. We could do with a good deal of such discipline in the Socialist movement in this country.

The Marconi Committee has been of absorbing interest to the two political factions because of the charges suggested by Unionist Members against the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Attorney-General and the Postmaster-General. All three of these distinguished persons have sat in the witness-chair, and their cross-examination has provided an interesting exhibition of the complexity and corrupt character of modern capitalism. The spectacle

of the £5,000 a year Chancellor of the Exchequer posing as a poor man should have caused the Committee to adjourn for laughter. It is all a most unseemly business, and it is doubtful if it will ever be probed to the bottom. Whether Ministers made or lost much out of Marconis is not the question. Ministers who dabble in the shares of a company which is in negotiation for a Government contract deserve the severest condemnation.

Another Select Committee has been investigating the unsavoury and murderous details of rubber-collecting on the Amazon. The English Press sat in heavy judgment on the Belgians for their atrocities on the Congo; now as a case of the mote and the beam once more we have an English company more or less responsible for the equal atrocities of Putumayo, though, as is their wont, they did not do their evil work themselves, but employed Peruvians for the purpose.

The result of the elections for the London County Council, which took place on March 6, does not reflect much credit either on the working class of London or on our movement in the metropolis. Half the electors did not trouble to vote at all for the most important civic body in the nation, even after being canvassed and appealed to by the rival political factions. If left entirely to themselves, we doubt whether 25 per cent. would go to the poll. We do not wonder at their apathy where they have only a choice between Moderate and Progressive, but they are little less apathetic where Socialist and Labour candidates are in the field. If the electors were genuinely and actively disgusted with the general administration of London, there could easily be Socialist candidates in every constituency. If the Socialist bodies felt confident of the general support of the workers in turning out those whom they have hitherto turned in, there would be no lack of candidates. As things are, it often means an expenditure of money Socialists can ill-afford, and a not very encouraging result to show for it.

All this admitted, however, it cannot be denied that Socialists generally, and the British Socialist Party in particular, failed in their duty at this election. The truth is sometimes not very palatable, but nothing can be gained by ignoring obvious facts. Notwithstanding the apathy of the workers—nay, *because* of this apathy—we ought to have thrown ourselves into the fight with vigour, and, proceeding on the most economical lines regarding expenditure of money, we should have made every division in London acquainted

with Socialist candidates. This was not done. There were only three districts that had the energy to run vigorous contests, in one case with every prospect of success. Here was a good opportunity for Socialists all over London to give valuable aid, seeing that the absence of contests in their own districts left them free to do so. Here was also a good opportunity for the new British Socialist Party to prove its mettle, and to show that the union of forces was going to result in increased effort for the Cause. But it must be confessed that the apathy of the electors was almost equalled by the apathy in our own ranks.

On the other hand, the results of the recent Guardian and Urban District Council elections are much more satisfactory. The British Socialist Party candidates have more than held their own. They have done well in Acton, Poplar and Shoreditch in London; and there are Socialist gains at Padiham (two), Brighton, Birkenshaw (Yorks), Newburn-on-Tyne and Watford (two). Mrs. Clegg at Bradford and R. Morley at Southampton came within a very few votes of winning the seats; but we regret that a seat was lost at Woolston (Southampton). There is one regrettable feature in some of these contests. In certain places the local Socialists did no canvassing, and distributed little or no literature, and then congratulated themselves on having polled as many votes as were recorded for their candidates in view of what they did not do! This sort of negative policy is really not playing fairly with the comrades who go forward. Those who are willing to contest seats as Socialists, often at great personal inconvenience, are at least entitled to have the wholehearted support, help and work of their fellow-members.

The London correspondent of the "Vorwärts," commenting upon the voting in the House of Commons on the motion to reduce the expenditure on the Navy, quotes the remarks of the "Labour Leader," and says: "What reason could the printer Bowerman and the miner Walsh give to justify their action—especially Walsh, whose colleagues, Adamson, Brace, Richards, and Richardson voted for the motion? Perhaps the absence of twenty-one members of the Labour Party was owing to the vote being taken on a Friday, when Parliament only sits for a short time and many members leave early to reach their homes. Nevertheless, this vote must make a lamentable impression on everyone who is inclined to take seriously the unanimously passed resolutions against armaments at Labour Congresses in Great Britain."

The truth is, of course, that the question is not taken seriously at all by the trade unionists in this country. This was proved beyond all doubt when the Hardie-Vaillant proposition on war brought before the International Socialist Congress at Copenhagen was referred to the various countries. We knew the matter would not interest the trade unionists as a whole, and we were right. The fact is that the Navy of this country is generally regarded as a means of defence and not offence, and occupies something of the same position to these islands as the army does in countries that have frontiers to defend. Democratise that armed force as much as you like, take all possible measures to secure that it is not used as a means of offence and oppression, but for purely defensive purposes; but while things remain as they are, armed force in some form or other will continue to exist.

We heartily congratulate the Railway Servants on the amalgamation that has taken place of three of the railway unions. The National Union has now a membership of nearly 200,000, and there is no doubt that a good many railway workers who have hitherto remained outside the ranks of the former unions will now join the amalgamation. The sooner they join hands with their fellows the better it will be for the whole of the railway workers.

The successful amalgamation of the railwaymen's union is sure to give an impetus to similar consolidation in other industries. But such consolidation does not of itself necessarily mean an increase in the power of the workers. It is the use to which they will put their improved weapons that is important. There are those who appear to think that the organisation of the workers in "industries," and the abolition of the "craft" unions, means in itself a great step in advance, and with the advocacy of this form of organisation there is too often a declaration against officials, executives, and all those who may be appointed to posts of responsibility in the new amalgamations. As a matter of fact, the larger the union, the more power will have to be placed in the executive and the officials, or if not placed in their hands by general consent they will have to shoulder it themselves without consent. Otherwise, the larger the trade union or industrial organisation, or by whatever name it may be called, the more mob-like it may act in times of strife and struggle. There must be voluntary discipline and democratic direction in the class struggle if the workers are to make any serious headway.

The efforts amongst various sections of the workers for better conditions continue, and the month of March shows that the

Labour "unrest" is still a fact of industrial life. We are pleased to see that the bakers obtained their demands comparatively easily: For work which is largely of the nature of skilled labour they were receiving wages below those of general labourers, and worked hours that were a scandal to any community, civilised or uncivilised. A good deal of organising work has been going on for some time past, and the terrible conditions of their labour have been exposed, with the result that numbers of men previously outside the union have been lately joining. It is becoming too much the fashion for non-unionists to join when there is a demand for better conditions, share in the advantages, and then drop out shortly afterwards. We hope the bakers will be an exception to this unfortunate rule, and that those who have recently joined, and who are now reaping the fruits of the long agitation of the union men, will act loyally by their class, and continue staunch members of their organisation.

Closely allied by their labour to the bakers and confectioners are the hotel cooks, waiters, and others employed at hotels and restaurants. This is a class of labour that receives very low wages from the employers, it being understood that "tips" from customers shall make up for what is lacking in wages. The hours are long, and often late, and a deal of the work is carried out under most trying conditions. These workers have made rather sensational attempts to improve their conditions, choosing a time just when dinner is ready for the hotel guests to present an ultimatum to the employer. By this means a number of "victories" have been won. What are the employers to do in such a case? It is practically presenting a pistol at their heads. They have to give way.

From the worker's point of view all means are justifiable, and different conditions of the labour may call for different methods from those usually pursued. But, generally speaking, we are not sure the "lightning" strike, as it is dubbed, is always a wise policy. What is granted to terrorist action is generally got back a little later in revenge. We do not say for a moment that any employer relishes an agreement which grants a rise to his employees, and we know that wherever possible they will filch it back. The danger is that increases granted under these tactics are very liable to be countered by reprisals later; and the workers themselves, sanguine of success in sudden strikes, may not take the steps necessary to secure thorough organisation, upon which alone they can rely in their struggles with the employers.

THE EVENTS OF MARCH, 1913.

AT HOME.

5—The four railwaymen's unions resolved to insist on the reinstatement of Guard Richardson.

6—London County Council elections: increased Moderate majority.

Both Houses of Parliament reassembled to finish the Session.

7—Midland Railway Company offered to reinstate Guard Richardson, and to revise the appendix to their working time table.

8—Railwaymen's unions accepted the Midland offer.

London bakers issued strike notices.

10—Opening of the new Parliamentary Session.

Suffragettes started burning down railway stations.

12—Provisional agreement in the London baking trade.

13—House of Commons: Labour Party's Minimum Wage amendment to the Address defeated by 199 votes to 41.

15—The King opened the Metropolitan Water Board's new reservoir at Chingford. Will Thorne, M.P., had declined to meet His Majesty.

Several short strikes of hotel workers in London.

17—Premier expressed himself to trade union deputation as against railway nationalisation.

18—Bye-election at Kendal. Result (declared next day): Colonel Weston (National Service-cum-Free Trade Tory), 3,261; Somervell (Liberal), 2,680.

Bye-election at Houghton-le-Spring Result (declared next day): Wing (Liberal), 6,930; Richardson (Unionist), 4,807; House (Labour), 4,165; no change.

Fatal sewer accident at Notting Hill: three deaths.

19—Actions for libel against the "Matin" decided in favour of Postmaster-General and Attorney-General.

Taxicab dispute settled: men get their fuel at the old price.

22—Severe gale: part of Worthing pier blown down.

23—Suffragettes persistently disturbed Keir Hardie at Free Trade Hall, Manchester.

24—I.L.P. Conference opened at Manchester.

National Union of Teachers' Conference opened at Weston-super-Mare.

25—Sir Rufus Isaacs gave evidence before the Marconi Committee.

Death of Field-Marshal Viscount Wolseley, formerly Commander-in-Chief.
Lord Haldane addressed the teachers on the education proposals of the Government.
Retirement of Admiral Sir Percy Scott officially announced.
26—Snap division and disorderly scenes in the House of Commons.
Mr. Churchill proposed a year's holiday in armaments.
27—Miners' Federation Conference decided to take no action on five days' working week.
28—Mr. Lloyd George examined by the Marconi Committee.
British miners decided to assist the Belgian miners in their strike.
Death of Father Stanton.

ABROAD.

4—Inauguration of President Wilson at Washington.
French Supreme Council of War decided to re-introduce three years' service in the French Army.
Hungarian general strike.
5—Mr. W. J. Bryan, U.S.A. Secretary of State.
6—Violent scene in French Chamber on introduction of Three Years' Service Bill.
Romanoff Tercentenary in Russia.
Fall of Yanina, the Turkish stronghold in Epirus.
10—Germany celebrates the centenary of the War of Liberation.
12—Lord Denman laid the first stone of Canberra, the Federal capital of Australia.
Belgian Premier, despite the abandonment of the strike, stated the time was not ripe for electoral reform.
13—Fighting renewed at Chatalja.
Powers requested Montenegro to allow non-combatants to leave Skútari.
15—Stormy scene in Canadian Parliament over Navy Bill.
16—Socialist demonstrations in Paris against Three Years Service Bill.
18—King of Greece shot at Salonika.
French Senate rejected Proportional Representation, and M. Briand resigned.
20—Austria-Hungary made threatening representations to Montenegro.
21—M. Barthou formed new French Cabinet.
23—Belgian Socialist Congress decided to declare a general strike on April 14.
Terrific tornado in the United States: many killed.
25—Immense floods in the United States: hundreds drowned.
26—Fall of Adrianople.
28—Heated discussions in French Chamber on Amnesty Bill.
30—Twenty thousand people celebrated in Hyde Park the formation of the National Union of Railwaymen.
31—Death of J. Pierpont Morgan, American financier.

MARXISM AND THE SERVILE STATE.*

I.

Hilaire Belloc's book on the "Servile State" cannot fail to be of interest to every English Socialist at the present juncture. Much in the book will meet with the disapproval of Social-Democrats; but with some of the underlying ideas they will heartily agree. For attention is directed to a very real danger which confronts the working class, living as they do under the laws made by a Legislature which represents the interests of the capitalist class. Such legislation restricts their freedom in attempting to make more stable the existing social system.

The book flings down a very decisive challenge to middle-class reformers, Fabian Collectivists, and the modern Liberal politician coquetting with social reform. They will find themselves in many difficulties when they come to reply—assuming that they attempt to reply. To the Marxian Socialist the book presents no serious difficulty, though it calls for a statement of our position towards the problems enunciated.

It is not my object to deal at length with Belloc's theory as to the origin and rise of capitalism. The growth of the capitalist system in England—"the classic land of capitalism"—has found abler and more accurate historians in Marx, Engels, and Hyndman. The criticisms of Belloc do not endanger their labours. That Catholic writers should trace the evil features of the capitalist system to the Reformation is natural, though the existence of similar evil features in those countries untouched by the Reformation does not inspire confidence in the results of their historical research.

The Church—Catholic or Protestant—has usually sided with the ruling classes against the subject classes. When the exploitation of slave and serf labour was economically disadvantageous, the theologians discovered that it was also morally wrong; but not till then. To-day, wage-slavery, the last form of human exploitation, is profitable to the dominant class; and, with but few exceptions, it is blessed by the clergy of all denominations.

Mr. Belloc contends that if the industrial revolution had come upon a people economically free, "it would have taken on a co-operative form." But, by 1700, "England had already become capitalist. She had already permitted a vast section of her population to become proletarian; and it is this, and not the so-called 'Industrial Revolution'—a later thing—which accounts

* "The Servile State." By Hilaire Belloc. (T. N. Toulis, London and Edinburgh, 1912.)

for the terrible social conditions in which we find ourselves to-day." The origin of these "conditions" can be traced to "the fact that the monastic lands, at least a fifth of the wealth of the country, had been transferred to the great landowners, and that this transference had tipped the scale over entirely in their favour against the peasantry."

I think it is very doubtful if the men who had been accustomed to the industrial production of the pre-factory system, the individual producers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, even though "economically free," could have given "a co-operative form" to the industrial revolution. Capitalism has disciplined the proletariat, and accustomed each individual to work as a unit in a vast industrial organism. But, the most important thing to grasp is *that it did not take on the "co-operative form."* And all our regrets that it did not will fail to change the past.

An examination of the origin of the proletariat in England has led the Socialist writers to the conclusion that three great causes can be found to explain the appearance of this class in our society:—

(a) The Wars of the Roses ruined many of the old families on both sides; and at the conclusion of the war monetary considerations forced them to disband their retainers. Many of these men, trained to no craft but that of war, took to the roads and woods as outlaws and thieves, while others sought work as wage-labourers, or wandered through the country as "vagabonds and sturdy beggars." "Thus," as Hyndman says, "began the growth of the lack-land class as a class, and of the vagrant without house or home."*

(b) The putting down of arable land to pasture for sheep runs. Because at that time wool could be sold at a very high price, as there was a keen demand for it in Flanders and by the home manufacturers. As wages at this period were high, and sheep-rearing needed little labour, farms were laid down to pasture. During the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., we can find references to the "decay of tillage in this realm." This movement which replaced men by sheep was severely condemned by Thomas More in his introduction to "Utopia."

(c) The dissolution of the monasteries, and the confiscation of monastic lands, flung many on their own resources who previously had depended upon the charity of the religious houses and the pious rich. It must not, however, be assumed that there were no proletarians before the dissolution of the monasteries and the confiscation of the church lands. The religious resources and charities only acted as a cloak which hid the festering mass of destitution which had slowly grown up.† In the words of Fuller:

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* "The Historical Basis of Socialism," p. 25.

† "Economic History and Theory" (Professor Ashley), Vol. 1, p. 312.

"The abbeys did but maintain the poor which they made." A similar state of things exists to-day in Catholic Spain, some authorities putting the number of professional beggars at ten thousand.

These three great causes were responsible for the creation of the proletariat, without which the capitalist system could not have functioned. To concentrate the means of production into great factories and workshops, to withdraw the workers from their own simple tools of production in their own homes, was the work of the capitalist class during the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth. With the capitalist system there grew also the economic, political, and social power of the capitalist class. And it is the capitalist State which imposes upon the workers legislation which tends to establish that "servile State" against which Mr. Belloc levels his criticisms.

It follows as a matter of course that legislation coming from a capitalist political party will be in the interest of the class it represents. I think Mr. Belloc would agree with the above statement, for he writes :—

"Capitalism triumphant *wielded all the mechanism of legislation, and of information, too. It still holds them.* And there is not an example of so-called 'social reform' to-day which is not demonstrably (though often sub-consciously) directed to the further entrenchment and confirmation of an industrial society in which it is taken for granted that a few shall own, that the vast majority shall live at a wage under them, and that all the bulk of Englishmen may hope for is the amelioration of their lot by regulation and by control from above—but not by property, not by freedom."*

II.

In the fifth section of his book Mr. Belloc is concerned with proving that: "The capitalist State in proportion as it grows perfect grows unstable."

Here are a few extracts from this section of the book which should set the apologists of capitalism furiously to think, coming as they do from the pen of such an eminent advocate of private property for all :—

"Property remains as an instinct perhaps with most of the citizens; *as an experience and a reality it is unknown to nineteen out of twenty.*"

"Our legal machinery has become little more than *an engine for protecting the few owners against the necessities, the demands, or the hatred of the mass of their dispossessed fellow-citizens.* The vast bulk of so-called 'free' contracts are to-day leonine contracts: arrangements which one man was free to take or leave, but

* "The Servile State," pp. 76-77.

which the other man was not free to take or leave, because the second had for his alternative starvation." "Most important of all, the fundamental social fact of our movement, far more important than any security afforded by law, or than any machinery which the State can put into action, is the fact that *livelihood is at the will of the possessors.* It can be granted by the possessors to the non-possessors, or it can be withheld. The real sanction in our society for the arrangements by which it is conducted is not punishment enforceable by the courts, but the withholding of livelihood from the dispossessed by the possessors. Most men now fear the loss of employment more than they fear legal punishment, and the discipline under which men are coerced in their modern forms of activity in England is the fear of dismissal. The true master of the Englishman to-day is not the Sovereign, nor the officers of State, nor, save indirectly, the laws: *his true master is the capitalist.*"

"As a matter of fact, where a few possess the means of production perfectly free political conditions are impossible."

Not only does capitalism fail to secure freedom to the producers, Mr. Belloc finds also that it is wasteful from its distributive side. And, like the Social-Democrat, he concludes that the Trust is gradually strangling competition in the markets of the world. On these points he writes:—

"Most commissions, most advertisements, most parades, are examples of this waste. If waste of effort could be made a constant, the parasitical employment it affords would be constant, too. But of its nature it is a most inconstant thing, and the employment it affords is, therefore, necessarily precarious. The concrete translation of this is the insecurity of the commercial traveller, the advertising agent, the insurance agent, and every form of touting and cozening which competitive capitalism carries with it."

"Competition is, as a fact, restricted to an increasing extent by an understanding between the competitors, accompanied, especially in this country, by the ruin of the smaller competitor, through secret conspiracies entered into by the larger men, and supported by the secret political forces of the State. In a word, capitalism, proving almost as unstable to the owners as to the non-owners, is tending towards stability by losing its essential character of political freedom. No better proof of the instability of capitalism as a system could be desired." As a result of his examination of the present system, Mr. Belloc is forced to the conclusion that: "*Capitalism, as a fact, is doomed.*"

III.

The seventh section of his book Mr. Belloc devotes to the following proposition: "That Socialism is the easiest apparent solution of the capitalist crux." And proceeds at once to tell us that:—

"Men to whom the institution of slavery is abhorrent propose for the remedy of capitalism one of two reforms (?). Either they would

put property into the hands of most citizens, so dividing land and capital that a determining number of families in the State were possessed of the means of production; or they would put those means of production into the hands of the political officers of the community, to be held in trust for the advantage of all. The first solution may be called the *distributive State*. The second may be called the attempted establishment of the *collectivist State*."

Mr. Belloc next pens us an enlightening passage on the psychology of the people who advocate the claims of the distributive State, from which we learn that :—

"Those who favour the first course are the *conservatives or traditionalists*. They are men who respect, and would if possible preserve, the old forms of Christian European life."

In short, they see their ideal society in the past, and would, if possible, reach back to it. To look back and idealise the past is not a trait peculiar to the modern conservatives; many races and people have done likewise. But to the working class of to-day, faced by the grim realities of twentieth century capitalism, it is useless and even harmful, and brands the utopians who advocate it as blind leaders and false prophets. The scientific Socialist looks back over the past that his vision of the future may be the clearer. He studies the past to understand the present, and, as far as it is humanly possible, to foresee the future. With Liebig he says: "The past is the father of the present; but the present is the father of the future." We understand that, though the wheels of economic progress grind slowly, they never grind backwards. Watching this slow but majestic progress, the Socialist exclaims with Hegel: "Nothing is; everything is becoming!"

That the attempt to return to individual property ownership, like the attempt to revive the guild sysem and individual production, would be reactionary to the core, Social-Democrats will readily understand. In accepting responsibility for this imagined solution, Mr. Belloc appears to be aware of the many difficulties which beset his path. "If I desire," he writes, "to substitute a number of small owners for a few large ones in some particular enterprise, how shall I set to work? I might boldly confiscate and redistribute at a blow. But, by what process should I choose the new owners? Even supposing that there was some machinery whereby the justice of the new distribution could be assured, how could I avoid the enormous and innumerable separate acts of injustice that would attach to general redistribution? To say 'none shall own' and to confiscate is one thing; to say all should own and apportion ownership is another. *Action of this kind would so disturb the whole network of economic relations as to bring ruin at once to the whole body politic, and particularly to the smaller interests directly affected.* In a society such as ours a catastrophe falling upon the State from outside might indirectly do good by making such a redistribution possible. *But no one working from*

within the State could provoke that catastrophe without ruining his own cause.

"If, then, I proceed more slowly and more rationally, and canalise the economic life of society so that small property shall gradually be built up within it, see against what forces of inertia and custom I have to work to-day in a capitalist society!"

"Surely thrift," some disciple of Lord Rosebery exclaims, "can solve the problem by restoring to all thrifty and worthy folk the reward and solace of private property!" But to this suggestion Mr. Belloc replies in the negative. He writes:—

"To build up small property through thrift when once the mass have fallen into the proletarian trough is impossible unless you deliberately subsidise small savings, offering them a reward which, in competition, they could never obtain; and to do this the whole vast arrangement of credit must be worked backwards. Or, let the policy be pursued of penalising undertakings with few owners, of heavily taxing large blocks of shares, and of subsidising with the produce small holders in proportion to the smallness of their holding. Here again you are met with the difficulty of a *vast majority who cannot even bid for the smallest share.*"

And one cannot help feeling that he parts with his imagined solution at its graveside when he writes:—

"Though it is evident that with a sufficient will and a sufficient social vitality property could be restored, it is evident that all efforts to restore it have, in a capitalist society such as our own, a note of oddity, of doubtful experiment, of being unconditioned with other social things around them, which marks the heavy handicap under which any such attempt must proceed. *It is like recommending elasticity to the aged.*

"In a word, the man who desires to re-establish property as an institution normal to most citizens in the State *is working against the grain of our existing society*, while a man who desires to establish Socialism—that is, collectivism—*is working with the grain of that society.*"

This section of the book shows very clearly that the restoration of private property "as an institution normal to most citizens in the State," is impossible under modern capitalist conditions. And this would still be true even if the capitalist politicians were interested in such a restoration, which they are not. Assuming its possibility, however, such a restoration would not be desirable.

Nature can best be conquered and made to yield her treasures to man by the massed strength of men, armed with the latest forces of industrial science. This is impossible in a society of individual producers: the mode of production which corresponds with "private property as an institution normal to most citizens in the State." Co-operative production now dominates in the factories and workshops. The sub-division of labour has destroyed the individual producer of complete articles; dozens of workmen

now perform special tasks, which all contribute to complete the article once made by one pair of hands. The village bootmaker of the handicraft period commenced a pair of boots, and his work did not cease until he had finished them. The making of the Brogan boot in the American boot factories involves no less than eighty-three processes.* And in the modern factories of England the production of a pair of boots involves between seventy and eighty distinct processes.

It is the historical mission of the class-conscious proletariat to socialise the means of production and distribution; thus destroying the basic contradiction of modern society: that between social production and individual appropriation. And so, for the first time in history, man in society will have conquered his physical environment, and subordinated it to his needs. No longer enslaved to the means of production, but master of them, they become the willing servants of man, ministering to his every need. In Engels's words: "It is the ascent of man from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom."†

IV.

What is the attitude of the Marxist towards Mr. Belloc's theory that every step taken by the modern collectivist reformer is not an advance towards the Socialist Commonwealth but to the establishment of the Servile State? Do we subscribe to, or differ from, this theory?

The answer to the above question involves a statement of the Marxist conception of the State and its functions. Around this question of the State and its nature, confusion reigns in many quarters at the present moment. To many people, even widely read writers on the subject, the State is synonymous with society. Others, yet again, confuse the State with the Government for the time being. In short, there is a wide difference of opinion among middle-class writers as to the meaning and function of the State.

But, while this is so, many writers are agreed that all States possess certain clearly marked traits, which are sufficient to mark them off from all other social institutions. The distinguished French writer and economist, Paul Leroy Beaulieu (I select this author because of his well-known hostility to Socialism), writes:—

"The concrete State, as we see it at work in all countries, manifests as an organism two essential characteristics, which it always possesses, and which, moreover, it is alone in possessing: the power of imposing by methods of constraint upon all the inhabitants of a territory the observance of certain injunctions known by the name of laws or administrative regulations, and the power

* "Introduction to Economics." Professor H. R. Seager, p. 142.

† "Socialism: Scientific and Utopian," p. 82.

of raising, also by methods of constraint, from the inhabitants of that territory large sums of money of which it has the free disposal. The organism of the State is, therefore, essentially coercive; the constraint it exercises takes two forms, the one of laws, the other of taxes. Legislative power, or the power of taxing—both alike backed up by constraint either active or potential—these are the distinguishing marks of the State."*

And again he writes: "Of that apparatus of force and coercion which is called the State."† For the Socialist definition of the State, I select the following, by the able Marxist writer, Gabriel Deville:—

"The State is the public power of coercion, created and maintained in human societies by their division into classes, and which, having force at its disposal, makes laws and levies taxes."‡

Both definitions agree that the modern State is an instrument of coercion which, having at its disposal armed force, can make laws and enforce taxation. But only the Socialist definition recognises that this power of coercion is "created and maintained in human society by their division into classes." This, however, is the pivot of the whole problem. No classes; no State. A classless society will be a Stateless society. A social organisation, "administrating things" and "conducting processes of production," will take the place of the modern *Political State governing men.*

"But, in destroying the State, should we not also destroy society?" someone asks. "Is not this a resurrection of Rousseau's idea of a return to nature?" yet another exclaims. The answer in both cases is in the negative. The State is not synonymous with society, for society existed thousands of years before States.

There is very good reason for believing that animals of every species, with a few unimportant exceptions, lived in societies; and that society and social life, like socal morality, had their origin in those rude societies of the brutes. "The fact is," Peter Kropotkin writes, "that all animals, save some beasts and birds of prey, and a few species that are in course of extinction, live in societies. In the struggle for existence it is the sociable species that get the better of those who are not. In every class of animals they occupy the top of the ladder, and there cannot be the least doubt that the first beings of human aspect already lived in societies. *Man did not create society; society is anterior to man.*"§

R. CLEMENTS.

(*To be continued.*)

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* "The Modern State, pp. 67-68.

† Ibid., p. 51.

‡ "The State and Socialism," p. 4.

§ "The State: Its Historic Rôle," pp. 5-6.

"AGAINST MILITARY REACTION."

[General André was the Minister of War who was responsible for the introduction of the two-years' system in the French Army. During his tenure of office he did his utmost to eliminate the reactionary generals from the French Army, and he incurred much odium in consequence. The pupils of the Jesuits never forgave him, and hated the idea of a Freethinker being at the head of the Army. He hardly received sufficient support from the Republican Party. Just before his death he wrote the article, of which a translation is subjoined, in the "Courrier Européen," a weekly review published in Paris.]

It appears that for financial reasons Germany has given up her dream of supreme power on land and on sea. Owing to her increase in population she has determined to increase her forces on land, and is preparing a scheme which will enable her next year to have more than 750,000 men, and perhaps 800,000, under arms. Owing to our low birth-rate, we cannot put more than 525,000 men into the Army each year, and the enormous number—800,000—has aroused much interest in the minds of all Frenchmen, whatever their rank in life or the political party to which they belong. We do not consider this normal and foreseen result of the increase in the population of Germany, which had been stated in 1909 by General Falkenhausen, to be a menace against France.

The Emperor William knows too much about war to believe that the military power of a nation can be exclusively measured by the number of men under arms. This monarch is, besides, too anxious about the economic development of his nation to engage in a light-hearted manner in a struggle which, whatever be the issue, will retard that development for many years. And is he not a too habitual commentator of the Bible to forget the result of the struggle between young David and the giant Goliath? Many times, if not by using strangely inflammatory words, at all events by the pacific consequences of his acts which seemed to be threatening, William II. has shown himself too thoughtful for anyone to believe that he would bring about a great war. In my opinion, he wants peace, but he desires to be the uncontested lord of peace. He wants, both for himself and for Germany, a preponderating influence in diplomatic congresses, and that is why his metaphors of dry powder and a sharp sword are translated practically into the number of armed men The nation which can raise 800,000 men

must undoubtedly occupy the first rank, and the militarist beyond the Rhine states that France, which can only raise 550,000 men, can only have the second place.

Though we do not believe in a threat, yet we must not fail to see a danger, for no one is master of events, and the power to do evil often alone leads to its realisation. The danger due to the disproportion of the permanent forces of the two countries, a danger which will necessarily increase each year, compels France to adopt measures of safety. By these I do not mean that our troops should remain on the defensive, behind the line of forts, because that would certainly lead to a defeat. But I mean the taking of measures which would lead to offensive tactics, and which are in accordance with the genius of our race, and would enable us to be victorious. The problem is a difficult one, and it is especially so because it cannot be solved by a temporary solution, but will become more and more difficult, because in three or four years the numerical disproportion which is troubling us will have become still more serious. In countries whose population increases, it is not the increase in any particular year which is important, but we must go back for twenty years. Thus the 800,000 men which Germany is, it is said, going to put in her army next year were produced by the 52,000,000 which composed her population twenty years ago, just as the 540,000 men in 1895 were the offspring of the 43,000,000 of 1875. This shows us what enormous numbers of men Germany will be able to raise when, instead of the 56,000,000 of 1900, she deals with the 60,000,000 of 1905, the 65,000,000 of 1910, and so on.

To endeavour to counteract our increasing inferiority in numbers by an increase in the number of years' service is a simple solution which can easily become law. First three years, then four years, then a militia, and then all the nation in arms. We have not got to that part yet. Though this may occur, it only interests young men of 19 and under. Let us confine ourselves to the present situation, and let us admit that owing to the financial question Germany will stop at her present point, and for a long time to come will only have an army of 800,000 men. I put on one side the considerations of social order which may be called into question against the increased time of service, but with which I am not concerned: France becoming poor, the decline of the birth-rate, the emigration from the country, the decrease in the number of men employed in agriculture, the decline in apprenticeship, etc. I will only look at the law which the Government proposes. That law institutes a three years' service without exception, just as in the two years' law. This was the opinion of the Supreme Military Council, which only looked at the question from a military point of view, leaving on one side all other considerations. From that point of view we must approve the decision of the Generals. The increase of 160,000 men in our army will enable us to guard better the eastern frontier, and will strengthen us just at the time when

soldiers are leaving active service. It is said, too, that the new law will benefit the cavalry and the artillery, and we agree to this.

It might be said that the Generals were going outside their province in stating that there should be no exceptions* to the three years' service. But this is not so; the question is of great importance, because if exceptions were once admitted, the increase of 160,000 men would melt away, so to speak. For in 1902 there were 48 per cent. of men exempt for one reason or other; schools were being instituted in order to enable pupils who had obtained certificates to get off with one year's service. This increasing danger struck everybody, and I can say for certain that this reduction was the real reason why all exemptions were suppressed. I will write more on this point later on, but I will state my conclusion, which is the following: that we can defend our country by other means than those proposed, which would be retrograde steps, and that the solution of the problem must be found by a different method.

L. ANDRÉ.

* Under the old systems some conscripts could get off with one year's service.

AROUND THE GENERAL STRIKE.

An article by Harmel in the "Bataille Syndicaliste," under the title of "Grèves générales politiques," has been honoured by the Catholic Press in Belgium. With the most lively satisfaction the organs of the Clericals and of the "yellow" syndicates quote against us the expressions of the "Bataille" on the inevitable checkmate of political strikes and on the political chimera of Universal Suffrage, which is not worth a strike.

It pleases us to emphasise on this occasion the accord between Belgian reaction and French ultra-revolutionism.

We had, moreover, already heard Griffuelhes laying down the law in this strain at Havre, and his discourse had not converted us any more than Harmel's article, because it brought forward once more the old Anarchist theory, which had already been refuted a thousand times.

The Anarchistic Syndicalists of the C.G.T. remind us of those bad workmen who attribute their professional incapacity to the imperfection of their tools. From the fact that the working class of France have not known how to get all that might be got out of Universal Suffrage, or that they have over-estimated its importance, it does not necessarily follow that the right to vote is destitute of value. It only proves, at the most, that one must learn to use it with skill and wisdom. So much for Universal Suffrage.

From the historical point of view, Harmel is entirely and absolutely mistaken. He doubtless ignores the fact that the plural régime was introduced in Belgium under the pressure of a general strike. Nor does he seem to know that Universal Suffrage triumphed in Austria when our comrades there threatened to follow the Belgian example.

The "Bataille" reproaches us with having condemned the general strike of expropriation, the object of which is to overthrow capitalist society. No one wishes more than we do that such an assault were possible; but, unfortunately, the theoreticians of the C.G.T. have not taken realities sufficiently into account. They have lost sight of the necessity for a general and thorough education of the proletariat, which alone would render their general strike possible at the moment when, the revolution having been accomplished in the minds of the people, it would doubtless have become unnecessary.

It is another matter with the organisation of a general strike in one or several industries with the object of realising some economic or political reform. In such a case, indeed, an efficacious propaganda has succeeded in winning over to the proletarian cause so large a balance of public opinion as greatly to facilitate the victory of the strikers.

That is the case in Belgium with the electoral reform to which the majority of Belgian citizens have been converted, so that the general strike assumes the form of a supreme protest on the part of the majority against a tyrannical minority.

And our argument is so near the truth that the "Bataille Syndicaliste" itself, in its issue of yesterday, does justice, under the signature of Bourchet, to the naivetés of "conscious minorities" and of "revolutionary gymnastics."

Speaking of the present trade union crisis in France, Bourchet writes :—

"But the 'malaise' comes, above all, from our not having known how to make the workers understand the immensity of the task which has to be accomplished.

"I remain—at the risk of appearing old-fashioned—faithful to the principle of the general strike ; but this is not, and must not be, the magic word culminating in the unreasoning and incoherent action of a crowd without social value, who hope, by an hour of revolt, to transform the whole world.

"A strike with folded arms or clenched fists is doomed to miserable failure if it be a strike with hollow brains. That is the real point. The militants have been able to say, and the crowd to believe, that the cessation of work, the strike, even if accompanied by violence, constituted the basis of the act of revolution.

"That, however, would really be too simple, and it is because this simplicity is insufficient that, on account of not having known how, or not wished, to say it sufficiently, we have seen our comrades fall back confused, discouraged, divided at the first repulse. The partial strike, which, given enlightened brains, should lead, even if repulsed, to the making of revolutionists, only tends, with the present state of mentality, to discourage those who take part in it.

"No ; the assault on a factory, the execution of a Watrin, a momentary explosion of anger, leading even to justifiable reprisals, does not constitute the Social Revolution any more than the execution of Louis XVI., the storming of the Bastille, and the erection of the guillotine as a permanent institution, constituted what is known as the Great Revolution.

"All this is merely the reflection, the picture, of the various facts ; it is the film which passes, but which is merely the accessory of the work of revolution.

"The latter is more complex, more solid. It is the long work of evolution in thought ; it is the leaven which will ferment the

brains—leaven which is aroused by propaganda, and which, in the hours of great conflict, intensifies the workings of thought.

"Therein lies our weakness, and therein lies, I think, the cause of our moments of depression. There is, indeed, a dearth of militants, and the younger generations do not bring enough new men with all the ardour, all the aspirations, all the generous ideas of the necessary abnegation, but the working-class movement is of such a nature that even all this cannot belittle it.

"In our work everything is of use that can give more liberty, more leisure to the exploited—the eight hours day, the "English week,"* take a prominent place in our desires, as they would permit of the necessary, indispensable, primordial work of education."

These phrases could be subscribed to by any of the writers of "Le Peuple." And it is because Universal Suffrage is capable of contributing to the material and intellectual progress of the working class that we consider its attainment to be a matter of urgency.

—"Le Peuple," February 16, 1913.

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* Free Saturday afternoon and Sunday.

THE REVIEWS.

SEVEN YEARS OF LIBERAL GOVERNMENT.

A Liberal's Appreciation.

Mr. Philip Morrell, M.P., writes the following appreciation of the Government's work in the current "Contemporary Review":—

Judged by the ordinary tests of success, the present Government must clearly be considered one of the most successful Governments of modern times. For seven years they have held office, a longer period than that of any other Liberal Government. Even the Whig Ministry that was returned after the great Reform Act of 1832 did not secure such an unbroken spell of power. They have won three General Elections—gaining a decisive victory each time—and upon all the important questions of the day they still reckon on a majority of over 100 votes in the House of Commons. After a long and most difficult Session, lasting for more than thirteen months, in which they had to face the anxiety of a six weeks' coal strike, while carrying through Parliament a heavy programme of legislation, they have not only held their ground, but have admittedly improved their position. . . . .

First, and most important, amongst the causes of success has been, of course, the struggle with the Lords. It is around this struggle that the whole political history of the first six years of this Government has turned. It has brought together, as nothing else could have done, the Liberal, Labour and Irish forces.

. . . . Within two years of the rejection of the great Budget the House of Lords were themselves passing into law the Bill that has made it impossible for them to reject another—the Bill that has deprived them once for all of the almost unlimited power they had so long enjoyed. It was a triumph for Liberalism, but it was also a personal triumph for the Prime Minister, whose courage and foresight in the conduct of this controversy has given him an authority in the party hardly less than that of Gladstone himself.

. . . . .

The second cause of the strength of the Government has been the success of their finance. All politics, it has been said, is ultimately a matter of money, and great as has been the influence of the struggle with the Lords, the influence of Free Trade finance has

been hardly less important. . . . . Whatever may be said against Free Trade finance, no one will now assert that it is not a good means of raising revenue. The cost of the Navy has been raised by over £15,000,000 a year. The increase in the Army has been considerable. A million old people are receiving pensions, at an approximate cost of thirteen millions a year. But with all this the dead weight debt of the country has been diminished by a larger redemption than has ever before been effected in a similar period. At the same time trade has steadily improved. All the lurid prophecies made by our opponents in 1909 and 1910, that the Budget would ruin industry and create unemployment, have gone the way of so many other political predictions. Unemployment has been reduced, pauperism has diminished, wages are rising, the imports and exports stand at a higher figure than ever before. In 1903, when Mr. Chamberlain started his campaign, our total volume of trade amounted to 902 millions. Last year it had risen to 1,344 millions, an increase in nine years of 442 millions, or 49 per cent. . . . .

In other departments of the Government's work the amount, it must be admitted, is not so clear. Whether it has been from the pressure of the constitutional conflict, or from the inherent difficulties of the task, very few of the hopes that were aroused in 1906 have yet been realised. . . . .

. . . . The withdrawal of foreign affairs from party politics has meant their withdrawal almost completely from the criticism and control of Parliament. Speeches from the Secretary of State have been rare, and very few papers have been published. But all students of our foreign relations have been aware that if we have succeeded in avoiding war, it has always been at a heavy cost. . . . .

In domestic affairs—apart from the Parliament Act, the only achievements of supreme importance have been the schemes for old age pensions and insurance; and it is, again, curious to remember that neither of these were comprised or even mentioned in the original programme of the Government. The only reforms promised in 1905 were in respect of education, temperance, and the land, and in none of these has anything important yet been accomplished.

. . . . . .

In the meantime, there can be no doubt that under all the apparent prosperity there is grave social discontent. While in the upper and middle classes wealth and luxury have increased, the conditions of life of the working classes have remained stationary—or have even declined. There has been a great increase in the cost of living, but a comparatively small rise in wages. It is estimated that between 1905 and 1912, while the income of income-tax payers increased by 62 per cent., and prices rose by 23 per cent., wages only rose by 13 per cent. There are still thousands of adult workers who are earning less than £1 a week. In rural districts,

there are many agricultural labourers who are earning, on an average, not more than 15s. a week. Little wonder that in these conditions discontent has not diminished, and that in the last two years, in the railway strike and coal strike, we have had the two greatest industrial disputes that the country has ever seen.

What, then, are the future prospects of the Government? Will they be able to deal with the conditions I have described, and the discontent that those conditions have aroused? Is the instrument—that has been forged with such labour by the struggle for constitutional liberty—to be turned now, as it might well be turned, to the solution of those social problems? Or, are the forces of progress again to be scattered, and the country to revert to a period of rule by the great interests, such as that from which we emerged in 1906? At present there is no sign of a reaction. But the situation may at any time become a critical one. It is for the Government themselves to take advantage of their strength and of the good trade we are still enjoying, to show that they are as much in earnest in dealing with the evils of our social system—with high rents and low wages—as with the problems of Irish Home Rule or Welsh Disestablishment. On those terms, and on those terms only, can the strength of Liberalism be maintained.

THE INTERNAL CONDITION OF GREAT BRITAIN IN TIME OF WAR.

Major Stewart L. Murray writes the following in this month's "Nineteenth Century and After":—

It is thought by many that the ever-increasing burden of armaments and the tension amongst the Great Powers of Europe is now becoming too great to last, and that even if the present Balkan crisis should end peacefully, yet the next crisis may end in a general war. This view is, unfortunately, not without reason. At the present moment, when there is still a doubt as to whether the downfall of the Turkish Empire in Europe will lead to a general European war or not, it seems opportune, therefore, once more to bring forward for consideration the question of the internal situation in Great Britain should such a war come upon us. For sooner or later—come it will.

We have to remember that since our last great European struggle a century ago a silent revolution has taken place in the country, which has utterly changed everything, including our method of life and our system of government, and, most ominous of all, we have changed from a nation practically self-supporting to a nation completely dependent upon ocean-borne commerce for our wages and our food. This is a condition unexampled in the

world, a condition peculiar to ourselves, and demanding on our part peculiarly anxious consideration and peculiar methods of precaution.

Analysis of the Internal Situation.

For the sake of such clearness as is possible the constituents of the internal situation on the eve of a great war are roughly grouped under four headings, though really the inter-action of all is so far-reaching that it is difficult to separate them. They are :—

(a) Financial confusion, breakdown of the international credit system.

(b) Normal poverty plus unpreventable war poverty—i.e., loss of the hostile markets.

(c) Preventable war poverty—i.e., loss of neutral markets.

(d) The anti-war tendencies of socialistic Labour organisations.

The international credit system, on which the present industrial system depends, has only grown up during the last three-quarters or half century. It has never yet had to stand the ordeal of a war in which all the great monetary Powers of Europe, including Britain, the centre of the system, are involved at once, so that they can no longer draw upon each other for monetary aid in emergency. The financial and commercial confusion must be stupendous when such a war breaks out, and may well bring with it the fall of the great credit system itself, unless sufficient financial measures be devised beforehand to meet it. The inadequacy of our gold reserve in Great Britain to meet a really serious monetary crisis has of late years attracted much attention, and has been the subject of various papers and addresses by banking authorities, such as those by Sir Herbert Tritton, Sir Felix Schuster, Sir Robert Giffen, Sir E. Holden, and recently by Mr. J. W. Cross in the pages of this review. It is admitted. The writer does not propose to labour the point further. The general result is well known—namely, that the deposits in our banks (deducting liabilities of banks to each other) are, in round figures, £1,000,000,000 or more, and the reserves at the Bank of England, upon which all the other banks depend, are only about £45,000,000, including bullion retained against the note issues, or about 4 or 5 per cent. Such a reserve may be sufficient for times of peace, but it is idle to deceive ourselves by the hope that it could possibly be enough to meet a great financial panic such as must characterise the opening of a general European war. Much has been said and written, but nothing remedial has been done, and so we must consider a financial panic and a general run upon the banks and savings banks as one of the first facts we shall have to face to-day in the event of war. As Sir Robert Giffen said in his lecture at the Royal United Service Institution in 1908: "The conclusion, then, is that the banking position in this country is one of real danger in the event of a great war"; and "On the nature and effects of a great banking panic there is no need to enlarge. Apart from the miseries resulting to

depositors and shareholders who are suddenly impoverished, there is no more potent cause of widespread bankruptcy and unemployment." And "It is difficult to realise the magnitude of the evil it may be necessary to deal with, and especially the extent of the civil tumults that may occur." And, "All these tumults would further help to strain credit to the utmost, and intensify the banking panic itself."

. . . . . .

So much for the situation of the capitalistic classes. Let us now briefly consider how such a great war will affect the working classes.

The working classes will be affected by maritime war in a two-fold manner; first, by the high war price of all foodstuffs, and, secondly, by the diminished employment caused by the dislocation of commerce due to the war. The combination of these two causes will certainly produce distress far greater than we have ever yet had to cope with. . . . .

As regards the war price of food, it is, of course, not possible to gauge the rise exactly, due, as it will be, to so many different contributory causes. It may be a double rise: it may be a treble rise. But there can be little doubt that the price will be practically a famine price, as stated almost unanimously by the leading corn merchants and dealers in all foodstuffs before the Royal Commission on Food and Raw Material Supply.

The Anti-War Tendencies of Socialistic Labour Organisations.

Under this heading are grouped, for want of a better common denomination, all those anti-war forces and ideas which are at present at work amongst the British Labour classes, and also all the Labour organisations, trade unions, trades councils, clubs and institutes, which would enable the working classes of to-day, if the hardships of maritime war became intolerable, to press their demands for peace with political power not easy to resist.

I do not wish to press too far this point of the potential explosive forces underlying modern democracy. In every State of Europe they are present. We have not, in this country, experienced an explosion, and are, therefore, less on our guard than other States. . . . . If such an explosion should occur as the result of intolerable war conditions, I believe that its causes will be preventable war poverty. It may appear in either of two forms:—

(1) Political violence, bread riots, and looting organised by an extremist minority of Social-Democrats, hooligans, alien Anarchists, etc., appealing to hungry mobs.

(2) As a political expression of intolerable war conditions by the majority of the working classes shown by electing extremist anti-war men to their executive councils, and thus bringing the whole political machinery of the working-class organisations to bear in order to force Government to conclude a disastrous peace.

(3) Or as a combination of (1) and (2).

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THE BALKAN WAR.

By A. S. Headingley.

Though the need of a Socialist newspaper is always keenly felt, never, to my mind, has this been so evident as during the present crisis in the Near East. Of course, one difficulty is that, even if we did possess the £200,000 to half-a-million sterling required to start a paper that would compete with the "Times" or the "Telegraph," we should be boycotted. The trade would refuse to give us advertisements, and the whole of the capitalist press would refuse to quote or give a Socialist newspaper any credit for the good work it might do. Nevertheless, in dealing with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire we could have forced the note and compelled recognition. It would have cost us—I mean a real Socialist newspaper—perhaps £10,000; for men who know Turkish or Arabic thoroughly, who are able to write graphic descriptions in English and are willing to risk their lives, are not numerous; and if I

were editor, I would not think of offering less than £100 a month and all expenses, which might well amount to several hundreds more. It is obvious that only on rare occasions can we expect to get as good service as the capitalist Press unless we pay as good a price. Papers built on blacklegging the journalistic profession will not exercise a very widespread influence. But if we only had possessed a real newspaper at the present moment, how we could have shaken up dry bones and revolutionised antique and reactionary opinions. While news would have been flowing in from the front, not so much about the movements of generals and statesmen, but about the feelings and opinions of the peoples themselves, there would have been students, historians at home all industriously occupied collecting materials and evidence to explain how it came about that the Ottoman Empire was created.

In ordinary history, we read of the Oghuz Turks driven out of Central Asia in the earlier part of the thirteenth century and establishing themselves in Armenia, where, after varying fortunes, they found a great leader in the person of Othman or Osman. He invaded Byzantine territory, and after him is named the Ottoman Empire which he founded. But what we want to know is the why and wherefore. How came this Empire to spread so far over Europe, subjugating Christian countries, and why did so many Christians gladly abjure their creed to embrace the faith of Islam? Already other Mohammedans had swept Christianity clean out of Egypt and all the northern coasts of Africa. In Spain, in Italy, in the south of France, and from the East right up to the walls of Vienna, in the centre of Europe, the victorious tide of Islam rose irresistibly. Why? Historians say but little about this. They talk of the generalship, of the warlike qualities of the Mohammedans. As if half Europe could be conquered by generalship and the discipline and training of troops. Neither Julius Cæsar nor Napoleon could have invaded the greater part of Europe if they had not brought with them

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something the invaded countries desired. With Julius Cæsar came all the advantages of a much higher civilisation, with Napoleon the aureole of the Revolution, the advent of democracy, the destruction of inherited privileges. When, however, it became evident that Napoleon was betraying the cause he had represented, Europe, instead of submitting, rose against him and he was defeated.

To-day, then, of all time, is the chosen moment for explaining why Islam triumphed in Europe, and why at present it is no longer able to hold its own. We are not going to bring about the Socialist millennium by standing in the gutter and crying out to busy men and women that they should pause and pity the sorrows of the poor working man. The workers who will forward the cause of Socialism are the historians and the scientists who can grip hold of every current event that does attract the attention of the great mass of the people and point out its economic and moral cause, its economic and ethical remedy. All great events lend themselves to such interpretations, and certainly this is the case with the Eastern question. Why did Christian countries offer so feeble a resistance to the conquering sword of Islam, why was Christianity so easily replaced by the newer religion? Because the tiller of the soil had a better opportunity of earning his living under the laws that were based on the Koran than under the laws established by the feudal lords in Christian countries. Because Islam was comparatively and in practice far more democratic than the Christian forms of government. Under Islam all who embrace the faith are really equals, and both in Egypt and India even slaves have become Sultans. The European serfs were more cruelly downtrodden than the poorest children of Islam.

Further, and what is too readily forgotten, Christians fled from Christian countries, sought refuge under the Crescent, so as to enjoy religious freedom. Thus the Nestorians were saved from total extinction by seeking asylum in Mohammedan countries. Even

to this day, thousands and thousands of pilgrims and tourists go every year to the Holy Land, where they unwittingly pay homage to the tolerance showed by the Mohammedans. When the Saracens conquered Jerusalem they respected the holy places of a religion in which they did not believe. When did a victorious Crusader show any respect for a Mohammedan mosque? When did a Christian sect refrain from persecuting another Christian sect if it was strong enough to satisfy its resentment? To-day, at Easter, at Jerusalem, it is the Turkish troops who, with fixed bayonets, prevent the rival Christian sects from tearing each other to pieces. Let those who cannot afford to travel so far and see for themselves get some photographs of the Easter festivities. Thus, from the first, Christians fled from fellow Christians to find freedom and safety among the children of Islam. Thus we get our first lesson. It should be fully elaborated with much historical evidence in support; then we would realise that the Moors, the Saracens and the Turks triumphed in Europe because they were more tolerant, because they granted more freedom, because their social institutions permitted greater social equality, and because their economic laws rendered it easier for the willing worker to earn his living.

If we Socialists are one day to rule the world we must study what were the causes that facilitated the great changes wrought in history. We cannot, of course, blindly imitate those who were successful in the past, but many of the elements that contributed to such success would still constitute a force in a modern movement. Now, above all, Islam represented the cause of Education. Christianity had obliterated the science, the philosophy, the literature, the arts of the ancient Greek and Roman civilisations, and had plunged Europe into what the Christians themselves described as the Dark Ages. The Saracens had the great works of the ancient Greeks, notably Aristotle, translated into Syriac and Arabic, they encouraged learning by every means possible. "Go," says Mohammed, "and ask

everywhere for instruction, even, if necessary, as far as China." A verse in the "Hadice," or "Words of the Prophet," says, "He who seeks after instruction is more loved by God than he who fights in a holy war." While the Christians forbade all the sciences and burnt the scientists at the stake, Mohammed proclaimed, with a voice of thunder, that:—

"It is a sacrilege to prohibit science. To ask for science is to worship God, to teach is to do an act of charity. Science is the life of Islam and the pillar of our faith."

And finally we have this sublime sentence:—

"He who instructs the ignorant is like the living among the dead."

There, then, we have our moral: just as the Saracens and the Turks routed the Christians so shall the Socialists rout the Capitalists when the Socialists prove that they have attained a higher standard of living in the sciences, in the practical application of democratic principles and in the realisation of economic progress.

It may be objected, however, that I am writing as if the Turks had been victorious instead of defeated in the recent war. That shows I suffer from the usual frailty of preferring the agreeable to the disagreeable, and it is more pleasing to describe how obscurantism was humiliated than to relate why those to whom we owe so much are now well-nigh driven out of Europe. Here, again, we have an illustration of a need of a Socialist Press, instead of only a capitalist Press and a Press devoted to the religions of capitalism. This Press, nevertheless, must think we are very blind and very ignorant. It gives various reasons why the non-Moslem populations of the Balkans are now dissatisfied with Ottoman rule, but why were they not dissatisfied before? During centuries no complaints were heard. It is only within the last eighty, or at most a hundred years, that the various peoples under Ottoman rule began to agitate and to rebel. For centuries they

seem to have been fairly satisfied, and the Socialist will at once note that the development of dissatisfaction coincides with the development of modern industrialism. It may also be observed that in England the anti-Turk feeling is strongest among the Party and section of the people who are most intimately associated with industrialism and commercialism. Thus, just as the Socialist was a pro-Boer, so is he likely to be a pro-Turk. And, just as the Boer and the Turk were not in the swim of modern cosmopolitan high finance, so are they both likely to go under—at least till the Revolution comes.

There are, of course, many factors affecting the alteration of the position; but steam power and modern machinery may be considered as the most potential. As such facilities of international communication as railway lines and steamships increased, the Ottoman Empire was placed at a disadvantage in its relations with the rest of the world. So long as the Empire's business could be carried on by the small handicraftsmen and by small tradesmen, the Ottoman Empire held its own. With its guilds to maintain a living wage for all the workers there was no widespread dissatisfaction. But railways brought in cheap machine-made articles that sapped the trade and labour of the handicraftsman. They and the steamships also rendered an invasion much easier; and we know that, from the time of Catherine the Great, it has been the traditional policy of Russia to endeavour to seize Constantinople. On the other hand, Austria, defeated by Russia, has been forced to relinquish its former position as a Germanic Power, and therefore directs its ambition in the opposite direction—namely, towards what used to be the Ottoman Empire. Salonica, in the hands of Austria, would probably replace Brindisi as the nearest port to the Suez Canal for the overland route to India. Already Austria has annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and has frequently threatened the military occupation of the Sanjak of Novi Bazar. Neither Austria nor Russia, therefore,

had any desire to see the Ottoman Empire consolidate itself. The more disorder the greater the opportunities for interference and for annexations. Thus it is that agents were sent to foment discord between the rival races and creeds.

Disturbances were all the more easy to produce as the economic situation was becoming more and more unfavourable to the inhabitants. The Mohammedan religion forbids usury, therefore most of the banking is done by Armenians, Greeks and Jews. This did not matter so much in the handicraft days; but now that most enterprises need large capital the Turk is placed at the terrible disadvantage of having to seek the aid of those who do not belong to his race, or creed, when it is necessary to obtain a loan. It is the Armenians and other non-Moslems who have been chiefly instrumental in creating the Ottoman Debt. Now the Turk demands that the Armenian should respect his life as a citizen and not break down his guild and his living wage. When a business is sold it is the Armenian who outbids the Turk; then he undercuts the other Turks who are in the same business. The usurious Armenian contrives to inveigle the Turk into borrowing money, and makes him sign papers the meaning of which he barely understands. Patiently he waits till the Turk is away, serving his time in the army. The usurious Armenian then swoops down on the estate and takes more than his due when there are only relatives present to defend the rights of the absentee. Also it is quite probable the soldier will die while in the army, and never return to put matters to rights. Thus the impoverished widow and orphan children grow up to hate the Armenian. Usury, so widely practised by Christians, is an abominable crime in the eyes of the simple-minded, unenlightened Mohammedan. It is the cause of many murders, particularly if the usurer is an Armenian and the borrower is a Kurd. Yet in England we have been led to believe that the massacre of Armenians was due to religious fanaticism.

A Turk explains the situation in this way:—

"I and my son are bakers and barbers. You and your sons are lapidaries and gardeners. But if you bid one of your sons to be a barber, a second to be a baker, a third a lapidary and a fourth a gardener, all is confusion, and how can good come of it?

"Furthermore, he is no barber nor baker who does not belong to the Guild of Barbers and the Guild of Bakers. If your son go not to the Peshkadin and rank himself among the apprentices; next to the Tchavosh, to bid him inscribe his name on the rolls; then to the Kihaya, to pay him toll, how would he be a member of the Guild? Ask the Sheik if I have not spoken well."

Thus the occasional massacre of Christians by Turks is no more due to religious fanaticism than the Luddites' riots in England, or the Trade Union outrages Broadhead organised many years ago against the blacklegs in Sheffield. But it suited the politicians, who were in search of a pretext for attacking the Turk and robbing him of his possessions, to ascribe this regrettable violence to his religion. There again we need a Socialist Press to expose the economic basis of current events. The British Nonconformists have been especially eloquent in the misrepresentation of what has happened in Turkey. Potzo de Borgo, former Russian Ambassador, was far more frank, for he openly confessed that as the Russians were nearly beaten by the unreformed Turks, they were not going to allow them to reform. Ali Pasha and Fuad Pasha nobly strove to make the paper reforms, drawn up after the Crimean War, real and effective reforms. We know that it was the intrigues and pressure of Russia that caused the exile of Midhat Pasha and thwarted his constitutional schemes. Disorder has been systematically maintained in Turkey, and good administration rendered impossible, by foreign, especially Russian, provocating agents. Is it conceivable that Russia would allow orderly constitutional government to be established on its frontiers,

either in Turkey or in Persia, while keeping the Russians themselves under the tyrannical and cruel rule of the Czar?

All this underhand, murderous, and criminal intriguing has now come to a head. The Turkish Empire has been dismembered and exists no longer as an important European Power. The natural consequence is that the thieves are quarrelling over the spoils. Already there has been a good deal of unofficial fighting between the Bulgarians, the Servians, and the Greeks as to their respective shares of the newly-acquired territories. But they are mere pawns in the game. The real contest that imperils the peace of Europe is between Austria and Russia. Bulgarians, Servians, and Montenegrins being, broadly speaking, of the same Slav race and the same religion, have throughout been backed by Russia, and are, in practice, mere outposts of the Russian Empire. Through them Russia hopes ultimately to become a Mediterranean Power.

On her side, Austria seeks to check this Russian expansion and prepare the way for her own growth. Therefore she has conceived the idea of creating a new Principality by giving the Albanian race a national existence of their own. For the moment, therefore, the struggle is between Russia, which endeavours to make this new Principality as small and as weak as possible, and Austria, which, on the contrary, would have Albania stand forth as a powerful buffer State. Where our interest as Socialists comes in should now be clearly defined; and here, once more, we need a wealthy Socialist Press, able to employ learned specialists, with local experience, to elucidate the problem. Is Russia to advance and advance till, as Napoleon said, Europe becomes Cossack and the Holy Orthodox Church dominates the world from Constantinople? Or is Austria to expand till she reinstals the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church at St. Sophia's, so that from Constantinople Europe may come under the heel of the Jesuit? This is a prospect that places us between the Devil and the deep sea. But these are the practical

politics of to-day, and our future depends to a large extent on the solution of these problems. As the knowledge of these dangers extends, there will be a better appreciation of the service rendered to the cause of peace by the Ottoman Empire, and greater regret that by its disappearance the dogs of war have been let loose. It is true that, for the moment, the more acute causes of quarrel have been removed, but the situation is inherently dangerous, and is likely to remain so for a long time to come. The Socialist Party has, I sincerely believe, largely helped to preserve the peace so far. It is the knowledge that there is a revolutionary party at home keenly watching for its opportunity that has so alarmed the various Governments concerned as to make them fear to embark on foreign wars. But we cannot rely on this for all time, and therefore greatly need information and guidance as to the economic bearing of all these complications, and how the difficulties the capitalist Governments have brought about should be handled by Socialists. We have to prove our superior statesmanship before we can expect communities to entrust us with the reins of government.

"SPLENETIC SPIRITUALISM."

A REPLY TO JOHN JACKSON.

By JULIUS.

Let us deal with the Huxley business first. I claimed both Darwin and Huxley as warriors for the cause of scientific Materialism. I maintain the claim as perfectly just, however much Huxley himself may have jibbed at the label. By the establishment of Darwinism philosophic and scientific Materialism received its greatest impetus since its first appearance in modern times, in the eighteenth century. Darwinism remains triumphant, and in the battle for its establishment Huxley took a leading part. Darwin did not care for arguing, he simply told people; Huxley it was who grappled with the enemy on the dusty battlefield, and slew him in battalions; the enemy were almost entirely of the "spiritual kind," although spirituality has perhaps changed its ground somewhat since those days. That the works of Huxley are a bulwark to the Materialist is apparent by the uneasiness of Sir Oliver Lodge, in his introduction to the "Everyman" edition of "Man's Place in Nature." Sir Oliver Lodge, as an ardent Spiritualist, evidently feels that many thoughtless young persons may be pushed too far towards Materialism by its perusal, for he hastens to head off its logical conclusions by parading the very same passage that Mr. Jackson quotes. If Sir Oliver did not fear the materialist implications throughout that volume, why did he choose to make that preface consist entirely of an attack on philosophic Materialism? If Huxley was such a sound Anti-Materialist, why not leave him to

speak for himself? The reluctance of Huxley to adopt an uncompromising label is the one weak spot of his brilliant intellectual character, but a certain light is shed upon the mystery in the article to which Mr. Jackson refers, "The Physical Basis of Life." True, as he says, it looks unpromising in its contents. If ever there was a magnificent piece of reasoning in defence of the thesis of the purely material nature of life, and the explaining of its origin only by purely materialist method, it is in the introductory portion of this paper; and then Huxley, having brought his reader to the very verge of the materialist "abyss," refuses to jump over with him. In denying that he is philosophically a Materialist, however, he is by no means so "terse and unequivocal" as Mr. Jackson would have us believe. I beg to quote the passage, restoring the portions left out by Mr. Jackson. Recognising the materialistic implications of what he has just written, Huxley says:—

"Past experience leads me to be tolerably certain that, when the propositions I have just placed before you are accessible to public comment and criticism, they will be condemned by many zealous persons, and perhaps by some few of the wise and thoughtful. I should not wonder if 'gross and brutal Materialism' were the mildest phrase applied to them in certain quarters. And, most undoubtedly, the terms of the proposition are distinctly materialistic. Nevertheless two things are certain: the one, that I hold the statements to be substantially true; the other, that I, individually, am no Materialist, but, on the contrary, believe Materialism to involve grave philosophical error. This union of materialistic terminology with the repudiation of materialist philosophy I share with some of the most thoughtful men with whom I am acquainted."

Surely this is the strangest of *non sequiturs*. It may well be asked, if Materialism is so useful in the laboratory of the scientist, why it should be dismissed from the philosopher's study. It is easy to see, too, that it was "grossness and brutality," rather than

Materialism itself, that he was chary of. The amazing part of it is that he, who was so well acquainted with the "splenetic" aspects of the Spiritualists of his day, should have accepted this designation of Materialism from its enemies as in any way true; for Huxley to have backed down here was a weakness for which his acquaintance with "thoughtful" (and, be it added, respectable men) was doubtless responsible. Huxley, in fact, having thrown the Spiritualist neck and crop out of the front door, opened the pantry window, in order that he could creep in at the back: a manœuvre the Spiritualist has not been slow to accomplish. As is well known, Huxley did the same thing with regard to his theological battle. In that fight he was emphatically on the side of the Atheists; in all his arguments and criticisms he expressed nothing different to what had always been known as Atheism. But when it came to the charge direct once more he was coy, and invented the term "Agnostic." This was purely a sacrifice of logic to respectability, and has been somewhat severely dealt with by Belfort Bax, in his essay, "On Some Forms of Modern Cant" ("Ethics of Socialism"). I did not claim Huxley individually as a Materialist, but a fighter for the cause of Materialism he certainly was, and I am content to base the justice of the claim on his written works. As with Darwin also—I think it is not possible to find anywhere that Darwin styled himself a Materialist; and while, in my opinion, much bolder in thought than Huxley, and as brave in personal character, he was not a fighter in the temperamental sense that Huxley was. Yet I notice Mr. Jackson does not dispute my inclusion of Darwin, but rides off on the admission of Darwin, due probably to his inveterate modesty, that he had lost appreciation of poetry, and other immaterial (?) things. As a matter of fact, the discoverer of a profound scientific truth, a beautiful generalisation, may well experience a physical and mental exaltation which would knock the so-called "inspiration" of a thousand minor poets and such fry into a cocked hat.

I have dealt at length with this point, regarding it of greatest importance. Now for the other contentions of Mr. Jackson. I did not identify myself with the idea of limiting Materialism to a question of "Beef and Bread." I was seeking for its lowest interpretation, short of admitting the Materialist to be an absolute criminal, in order to give the Spiritualist every chance. On those terms, I am prepared to defend it. Nothing very lofty in that, says Mr. Jackson. Quite lofty enough, say I. The bulk of the people have so high to climb yet before they attain it that the upper end of the ladder is yet not distinctly visible. How does the spiritual faculty express itself? Books, philosophy, art, music, poetry? A full stomach first, and all these shall be added unto you. And what is the function of the digestive organs, that they should be regarded as in any way more "gross" than the functions of any other part of the material body?

"If anything is sacred the human body is sacred. And the glory and sweet of a man is the token of manhood untainted. And in man or woman a clean, strong, firm-fibred body is more beautiful than the most beautiful face."

Mr. Jackson raises the whole question of Spiritualism versus Materialism. I think it was not germane to my article. I did not suggest at all that no one had a right to hold Spiritualist views, neither have I a wish to antagonise or exclude him. I was concerned particularly to emphasise that, whatever Materialism may be, the acceptance of its philosophy does not involve any moral obliquity on the part of its votaries. Mr. Jackson says nothing whatever to shake that position. A Materialist may be mistaken, but he is not a scoundrel; and when Spiritualist spleen suggests that he is, I say we are justified in retorting "Scoundrel to you!" I had hoped that Mr. Jackson would have been superior to this sort of thing; but no, we find as we approach the end of his article that he will not call us a thief, nor a rogue, nor a moral pervert, but he will call us John Burns! The inquiry as to where I have been hiber-

nating is, of course, the modern mode; but, to be strictly according to Chesterton, Mr. Jackson should have referred to me as early-Victorian; it is not, however, convincing.

I need not, I think, concern myself with the atom, preferring to leave such things to those more expert in physics than I. But already our old and honourable friend has been enlarged to the size of St. Paul's Cathedral in order that we may perceive electrons as oranges whirling around inside; a few brief years hence, perhaps, we shall get a similar enlargement of the electron, and when that day comes we may find Mr. Jackson despising the abandoned electron, and clinging like grim death to the latest fact in physics for support for his spiritual theory.

Because we call things by certain names, those things do not therefore cease to exist. I admit freely that if, after the tests of taste, smell, sight, touch and hearing, a man still refuses to believe in the existence of the universe, common sense stands helpless. Before such a gigantic scepticism as this Materialism is dumb. A ton of granite dropped on the head of such a man might kill him, but would certainly not convince him. But if it be admitted that our universe is only an assumption, and that this is a point against the Materialist, then that applies equally to the Spiritualist; directly he names his entity or abstraction, condition, or whatever the wriggly thing is, hey, presto! it vanishes. But here's the rub—which of these two theories, when it comes to the test, is the one invariably acted upon by our Spiritualist, and always must be acted upon by him unless he would destroy himself? I am afraid Mr. Jackson does not like gastronomic illustrations, but such a one is the first that occurs to me. It is dinner-time: the Spiritualist has before him a plate upon which are substances which we have agreed to designate roast chicken, gravy and potatoes. Do they thereupon disappear? Never; the Spiritualist will assume their existence, and subject them to a change of form by a certain chemical process, and this

he will do in as hearty and confidential a manner as the coarsest and grossest Materialist that ever chewed beef steak. It may be a poor alternative between Bishop Berkeley and Dr. Johnson, but, when necessity compels a choice, we plump for Dr. Johnson every time.

There remains the question, which of the two theories has the most practical value for mankind ? and on this test scientific and philosophic Materialism is as sound as ever it was and more vigorous now than it has ever been. While I do not endorse the politics of Peter Kropotkin, he has given an excellent statement of Modern Materialism in his work "Modern Science and Anarchism." He says:—

"In science, such as it appears to-day, there is no necessity for the hypothesis which Laplace knew how to dispense with nor the metaphysical 'little words' which Goethe mocked at. We can already read the Book of Nature, which comprises that of the development of both inorganic and organic life, and of Mankind without resorting to a Creator, or to a *mystical vital force*, or to an immortal soul; and without consulting the trilogy of Hegel, or hiding our ignorance behind metaphysical symbols whatever, endowed with a real existence by the writer. *Mechanical phenomena*, becoming more and more complicated as we pass from physics to the facts of life, are sufficient to explain Nature and all the intellectual and social organic life of our planet."

To that position I beg to subscribe; it remains unshaken despite the sophistries of Bergson, despite the "spleen" of Sir Oliver Lodge, with his arrogant talk of "petty Agnostics" and "ignorant amateur Materialists"; and, whether it be right or wrong, I maintain that one has a right to subscribe to it without incurring the penalty of being called gross, or coarse, or selfish, or bourgeois, or any other adjective suggestive of moral kink whatsoever.

A few points briefly in conclusion.

By my own suggestion of the conspiracy idea as far-fetched, it is obvious I did not mean this to be taken too seriously. But why these continuous attempts to

give the word "Materialist" a sinister and evil significance? Either there is a policy, or else it is just spiritual cussedness—sans rhyme, reason, or objective! Verily, they must be queer folk.

Mr. Jackson talks of "a greater and fuller life where consciousness is no longer hampered by the limitations of the physical body." All this is pure "tall talk" and assertion; no test of any kind can be applied to it, and as an ethical influence it is much more chilly and comfortless than the solid harps of the Christian's heaven, or the beautiful groves of the Pagan arcady.

The Materialist, by showing the economic factor underlying ethics, does not exclude them. The reply to the Irishman's question about posterity is to show him what his forbears have done for him. What we pay to the future is our debt to the past.

The dictum that "Socialism is less an economic than a moral revolt" could hardly be beaten for confusion. Morality is a shifting thing: elusive, unclutchable as quicksilver. Personally, I doubt the very existence of morality, although I would not dogmatise on the point; suffice to insist that the immorality of one generation is the morality of the next. Extraordinary phenomenon! how does Mr. Jackson account for it? I should be very sorrowful for the chances of any Socialism built on such a quicksand. I put my faith in economic determinism: the irresistible, relentless, economic factor, steadily approaching inevitable crisis, until at last the proletarian is faced with the great alternative, as Marx puts it, "bloody struggle or extinction." When that day comes the proletariat will certainly not choose extinction, and its choice may quite feasibly be dictated by *purely selfish* motives: but in that day, this "selfishness" would be morality!

Mr. Jackson hopes that the battalions of orthodox religion may be persuaded over to our side; I think the hope is doomed to disappointment. The man who has shed the whole garment of orthodoxy and clings to the word "religion" purely from

sentiment is a harmless and doubtless well-meaning person; no one would wish to exclude him or scare him. But I would ask Mr. Jackson to point to any "advanced" school of theology where the idea is accepted that religion may consist of pure morality. If there are such, the vast majority are against them. "No Morality without Faith" is the formula; good works never saved a man yet.

No. Orthodox religion, as we know it, in all its variations, is established to keep the proletarian in subjection. Superficially it may alter, but to change its essential character is to destroy it. "The cloud" that Mr. Jackson refers to was a conspicuous object at the time of the Reformation; much good it has been to democracy. If it is now no bigger than a man's hand, it has dwindled considerably; and it is likely to remain about that size for many years to come.

HUMAN NATURE AND SOCIALISM.

By John Bilsborough.

II.

Being neither infallible nor worthless, human nature must vary, as indeed it does. Life is change. But—"human nature is the same the world over." A remarkable generalisation, truly! The disposition of the ferocious Torquemada was identical with that of the gentle St. Francis of Assissi; Dickens's characters are all alike, and there is not an iota of difference 'twixt Lady Macbeth and Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch! So our opponents would have us believe, though one doubts the absolute similarity of the characteristics of Mr. Quelch and Mr. Lloyd George.

Such absolute similarity is not possible. There are in human nature certain qualities, which may be classified as good, bad and indifferent. If Jones has all the good qualities, but none of the others, he is perfect. If Smith possesses some, but not all, the good qualities, though he have none of the bad or indifferent ones, he is imperfect, and, therefore, differs from Jones. And we know that most people have a mixture of all three qualities, and that no two have them in precisely the same proportion. So it is clearly impossible that human nature can be the same the world over.

By nature, some people are artists, some are novelists, some are dramatists, others are poets, inventors, philosophers, etc., while a great many are just ordinary mortals. All artists are not alike, and the same applies to novelists, dramatists, and the rest. Were this not so we should all be either geniuses or fools—if we were anything at all. Shakespeare could

not have accomplished the work of Darwin, nor Darwin the work of Shakespeare. Their natures differed.

Human nature never alters—another preposterous notion! Human nature can alter in a few minutes. Man's nature alters every time he loses his temper, for, temporarily, he becomes a maniac.

The very people who say that human nature never changes do not believe it themselves, for you will find them subscribing to the funds of missionary societies; and thereby hangs an illustration: A certain society was wont to send out missionaries to convert the heathen to the society's theological beliefs. One of the places to which these missionaries were despatched was an island peopled by cannibals, who, unfortunately for the men of God, found that missionary flesh was of a superior quality to any they had previously sampled (there's no accounting for tastes). Result: those missionaries never returned, not even on furlough. Apprised of this, the latest missionary sent sought, on his arrival, an audience with the cannibal chief, and expostulated with him concerning the un-Christian dietetics of himself and his subjects. Quoth the holy man: "Don't you know it is very wicked to eat human flesh? Moreover, it is quite unnecessary, as there are lots of other kinds of food to be had. Why not try those?" "Well, d'ye see," the chief explained, "we have always been used to eating human flesh, and I suppose we always shall do so. It is our nature so to do, and human nature never changes, you know." But, by and bye, those cannibals became civilised Christians, which means that one item of their bill of fare was deleted—they ceased to be cannibals. Ergo, Christianity alters human nature.

It is because our opponents disbelieve the immutability of human nature that they send their children to school, and our criminals to prison. They also endeavour to reform us common people into sinlessness by Acts of Parliament for the same reason.

The belief that Socialism cannot be established until men and women are perfect beings is the outcome

of ignoring the economic basis of Socialism, which is that all wealth, being the product of labour, should by Labour be enjoyed. As Labour does not enjoy all wealth, then Labour is the victim of robbery. Socialism is the public ownership and democratic control of all the means whereby wealth is produced, distributed and swapped. To-day those means are owned and controlled by a handful of people, who are thus enabled to rob the workers of the greater portion of the fruits of their labour, the stolen fruits being euphemistically classified as rent, interest, and profit or dividends. Socialism would stop that robbery by transferring the implements of production, etc., from the present owners to the whole people.

And our opponents wish us to understand that before such a transference can be accomplished the people would have to be stained-glass angels, or something of the kind. They must expect to be the victims of robbery until they are quite sinless, for until then it is not possible to deprive the idle rich of their power to plunder the workers. It would be just as clever to say that Dick Turpin robbed stage-coach passengers because the latter were knaves, and Turpin himself a haloed saint. The workers are robbed now because they are good, natural fools, and the robbers are neither angels nor saints, nor anything like them. Again, we have yet to learn that a radical change in human nature was imperative before capitalism could displace feudalism. It is a mistake to assume—as perfervid quasi-Socialists assume—that Socialism will be heaven upon earth. It is much truer to say that Socialism will be a vast improvement on the existing chaos. Socialism will be a common-sense arrangement of society, which capitalism is the reverse of.

We do not need to await the Superman ere we can establish Socialism, for human nature will improve pro rata with the betterment of social conditions, and it is sufficiently plastic to accommodate itself to changing circumstances. Take the case of a number of men in an open boat on the high seas, and without provisions.

It is suggested that one of them shall die to be eaten by the others. Lots are drawn, and one of them is killed and eaten by the survivors. There, you see, circumstances have operated to transform civilised humans into cannibals. Yet, under normal conditions, they would no more have thought of eating human flesh than a devout Jew would think of eating bacon. And if human nature will alter for the worse, it will alter for the better.

Even Anti-Socialists tacitly admit that man is influenced by his environment, else why do they concern themselves about "social reform"? Their "social reform" must have a definite object, and what can that object be save the mental and physical betterment of mankind?

Man's nature is his brain, which works on the lines suggested by circumstances. If one was not a Socialist, or if there were no pens, ink, paper, or any other means of inscribing one's thoughts, he would not be composing this essay. When a man opens his mouth to speak it is because he has ideas to express, but those ideas are put into his head by outward circumstances. But although man, individually, is influenced by his environment, man, collectively, can alter that environment. Man can mutually agree to alter the social structure when they see that such alteration is for the common good.

Having demonstrated the utter falsity of the Anti-Socialist assertions mentioned at the commencement of this essay, I now proceed to another point. This is the notion, shared by superior persons; that man is naturally lazy, and the superior persons oppose Socialism for that reason. One of them is that intellectual genius and political dog-in-the-manger, Mr. Harold Cox, who once said:—

"The whole kernel of the Unemployed Bill is Clause 3, under which every local authority would be compelled to provide work at trade union wages for every man who chose to say he was unemployed. Every man who had a hard job would throw it up and demand a softer job."

If Mr. Cox meant anything at all by that last sentence, he meant that men getting, say, £2 a week would throw up their jobs and demand another at about 25s. a week *because it was "softer."* He meant that man is naturally lazy, thus laying himself open to the charge of being a lazy thinker.

And, strange to say, it is always the common workman who is "lazy"; but how his willingness to drudge from 50 to 100 hours a week is to be explained away is a question one cannot fathom. Perhaps Mr. Cox and other shallow philosophers have never heard of people who work for the fun of the thing. If they have never been told of amateur carpenters, bee-keepers, gardeners, mechanics, journalists, etc., it is about time they were made aware of it. And, by Jove, there are a lot of amateur thinkers, too!

Shirkers! Of course, there are shirkers; but why? See how that child romps in its play; it is full of health and spirit. It cannot keep still and behave for long, *because* it is healthy. Then let it romp, and fear not; but if it does not romp, take it to a doctor. So with adults, too. They must be active if in good health, for inactivity is unnatural. And they find a vent in work. If they are "out of sorts" they should not be expected to work. "But work is not play," you say. I demur. Work is organised play. People only shirk work when it is hateful, or when they are "out of sorts." Laziness is unnatural.

There is no sense in blaming people for shirking tasks they hate, for it is against their natures to do it, and they did not make their natures. They should be allowed to do the kind of work they like—which Nature fashioned them for, and they will do that well. But capitalism forbids that in most cases; it makes work drudgery. Capitalism means long hours and hard toil for the great mass of the people, and thus checks the development of much genius. Some people are, as I have already said, artistic by nature, and, in some cases, they are expected to succeed as shop assistants, or some other inartistic occupations, because they have

not been born either lucky or rich. And if they shirk such tasks, or fail to get on, they are called loafers and good-for-nothings. They are "misfits," like some 670 of our M.P.'s.

But why should a born artist make a good grocer? Let him paint pictures, he will not shirk them. Try to imagine Sir Francis Drake on a high stool, pushing a pen! The poor chap would die of ennui—if he did not commit suicide!

In a Socialist State human nature would get a better opportunity of expression than it has ever had yet. Under Socialism all able-bodied and sane people would have to work, and none would be uselessly employed. That means a great reduction of the hours of labour, and an extension of the hours of leisure. And as work would be much more pleasant, and the communal health much sounder than now, there would be no shirkers. Consequently, all would have opportunities of developing their talents—opportunities many are now denied, because their whole time is occupied in earning their daily bread, and because they have not the wherewithal to pay for the necessary training. Such training, under Socialism, would be free, for, ultimately, the State would reap the benefit of the coaching of its geniuses.

Socialism is possible because human nature is selfish. Every man has his price, but the price is not the same in all cases. The price of some is gold, of others it is happiness, and yet of others honour or fame. The price of "Nunquam" and his colleagues for leaving the "Sunday Chronicle" to start the "Clarion" was happiness and self-respect. Theirs was altruistic selfishness. The price of a Christian martyr is a mansion in the skies. I became a Socialist, and remain one, for selfish reasons, one of which is that Socialists are jolly fine company. When the North-Eastern Railway Company, copying the autocratic method of Othello in the case of Cassio, suspended Driver Knox for presuming too much upon his own liberty, the railwaymen struck work, not merely because of any special regard for their comrade, but because of a

selfish desire to prevent a possible recurrence of such an episode; they did not wish to be victimised themselves. Here I take the liberty of quoting from a short article which appeared in the "Daily Herald," and signed "A. D.":—

"... Mr. Arthur D. Lewis asks satirically, as if no defence could possibly be found for such a proposition, if we are going to appeal to nothing but 'selfishness' in our advocacy of Socialism. Now, I contend that in the betterment of human conditions nothing plays so important a part as just 'selfishness.' What is needed is not an attack on selfishness, but an endeavour to find out how our selfish instincts can be most advantageously satisfied. There is not the slightest danger or disgrace in so doing, for it is evident that the scheme decided upon, be it Socialism or any other 'ism,' must be such as to wrong nobody. Each member of a community has a perfectly selfish reason for opposing injustice, because in allowing injustice to others one incurs the risk of being treated unjustly oneself. To imagine that selfishness can be satisfied by oppressing others and living on their earnings is simply a mistaken notion, and what we generally imply in calling a person selfish is simply that he is foolish—he seeks happiness in a quarter where it is not to be found. I think that, instead of discrediting human selfishness, we ought to give it its due, and try, under the guidance of reason, to satisfy it as completely as possible."

I do not know who "A. D." might be, but it is evident that he, or she, is quite as capable of writing sense as Arthur D. Lewis is of perpetrating nonsense. When the people understand Socialism they will desire it, because it is good for them and they are selfish. And what is Syndicalism but an appeal to the selfish instincts of trade unionists? Though not immaculate, man is innately good; being changeable, he is susceptible of improvement; being selfish, he will choose what he thinks is best for himself. Socialism is possible because human nature is—what it is.

THE MONTH.

Signs are not wanting that Mr. Lloyd George may be making a bid for more votes and popularity in rural districts by a system of grants-in-aid of rural housing. The Prime Minister's answers in the House to questions on the subject would appear to indicate that he is drifting in the same direction, which must be gall and wormwood to Mr. John Burns, who has so strenuously and trickily opposed the Social Reform Tories in their efforts that way. Last year a Housing Bill was allowed to pass, and was then mangled by the Government in Committee and deprived of the financial aid which was its chief point. This year Mr. Burns started the same game, but the Tories refused to waste more time, and withdrew their Bill from the Standing Committee. Mr. Burns seems to have outstayed his welcome with the Liberals. He is no longer, as in 1906, a great asset, but a great liability, of which his colleagues would gladly be rid. The question now is—What job will suit him?

The foolish squabble in the Amalgamated Society of Engineers reached a further stage when the High Court Judge refused the application of the old Executive against those who evicted them from the general offices at the beginning of the year. It is a great pity that matters should have gone to such lengths, and that the time and energy of a great society like this should have been taken up with so silly an internal dispute. Both sides were to blame, but the old and superseded Executive arrogated to themselves legislative functions which belonged to the delegate meeting, and stubbornly refused to budge. It is to be hoped that a sweeter reasonableness may prevail ere long in the ranks of the A.S.E.

The Government has at last come down on the Suffragettes, and it has done it in such manner as to be ridiculous. As an exhibition of timidity, hastiness, and petty tyranny its action would be hard to beat. The proceedings reveal the true character

of the Home Secretary, Mr. Reginald McKenna. At first afraid to use the law against Suffragettes when forced to take action by the growing bitterness of the public against them, he oversteps all bounds, and strains the law until he seriously endangers freedom of speech, press, and public meeting. Mr. Bodkin's threats against the printers of the "Suffragette" and subscribers to the funds of the Women's Social and Political Union would not have been made without the knowledge and consent of the Home Office. Now Mr. McKenna gives us another exhibition of his vacillation by declaring that no statement has been made, either by himself or Mr. Bodkin, which "warrants the suggestion that there has been any attempt to suppress the 'Suffragette' newspaper before it was published!" Was not Mr. Bodkin's threat at Bow Street an "attempt"?

Meanwhile the Suffragette outrages continue. Churches, houses, railways, are all having their turn, though the destruction of letters seems to be lessening. How many of these attacks on property, which are perilously endangering life as well, are due to the Suffragettes it may be difficult to say. Some are, no doubt; but the excitement caused by the prosecution of those arrested in the police raid at Kingsway, the evidence given at Bow Street—especially in regard to the chemist Clayton—the discovery of "bombs" of all kinds, and the later acts of arson, undoubtedly have a tendency to incite a number of unbalanced people to similar action. All the while the cause of Adult Suffrage, the granting of the vote to every adult man and woman in the country, is completely put back by these Suffragette tactics. Individual and hysterical outbursts can never advance a cause or a movement. Organised and conscious effort alone can do it.

After ten days of splendid solidarity the strike of the Belgian workers for Universal and Equal Suffrage was ended on April 24. The Chamber of Deputies having agreed that the Commission appointed to inquire into the reform of the electoral laws governing municipal and communal elections should also deal with Parliamentary Suffrage, and having condemned the strike—which did not matter!—the Strike Committee decided to end it. The men returned to work in the course of a few days. There have been cases of victimisation in connection with the struggle, which was to be expected, and they have been and are being dealt with as rapidly as possible. Though the strike has not obtained Equal

Suffrage, it has forced M. de Broqueville to come down from the pedestal of complete refusal upon which he had previously elevated himself.

The Select Committee on the Putumayo scandals has concluded its deliberations, and, save for the way in which it has painted Arana's face all shades of nasty colours, it has had, and can have, little effect. The whole of the ghastly proceedings, like those in the Congo, are carried on hundreds of miles away from anything approaching civilisation, and forced labour, imposed upon the unfortunate, docile Indians with the greatest cruelties, is necessary to make the poor kind of rubber produced in the Putumayo district profitable to the companies. Then, added to that is the fact that the territory is in dispute between Peru and Colombia, and the Peruvian Government will close its eyes to all manner of cruelties upon the Indians, so long as it can hold the disputed territory through the Peruvian Company and its agents, and draw revenue from the production of rubber. It is most encouraging to note that the two most prominent in the exposure of these scandals are Socialists—comrades Saldano Rocco and W. E. Hardenburg—the latter completely vindicating his character from the malicious and slanderous attack of Arana.

The activity of Socialists in unearthing abuses and making them public is proved also in the European stir which Dr. Karl Liebknecht has made over the Krupp and other scandals with regard to armaments. The facts are well known. It is enough to say that our comrade Liebknecht's exposure has revealed a conspiracy on the part of the big capitalist concerns engaged in the manufacture of war material and armaments to promote war scares, not that war may be brought about—they don't want that—but that orders may be given and increased for war material in every shape to meet the emergencies that boom greater as scare succeeds scare. The exposure has shown up the whole business in connection with German and French capitalist trusts. Would that Socialists here were powerful enough to obtain secret information that would enable us to throw the light of public knowledge on similar dark conspiracies that undoubtedly go on in this country.

Erratum.—In A. S. Headingley's article on the Balkan War, in this issue, page 198, line 31, read "Prussia" for "Russia."

SOCIALIST SOLIDARITY AND THE BALKAN MENACE.

The following manifesto was sent by the Social-Democratic Group in the Russian Duma to the Socialist members in the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments :—

Dear Comrades,—As a counterpoise to Slavophile patriotic demonstrations we, the Social-Democratic members of the fourth Duma, though small in numbers, hold out our hands to you, the representatives of the working classes of Austria and Hungary, over the heads of the reactionary and bureaucratic clique and of the Liberal and Chauvinist opposition, in assuring you of our sentiments of fraternal solidarity.

Thanks to the efforts of international diplomacy, and, above all, to Russian and Austro-Hungarian diplomacy, the menace of a general bloody conflict continues to weigh heavily upon Europe, a conflict which would break out in the first place between Russia and Austria. Under the cover of such questions as the access of Servia to the Adriatic, Albanian autonomy, the possession of Skutari, lies a venturesome struggle for that domination of the Balkans for which the two countries are striving.

We found likewise the same Austro-Hungarian and Russian influences in the conflict between Bulgaria and Roumania, with the malevolent object of trying to excite and exasperate the smaller States, and to increase their divisions and enmities by fresh imperialist intrigues.

But each of these secondary questions, which the diplomats, responsible and irresponsible, seek to put to the test of force, can easily open a new chapter of base and bloody struggle in the history of Europe. If any attempt to promote a quarrel between two peoples is an attempt against all reason and humanity, as was declared at the International Socialist Congress at Basel, a war between Russia and Austro-Hungary, a war which will let loose a savage conflict of nationalities and races, will be the very incarnation of folly.

The people of Russia know of no motive whatever that could furnish even a shadow of reasonable explanation for such a crime.

The peasant masses of Russia have nothing to seek in the Balkan peninsula. They want, on the contrary, radical agrarian and fiscal reform in Russia itself. The peasant class of Russia,

reduced to ruin and misery, will extend no support to imperialist policy: it is its victim. It is equally the case with the masses of the population and the small middle class of the towns, which are also crushed down by militarism.

Still less can the Russian proletariat become supporters of an imperialism ready for such adventures, since it is the class that suffers most by the present régime, which deprives them of all political rights, and leaves them to the mercy of an arbitrary and tyrannical police. To you who, in your own country, refuse to Austro-Hungarian diplomacy the right to knock down and build up in the interests of feudal and capitalist coteries, we declare that diplomacy at St. Petersburg has nothing to seek in the Balkan Peninsula, as the Balkan peoples have nothing to expect from it. The peoples of the East must organise their own existence by their own forces, on the basis of a democratic federation, independent alike of Russia as of Austro-Hungary.

We join most cordially and intimately with you in this view, and also with our Party brothers in the Balkans.

We ask you to believe, dear comrades, that the Russian proletariat, which has already shaken off the torpor of the counter-revolutionary period, is conscious of its duty and its part, and will know at the decisive moment how to force those great and powerful to take account of its will.

In our struggle for peace, as in all our other activities, we feel and realise that we are bound to you by the indissoluble bonds of common aspirations and duties. We have the same adversaries, as we have the same friends, as yourselves.

This Socialist solidarity, on which no cloud can throw a shadow, strengthens our serenity and our confidence in the midst of a nightmare of imperialist orgies.

We reject with contempt the anti-German and Austrian agitation of Russian Liberalism which is striving to excite the Russian people savagely against Germany, and everything that is German, and to do so under the guise of "progress." We are proud to declare ourselves the devoted disciples of German Social-Democracy.

Hurrah for peace and the fraternity of the people!

Hurrah for International Socialism!

REPLY OF THE AUSTRIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY TO THE SOCIALIST DEPUTIES OF THE RUSSIAN DUMA.

Dear Comrades,—Bonds that are indestructible unite us to you, not only those created by our common object, but also those of our common past and common memories.

We have lived with you through the heroic occurrences of the years 1905 and 1906. It is by the examples of your struggles that the Austrian proletariat has taken the course which has rendered it

victorious in the struggle for Universal Suffrage. We have suffered with you when we have seen you crushed down by adverse forces. We rejoice with you at all the signs of revolutionary revival in the Russian proletarian masses—your great strikes, your success at the Duma elections, and the marvellous development of your Press. We recognise in your growing movement, and your courageous struggles against chauvinist pan-Slavism, the best guarantee for democracy and European peace.

We believe, as you do, that the solution of the Balkan question can only be found in the decisions of the Balkan peoples themselves, in the democratic federation of these peoples, free from the influence of Vienna as of St. Petersburg.

We have struggled like you for months with all our strength against all bellicose agitation. Never, like yourselves, have we carried on a more vigorous and strenuous campaign than our present one of war against war.

(Signed) SKARET.
VICTOR ADLER.

REPLY OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF HUNGARY TO THE LETTER OF THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC DUMA PARTY.

Dear Comrades,—The Party Executive of the Hungarian Social-Democracy sends brotherly greetings to the Social-Democratic members of the Imperial Duma and to the Russian proletariat, which, in the midst of jingo clamour, and in defiance of violent absolutism, holds high the flag of international solidarity and popular liberty.

In this critical hour, in which we have to reckon with the possibility that the intrigues of incapable diplomats, the greed of capitalist and militarist cliques, may not shrink from letting loose the horrors of a universal war, we feel it a necessity to let you know that the population of Hungary entertain towards the Russian people only feelings of brotherliness, and that it protests with all its energy against a war which would not be a war of the peoples, but of royalties, capitalists and bureaucrats.

The people of Hungary know full well that the obstacles to its development are not to be looked for in foreign countries, but here at home. It is convinced that the working class can further its true interests not by a war, but by a ceaseless class struggle. The workmen of Hungary have learned to look upon the oppressed and exploited of all nations and tongues as their brethren, and the exploiters and oppressors even of their own nationality as their sworn enemies.

No Government, no ruling class, has the right to usurp the rôle of a protector of the liberty of another nation, the least so when the most elementary demands of democracy and of liberty are trampled underfoot in its own country.

We see from your letter that, behind the mask of enthusiasm

for the liberty of the Balkan nations, you discern the true ugly features of the Russian Czarism. We can assure you that also here in Hungary there is nobody outside the small circle of the ruling classes who would award the Austro-Hungarian monarchy the right to appear as the champion of national autonomy and liberty of a nation—namely, the Albanians. And there is nobody who would believe that it was for the principles of national liberty, and not the advancement of dynastic, agrarian and clerical interests, that the Austro-Hungarian diplomacy has pursued a course of action which threatens the peace of the world.

If the Government of Hungary is desirous to work for national emancipation, it need not go to Albania. The oppression of ten million inhabitants of Hungary, not of the Magyar race, would afford ample scope for this zeal for national liberation, if it were genuine! If it wants to labour in the cause of liberty, neither need it go to Albania: it will find in its own country millions of industrial and agricultural proletarians who chafe under the fetters of political outlawry and economic misery. The events of the last twelve-month have not only torn away the last fig-leaves from the Hungarian pseudo-constitutionalism, but have also destroyed the last ties between the proletariat and the ruling classes. Only by the constant use of the armed forces, by open absolutism in the provinces inhabited by South Slavonic races, by disguised absolutism in Hungary proper, can the Government and the ruling clique escape the terrible justice of the people. The Government of such a country has not only not the right but, let us hope, not the courage to provoke a war, the upshot of which would be incalculable.

We are doing everything in our power to combat the warlike tendencies of our rulers by strengthening the preparedness of the Social-Democratic working class for taking action. And our labours are not without success. We beg you to make it known to the Russian proletariat, and to the Russian public in general, that in the territorially largest half of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy not only the Social-Democratic Party, but the mass of the population, is fighting with all its strength against a war with Russia or with one of the Balkan countries. In our struggle against the fomenters of war your letter renders us most excellent service, for with the arguments furnished by you we can refute most effectively the legend propagated by the official Press: that the whole of the Russian society is lusting for war.

With fraternal greetings,

THE EXECUTIVE OF THE
SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF HUNGARY.

THE EVENTS OF APRIL.

AT HOME.

2—Mr. McKenna's Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health) Bill read a second time in the Commons.

3—Mrs. Pankhurst sentenced to three years' penal servitude for inciting to blow up a house at Walton.

Death of Lord Llandaff (formerly Henry Matthews, Conservative Home Secretary).

4—Rural Cottages Bill opposed by Mr. John Burns and talked out

5—Ayr racecourse stand burned down, and other Suffragette outrages.

7—Triennial elections of Poor Law Guardians.

8—Plural Voting Bill introduced in the Commons.

Senor Arana gave evidence before the Select Committee on Putumayo atrocities.

11—National Service (Territorial Force) Bill talked out in Commons.

12—Mrs. Pankhurst released on licence.

14—Fire at Greenwich generating station: the whole of London's trams held up.

H. M. Hyndman on the Load Line Conspiracy, at the Memorial Hall.

15—Mr. Hardenburg gave evidence before Putumayo Select Committee.

Meetings of Women's Social and Political Union forbidden by police.

18—Sir Randolf Baker's Housing Bill carried on second reading, and referred to Standing Committee.

21—Launching of the Aquitania at Clydebank.

22—Mr. Lloyd George presented his annual Budget: no new taxation.

Shrewsbury bye-election: Lloyd (Unionist), 2,412; Morris (Independent), 1,727; no change.

23—Mr. Justice Bailhache rejected the suit of the old Executive of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers against the General Secretary and Trustees.

28—Mr. Churchill's outburst of anger at being called on trivial pretext by Marconi Committee.

30—Whitechapel bye-election: Samuel (Liberal), re-elected, 1,722; Browne (Unionist), 1,556.

ABROAD.

3—German airship landed on French military parade at Lunéville.

7—New Tariff Bill introduced in American Congress.
Death of M. Constans, the queller of Boulangism.

8—Chinese National Parliament formally opened.
One Socialist Senator and two Socialist Deputies elected at Buenos Aires.

9—Closure debate and great disorder in Canadian House of Commons.

10—Montenegrin coast blockaded by the Powers.

13—Attempt to assassinate the King of Spain.
Franco-German incident at Nancy.

14—General strike in Belgium for equal suffrage.

15—Bulgarian and Turkish commanders at Tchatalja agreed to suspend hostilities.

16—Vandervelde announced 370,000 strikers.

17—Socialist motion in Reichstag for proportional representation defeated by one vote.

18—Dr. Karl Liebknecht exposed the corrupting influence of the Krupp company on growth in armaments.

21—Execution of the Paris motor bandits.

22—Motions adopted in Belgian Chamber appointing a Commission to study the electoral problem and condemning the strike.

23—Fall of Skutari.

24—End of the Belgian strike.

29—Austria threatened to take independent action in Albania.

30—Terrible railway accident in India: thirty killed.

MARXISM AND THE SERVILE STATE.*

IV.—*Continued.*

The necessity to postulate the theory of a "social contract" to explain the origin of human societies, as the thinkers of the eighteenth century did, is now non-existent. Modern science has demonstrated that not only do we inherit from the brutes our main outlines of physiological structure, but also society and its offspring: the social virtues.

The intellectual labours of Lewis H. Morgan have shown us that a Stateless society has existed down to modern times among the Indians of North America. His monumental work, "Ancient Society," has flung a mist-dispelling light into that mysterious world of primitive life, and given us an understanding of primitive man and his institutions, never before possessed by the thinkers of any age.

The social organisation which he discovered among the Indian tribes of North America—this applies especially to the Iroquois, who were socially the highest developed—was the *Gens*—that is, an organisation of individuals who had descended from a common ancestor, real or supposed. They dwelt in the same locality, and were usually distinguished by a common crest or totem. We may say that the Gens were based on a solidarity of interests, human and economic. And, under this lowly form of social organisation, the Indians developed many noble qualities. Cruel as they were to enemies, we cannot withhold our admiration of their energy and courage.

Now, though one can find traces of a social organisation among these people, not even an anti-Socialist imagination could develop it into a State. Among *these Indians of a tribe* there were no clashing, antagonistic interests arising from private property relationships. There was, consequently, no need for a State as above defined. The domestication of animals and the formation of large herds; the elementary cultivation of cereals; the use of bronze and iron tools and weapons; the progress of the primitive handicrafts—all these things tended to make slavery a profitable institution. Slavery would not arise until it became more profitable to enslave men than to kill and eat them.

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* "The Servile State." By Hilaire Belloc. (T. N. Toulis, London and Edinburgh, 1912.)

In later times the heads of old families would come to privately possess the herds, and in some cases the land. Common ownership of the land, however, has existed over vast areas of the earth down to modern times—e.g., in Eastern Europe, in some parts of Siberia and Africa, large tracts of land are still held in common. As the slave worked, lands gave greater returns, and the herds grew in size, the wealth of these families would grow too. And these old, wealthy families would form the nucleus of an aristocracy —a ruling caste.

The desire to attain wealth has always been a dynamic force. Consequently, as this desire spread through primitive societies, inter-tribal war and raids in search of plunder occurred. The necessity of always being ready to take defensive or aggressive action against other tribes would increase the power and importance of the military chieftains. The son of a valiant or successful chief would be chosen by the tribe to succeed his father, and from this custom developed the hereditary principle of succession.

With the wealth of primitive society in the hands of a few powerful families, and the growth of a privileged military caste; and below, the tribesmen who have sunk into a propertyless condition, and the slaves, usually men of another tribe captured during war—here we have all the elements that go to make up a society divided into classes. On the one hand the wealthy families and the privileged military caste; on the other, the tribesmen without property and the slaves. The economic interests of the wealthy and military families would draw them together, and impel them to concentrate their power and influence against the disinherited of that primitive society. To keep these classes in subjection, and dragoon them if they revolted, was the function of the military caste. To this end they would need financial means, or its equivalent in kind; hence the imposition of taxes, the collection of which would be backed by the armed forces of the ruling classes. Here, then, we have a coercive authority collecting taxes to maintain the armed forces of constraint, which will be used against the enslaved classes in case of revolt, as it would be used against outside aggressors. *Thus the State is born*—that evil offspring of class rule began its career in the society of men. Throughout the long centuries of chattel-slavery, serfdom and wage-labour the State, controlled by members of the owning and dominating classes, was used as an engine of oppression. It was used to suppress the insurgent slaves of the Roman Empire, the revolting serfs of the Middle Ages in England, and the revolutionary proletariat in Paris in 1871.

And that it is still so used, the incidents which occurred at Featherstone, Hull, Belfast, and Llanelly, combined with the arbitrary and militant tactics of the present Liberal Government at the time of the national railway workers' strike, afford us very clear and ample evidence. The use of brute force is still the last resource of our ruling class.

The immediate object of the Socialist Parties of Europe is the capture of the political machinery of the State in their respective countries. In other words, they strive for the *Social Revolution.* While striving to bring about this "conquest of political power by a hitherto oppressed class," we do not cease to oppose sham reforms, nor do we cease to advocate immediate measures that will strengthen and increase the fighting power of the working class.

Some of our comrades confound these tactics with those of the middle-class reformers. But, as a distinguished and scholarly exponent of Marxism points out, there is a very wide difference:—

"Everyone is a revolutionary whose aim is that a hitherto oppressed class should conquer the power of the State. He does not cease to be such if he wishes to prepare and hasten on this conquest by means of social reforms wrested from the ruling class."*

This conquest of political power by the working class will be the triumph of the last oppressed class. Classes will then disappear from society, and with them the political State.

In the language of Engels's classic exposition of Socialism: "The proletariat seizes the political power and turns the means of production into State property. But, in doing this, it abolishes itself as proletariat, abolishes all class distinctions and class antagonisms, abolishes also the State as State. Society thus far, based upon class antagonisms, had need of the State—that is, of an organisation of the particular class which was pro tempore the exploiting class, an organisation for the purpose of preventing any interference from without with the existing conditions of production, and, therefore, especially for the purpose of forcibly keeping the exploited classes in the condition of oppression corresponding with the given mode of production—slavery, serfdom, wage-labour.

"The State was the official representative of society as a whole; the gathering of it together into a visible embodiment. But it was this only in so far as it was the State of that class which itself represented, for the time being, society as a whole; in ancient times, the state of the slave-owning citizens; in the Middle Ages, the feudal lords; in our own times, the bourgeoisie. *When at last it becomes the real representative of the whole of society, it renders itself unnecessary.* As soon as there is no longer any social class to be held in subjection; as soon as class rule and the individual struggle for existence based upon our present anarchy in production, with the collisions and excesses arising from them, are removed, nothing more remains to be repressed, and a special repressive force, a State, is no longer necessary. The first act by virtue of which the State really constitutes itself the representative of society—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—this is, at the same time, its last independent act as a State. State interference in social relations becomes, in

* "The Social Revolution," p. 3.

one domain after another, superfluous, *and dies out of itself;* the government of persons is replaced by the administration of things, and by the conduct of processes of production. *The State is not abolished; it dies out.*"

Therefore, the Marxist concludes that all legislation coming from the modern State cannot but be in harmony with the interests of the class which, for the time being, it represents. For this reason the legislation which Mr. Belloc specifically mentions as containing the germs of the Servile State meets with the fiercest opposition from English Social-Democrats. If the transition from Capitalism to Social-Democracy endangers the liberty of the worker, that will be due to his own apathy, and the paternalism of the capitalist class State, and is in no wise bound up with the mission of the Social-Democrat. Instead of encouraging the growth of the Servile State—where security is obtained at the expense of freedom—we seek to inspire the working class to militant, revolutionary class action, on the industrial and political plane, in their own interest. The Servile State may be upon us; but it can only meet with our uncompromising opposition, however much it may be approved of by Fabians and other middle-class reformers. We oppose the paternalism of the capitalist State, and call upon the working class to make themselves masters of the mighty powers of modern social production and the means of distribution, thus freeing mankind for ever from the curse of class-rule. In that direction lies the hope of the future and the emancipation of our class, which means the freedom of humanity.

R. CLEMENTS.

THE POLICY OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

(From "La Guerre Sociale," March 26 to April 1.)

(The Federation of l'Yonne, which, before the unification, belonged to the Jaurèsist fraction, has stated precisely the semi-reformist, semi-revolutionary conception which has always been its own, even at the moment when, in order to incite the Socialist Party against the menace of war, it raised its voice so as to be better heard.

The discussion on the general policy of the Party did not take place at Brest, but it is only adjourned.

Neither has this manifesto ceased to be "actuel," or of interest to the numerous Socialists in the Party, who, apart from all dogmatism, seek, like Hervé, to conciliate reformist and revolutionary tactics, which circumstances, stronger than doctrines, are able to impose successively upon the working class.)

Resolution adopted unanimously by the Federation of l'Yonne at the Congress of Auxerre :—

The Socialist Party, the French Section of the International, is the Party of all free-thinking Republicans, whatever their social class and profession, who wish to substitute for the disorder, the insecurity, the injustice involved in the private ownership of the instruments of labour, a régime where all the means of production and exchange will be collective property (national, communal, or inter-communal), used for the benefit of the whole community. The Socialist Party considers itself more especially the political party of the proletariat of the towns and country, which is, at the present moment, the most interested in the creation of the new social order. An internationalist party, it works, in accord with the Socialists of all countries, to form the Social Republic of the United States of the World.

. . . . . .

The Socialist Party is at once a Party of Reform and a Party of Revolution.

It is energetically in favour of all reforms which can either develop the fighting resources of the oppressed class, diminish the oppressors' power of oppression, or relieve immediately the burdens and miseries of the disinherited class.

In the first rank of the reforms to which it is devoted are: legislative measures against alcoholism, progressive taxation of revenue, the nationalisation or municipalisation of all branches of industry and commerce which are exploited by private monopoly; compulsory social insurance against sickness, invalidity and unemployment; the substitution for professional standing armies of citizen forces, sufficient and necessary at any given hour for safeguarding the national independence and autonomy to which the Socialist Party is quite as much attached as any other Party; the inscription in the Statute Book of the obligation of the French Government to submit any dispute with a foreign Government likely to cause war to international arbitration; the prohibition of the conclusion by the Republic of any treaty of alliance with a Government which has not inscribed the same obligation in its constitution; progressive and simultaneous disarmament, together with a friendly arrangement of the question of Alsace-Lorraine and the conclusion of a Franco-German entente.

It cherishes the hope that these successive reforms, in bringing the Party nearer to the object it is pursuing, will allow it to realise at one stroke, and without violence and bloodshed, by means of Universal Suffrage organised in Proportional Representation, the complete reform which is its reason for existence—the organisation of collectivist society.

If the Socialist Party is profoundly reformist, it is because it does not look upon the State as an immovable force, but as a force essentially mobile, and one which can be influenced, which, yesterday at the service of the monarchy and of two privileged orders, to-day at the service of the anti-clerical bourgeoisie, may to-morrow, permeated and conquered by the democracy, serve as the instrument for destroying capitalist privilege.

In order to realise this work of reform, the Socialist Party strives to maintain the most cordial relations with the co-operative and trade union organisations, while leaving to these two sister-organisations their complete autonomy.

It is even ready—without any of its members entering a Ministry, at least as long as the Party does not constitute a majority in Parliament—to support the fraction of the democratic bourgeoisie which sincerely means to work hard for the realisation of the reforms it desires, and with them to oppose to any reactionary peril, be it Nationalist, Clerical, or Cæsarian, the bloc of all the Republican forces.

. . . . . .

But the Socialist Party is also a Party of Revolution. It is a revolutionary party not only in the sense that the régime of collective property will constitute a profound change in the life of humanity, but in the more general sense that, in spite of its repugnance towards violence and its preference for peaceful evolution, it admits the recourse in extreme cases to revolutionary methods.

It admits an act of revolutionary force, either in answer to acts of force on the part of those in power departing from legality in order to bar the road to reforms, or in answer to the crimes of Governments who, without having exhausted all the procedure of international arbitration, themselves set the example of violence and contempt for human life by letting loose a European war.

It is, in view of all these revolutionary eventualities, and because it knows that any revolutionary movement of a political or social nature would come into collision with the Army, that the Socialist Party strives to permeate and conquer the latter, and to reanimate, in the interests of its ideal, even among those who are military men by profession, officers and non-commissioned officers, the Republican tradition which has never been completely extinguished in the French Army since the great Revolution.

. . . . . .

In spite of the primary place it accords to the economic question, the Socialist Party does not consider the social question as merely a question of bread and butter, but regards it also as a moral question. It does not believe that the realisation of its economic ideal is possible without the awakening or the development, at the heart of the people, of all the moral virtues the example of which has been bequeathed to us by the élite of humanity of all times and all countries; it would consider itself unworthy to be the spokesman of all the oppressed, all the disinherited, all those who thirst for social justice, if it had not the ambition of preserving and extending the magnitude of moral wealth which is the common heritage, the pride and the hope of all humanity.

MARX'S WORDS.

HOW THE YOUNG MARX LOOKED AT HIS LIFE'S TASK.

Nothing, then, prevents us from connecting our criticism with the criticism expressed in politics, with partisanship in politics, thus with real struggles, nor from identifying ourselves with these. We do not come forward before the world in a doctrinaire manner with a new principle and say: "Here is the truth; kneel down here!" Out of the principles of the world we develop for the world new principles. We do not say to it: "Cease your struggles, they are nonsense; we will shout to you the real watchword of the struggle." We only point out to it why it is really fighting, and this consciousness is a thing which it must assimilate, even if it does not wish to do so.

The reforming of consciousness consists merely in this: to let the world become possessed of its own consciousness, to awaken it from its dream about itself, to explain to it its own actions. Our whole object can consist of nothing else, as is the case also with Feuerbach's criticism of religion, than of bringing the religious and political questions into the self-conscious human form.

Our motto must, therefore, be: The reform of consciousness, not by means of dogmas, but by analysing the mystic consciousness, which is not clear to itself, whether it arises in religion or politics. It will then become apparent that the world has long possessed the dream of a thing, of which it only requires to possess the consciousness in order really to possess the thing itself. It will become apparent that it is not a question of a long pause between past and future, but of the fulfilment of the thoughts of the past. And, finally, it will become apparent that humanity begins no new work, but only consciously carries out its old work.

We can thus sum up the purpose of our paper in one word: the critical philosophy of the time regarding its struggles and wishes. This is a labour for the world and for us. It can only be the work of united forces. It is merely the question of a confession, and nothing more. In order to get its sins forgiven humanity only needs to declare them as that which they are.

Where, then, lies the positive possibility of German emancipation?

Answer: In the formation of a class solidly bound together, a class in bourgeois society which is not a class of bourgeois society, of a rank which is the dissolution of all ranks, of a class which possesses a universal character by reason of its universal sufferings, and claims no special right because no special wrong, but simply

wrong altogether has been done to it, which can no longer give rise to an historic, but only a human claim, which stands in no one-sided antagonism to the consequences, but in complete antagonism to the hypothesis of the German State system finally, a class which cannot emancipate itself without emancipating itself from all other classes of society, and therewith emancipating all other classes of society, which, in one word, means the complete loss of entire individuality, and thus can only win itself through completely winning individuality.

The proletariat only proclaims the dissolution of the world's movement in Germany, for it is not the naturally produced but the artificially produced poverty, not the mass of human beings who are pressed down mechanically by the weight of society, but the mass of humanity proceeding from its acute dissolution, especially from the dissolution of the middle class which forms the proletariat, although indigenous poverty and Christian Germanic serfdom join its ranks.

When the proletariat proclaims the dissolution of the world's existing order, it is only expressing the secret of its own existence, for it is itself the actual dissolution of that order. When the proletariat demands the negation of private property, it is only raising to the principle of society what society has already raised to its principle, that which is already incorporated in the proletariat without its own co-operation as a negative result of society. Thus in relation to the coming world the proletariat is in the same right as the German King is in relation to the present world when he speaks of the people as *his* people, and of a horse as *his* horse. The King, when he speaks of the people as his property, only expresses that the private property owner is king. Just as philosophy finds its material weapons in the proletariat, so the latter finds its intellectual weapons in philosophy, and as soon as the lightning of thought has thoroughly struck this native soil—the people—the emancipation of the Germans into human beings will be accomplished.

Let us sum up the result: the only practically possible liberation of Germany is liberation on the basis of the theory which declares man to be the highest essence of man. In Germany the emancipation from the Middle Ages is only possible as the simultaneous emancipation from the partial victories over the Middle Ages. In Germany no kind of bondage can be broken down without breaking down every kind of bondage. Germany, so thorough in its nature, cannot revolutionise without revolutionising from the foundations. The emancipation of the German is the emancipation of the human being. The brain of this emancipation is philosophy, its heart is the proletariat. Philosophy cannot be realised without the uplifting of the proletariat, the proletariat cannot raise itself without the realisation of philosophy.'

THE REVIEWS.

A STATE MEDICAL SERVICE.

Mr. Charles A. Parker writes the following, under the above heading, in the current "Fortnightly Review":—

It is hardly necessary to point out how unsatisfactory are the present methods by which the public when ill are brought into touch with medical advice, or how unsatisfactory are the results of these methods from the point of view of national health. The private practitioner, the club doctor, the dispensary doctor, the Poor Law doctor, and now the Insurance doctors, by the conditions of their employment, all have to wait till people are ill, and then try to patch them up again. Meanwhile, between 75,000 and 100,000 deaths from tuberculosis take place every year, 40,000 from summer diarrhœa, 20,000 from whooping cough, and a further 20,000 from measles, whilst many of those who survive attacks of these diseases are left crippled or maimed, and become a charge upon the community. Moreover, the results of medical examination of school children, and the difficulties of recruiting-sergeants to get able-bodied men for the Army, show that both children and adults are below an efficient standard of health and physique. The medical profession in the light of modern knowledge knows that this waste of life and physical degeneration are in all human probability quite preventible, and yet it can do but little to stop it.

There are some who think that these evils would be remedied by the organisation of the medical profession as a State Medical Service. It can hardly be disputed that a great army of medical men whose main duty it was to prevent disease and attack its causes would benefit the nation, but it may be doubted whether the position of the medical men would be improved under a State Service. Whilst picturing difficulties which might occur with a change of system, existing evils are apt to be forgotten, and, therefore, it may be useful to consider briefly a few of the difficulties under which a doctor works to-day, and then see if they would be removed by altering the whole system.

In the first place, to put it with brutal frankness, every doctor is at the present time in competition with every other doctor to get *customers* for his stock-in-trade, and on his success his very bread

and butter depend. Now, competition to advance knowledge, to make a great discovery, to benefit one's fellow beings, and so to live as to leave the world just a little better than one found it, is excellent, and was the inspiration of such men as Galileo, Newton, Darwin, Pasteur, Koch, and Lister; but to compete for customers in the open market for the purchase of one's stock-in-trade is altogether bad. This kind of competition invariably leads, first, to cutting of prices, and next to a shoddy output, and it has done so in the medical profession. Competition for the sale of knowledge has led to a steady lowering of the reward of labour, and, to a great extent, has rendered any really first-class work impossible.

In the next place, every doctor is in competition with the community, for the community has to some small extent recognised its responsibility for the health of the nation, and has rightly taken on its shoulders first one thing, then another. There is the Public Health Service which year by year extends its field of operations, not only for prevention, but for the treatment of disease. There is medical inspection of school children, and a gradually increasing number of school clinics for the treatment of those found to be ailing. There is an army of registered midwives legally qualified to attend uncomplicated confinements; there are a host of trained nurses attending small ailments and offering advice; there are health visitors attending to care of infants; and, lastly, there are the medical benefits under the Insurance Act.

All these things are most excellent in themselves, but they more or less rob general practitioners of their source of income. Doctors also have to compete against advancing knowledge, for every new discovery which stamps out or lessens the incidence of disease means a pecuniary loss to the practitioner, and makes the struggle for what is left keener and keener, which in its turn lowers fees; and, consequently, the standard of work given in return.

From another point of view the relation of doctor and patient is hardly satisfactory. To-day he is the servant of each individual patient on his books, and consequently his success in the competitive struggle depends on many things other than a true scientific insight into the causes of disease and a knowledge of diagnosis and treatment. It even depends to some extent on the cut of his coat, the luxuriance of his motor-car, and the charm of his wife. He is not entirely free and independent. . . . . It is difficult to attack the squire for his germ-breeding cottages, or the parson for his habits of life; and it is difficult to advise your most lucrative patient to leave the neighbourhood because it is unsuitable for his health. However much a doctor strives against it, his present relationship to his patients must rob him in some small degree of absolute freedom of speech and action.

. . . . . .

The State Medical Service must be founded on the lines of, and on an equality with, the higher grades of existing civil services, and

it must embrace all branches of the medical profession, including dentistry. It might also be advisable to include the profession of veterinary surgery, as there is no longer any dividing line between health and disease in animals and health and disease in man; moreover, the health of man may be prejudiced by disease in animals. At first probably there would be many medical practitioners with lucrative practices who would not wish to enter the State Service, and they should not be compelled to do so; at first, also, there would be many of the well-to-do public who would demand the right to seek medical advice in the capacity of private patients, and they, too, must be allowed to do so. The State Medical Service, however, must be so well organised, and the conditions of service so honourable and advantageous, that in a few years it will attract all the best men entering the profession, and, indeed, the best youths when choosing a profession. Its benefits and conveniences must be so great to the public that no one will hesitate to take advantage of it: then, with both the profession and the public satisfied, competitive private practice would before long die out, unable to hold its own against the great co-ordinated public service.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT.

Mr. A. M. Brice, writing on the above subject in the May "Contemporary Review," says:—

One of the most successful of modern attempts to avoid the contamination of prison life has been that introduced by the Probation of Offenders Act. This Act provides that where any person is charged with an offence, and the court thinks the charge is proved, but is of opinion that having regard to the circumstances of the person charged, or to the trivial nature of the offence, it is inexpedient to inflict any punishment, or that it is expedient to release the prisoner *on probation*, then the court may make an order either (1) dismissing the charge, or (2) discharging the offender conditionally on his entering in a recognisance to be of good behaviour and to appear for conviction and sentence when called upon at any time during such period as may be specified in the order. Such a probationer is then placed under a probation officer, whose duty it is to visit or receive reports from the person supervised, to see that he obeys the conditions of his recognisance, to report to the court as to his behaviour, to advise and befriend him, and, when necessary, to try to find him employment.

The working of this Act has been most satisfactory. The number of orders made under it has been steadily progressive from year to year, and in the latest year, out of a total of 10,217 orders, only 584, or less than 6 per cent. of the total number of pro-

bationers, have been called up for sentence. Of that number, 97 were discharged, 185 were dealt with for fresh offences, and 302 sentenced in respect of the original offence. Of the total 10,217 probationers, 724 were under twelve, 1,137 were between twelve and fourteen years of age, 1,868 between fourteen and sixteen years, 3,415 between sixteen and twenty-one years, and 3,073 above twenty-one years of age. Thus the Act is taking the young person who, in less happy years, would have gone to prison and been made a criminal, and by a sharp warning, followed by useful supervision, is clearly turning that young person into commendable paths.

Not only did the Children's Act consolidate earlier Acts, but it added new provisions of the greatest importance to those of tender age. Too much insistence can scarcely be laid upon the section dealing with the keeping of children in custody in registered places of detention, instead of putting them inside the prison walls. Further, the new methods of dealing with children and the "young person," and, in particular, the institution of the Children's Courts, marked a long step forward in the preventive system. Some idea of the success which has attended this attempt to keep young people out of prison, without leaving them to their evil devices, may be gathered from the fact that whereas in 1893, the first year for which the juvenile figures are obtainable, there were in prison 143 males under twelve years of age, 2,512 between twelve and sixteen, and 17,490 between sixteen and twenty-one, in the latest year the first two classes have disappeared, and in the third class of youths, from sixteen to twenty-one, the 17,490 of 1893 have shrunk to 10,380—a shrinkage, that is, of over 40 per cent.

But undoubtedly the most serious attempt to improve our existing system of dealing with crime and the criminal is to be found in the Prevention of Crimes Act, 1908. This must be considered in two parts—first, the part which has led to the Borstal system; and next, the part which provides for the detention of habitual criminals and the removal from their sphere of activity of apparently hopeless criminals. The Borstal institutions during the last year received 886 males and 60 females, and of the males no fewer than 679 were at Borstal itself. The average age of the prisoners was about eighteen years, and the average number of previous convictions against these young people was just under three. The life at Borstal is a constant round of ordered activity. Hard work, strict discipline, and regulated exercise are the fundamental conditions of any change in the habit and character of the young lads sent to Borstal, and these they get there in abundance. But by a grade system the lads can climb by the development and exhibition of their own better qualities to positions of trust, and be allowed the healthy and manly recreations indulged in by their contemporaries in free life. Out of 212 lads committed to the care of one Borstal institution during the last year, no fewer than 174 were, at the close of the year, satisfactory. This represents an apparent

reclamation of 82 per cent. But the essence of the system lies in the amount of time it demands in which to carry on the work of reclamation. Two years at least are required; three years are better. The Governor of Borstal says that he has known cases when it has taken eighteen months or more to make any impression upon a lad. It is a very rare thing for a boy to settle down at once, but if the sentence is long enough, it comes at last. The boy may not have improved as much as had been hoped, but he has learnt obedience and self-restraint, and how to work, and he has lost that furtive and deceitful look and that listless and lazy habit which characterises the young criminal.

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PARLIAMENT AND THE HOUSING PROBLEM.

By Fred. Knee.

It is probable that the Government will shortly have to deal with the "Housing Problem." I mean any Government, not necessarily the present. Mr. Burns may already have fought his last fight in his last ditch against national subsidies to local authorities in aid of slum clearance and house-building. His leader, the Prime Minister, has already reached the "open mind" stage, and when a Prime Minister gets there anything may happen. Further, there are signs that his colleague, Lloyd George, in order to take the bad taste of the Insurance Act out of the mouth of the rural worker, may use "a good and cheap cottage for Hodge" as a trump card, even finding some money for the same, before an appeal to the country is made.

We may not, however, have to undergo the priceless blessings of a Liberal Government much longer, and

any day may see a General Election with the prospects of a Tory majority, with a mandate to abolish the Insurance Act (which they may be depended upon not to do), and also to provide cottages with the help of national funds. The mandate may not be obeyed, however; for though there is a very energetic body of Social Reform Tories who have nailed that flag to the mast, and though they have converted Mr. Walter Long, the ex-President of the Local Government Board, yet that part of the Tory programme is as "unauthorised" as was Mr. Jesse Collings's "three acres and a cow" with the Liberals in 1885, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain as the new Chancellor of the Exchequer may resist the demand for some time longer.

Anyway, the Social Reform Tories, young men in a hurry, are an interesting group. Most of them are real Tories with a keen distrust of what they regard as democracy, and with a profound dislike of trade unions. At the same time, they follow the best traditions of Shaftesbury and Disraeli in desiring to improve the working and living conditions of the wage-slave class. Cavendish-Bentinck, for instance, half-brother of the Duke of Portland, is extremely keen on defects in factory law and its administration, and he takes a great interest in housing co-partnership. Griffith-Boscawen, steeped to the lips in Churchianity, who at the London County Council tried to get rid of a good part of the land purchased for housing purposes, almost regarding municipal enterprise in housing as an unclean thing, has yet been forced by the facts to see that for a large part of the population there is no "private enterprise" in their housing, as no one sees any margin of profit in putting up houses for them, and that consequently the public authority must step in.

To that extent the Social Reform Tories have got to a far better understanding of the position than most Liberals and Labourists and many Socialists. These latter at times sicken one, as they take their stand on capitalist economics, and with Jevonian fogginess discuss the effect on land values of

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municipal purchase, of the effect on a non-existent private enterprise of the municipal building of houses, and of the effect on wages of "rents below cost." Fancy Socialists being prepared to wait for the effect of sweating wage boards to level up wages by the barest fraction and then to wait again till they see how far that small additional income of the labourer is going to tempt the speculative builder in the way of putting up houses to meet the requirements of decency and comfort!

Neither is it of much value for us to fold our arms and to parrot William Morris—that so long as the people are poor they will be poorly housed. That is a truism which does not contain all the truth. It is quite possible for the people even under capitalism to be better housed than they are at present. Sometimes even the necessities of capitalism will help to better housing—the effects of bad housing cost too much in rates and lack of efficiency.

Our mission as Socialists in this matter is to enlarge the function of the community and to widen the scope of its activities. We can do that best, of course, where the "community" is democratised—that is, where the municipality or State has been taken possession of by the workers themselves with a fairly clear understanding of what they want and how they mean to get it. (I have always found that the "class spirit" is the surest guide in such case.) Now, the line of least resistance in regard to housing by the public authority is to compel the other people to regard it only from the point of view of public health. Questions of rents, rates, wages, and land values should be carefully cupboarded till we want them, and we should put the heaviest pressure on the one thing. Public health: what does that mean? Ultimately the saving of life, and the making of life cleaner and more satisfactory while it lasts. And if due observance of "economic laws" (especially of the capitalist order) stand in the way of saving life and preventing illness, physical or moral, then we should sacrifice them and save life.

Our own economic knowledge should be used not to create difficulties but to overcome them.

It has been found that in towns and villages slums and overcrowding abound. The former are now being tackled more vigorously with improved powers and no magisterial interference—though more would be done in that way if in the thousand urban and rural areas where no action was taken in the year 1911-12 the workers were to call their local authorities' attention to the plague-spots and to their powers for dealing with them. For these bad houses can be taken seriatim and closed and demolished—at no expense to the local authority, for Liberal and Tory alike have been driven to putting that cost on the owners. In one year in England and Wales the owners were compelled to put nearly forty-seven thousand houses in a fit state; in a thousand cases they pulled down the houses after a closing order had been issued; and in 1,400 cases the houses were pulled down by order of the local authority but at the expense of the owner. That side of the business has been speeded up since the 1909 Housing Act was passed. The Town Planning portion of that Act (that by which new slums are to be prevented) has not been so successful as yet because of its interminable forms and procedure.

But the chief difficulty is to be found where the local authority, particularly in towns, finds itself confronted with an area in which the houses are all bad. The local authorities usually are persuaded that they are unable to pursue the game of closing and compelling the demolition of these houses one at a time. They are too apt to want to deal with such an area by means of an improvement or a reconstruction scheme, under which the house owners will not only be paid for their land but also for their houses, bad though they may be. Councillors generally have not much time for studying law—housing or any other, so usually the Town Clerk guides them in the way of doing the thing on the higher scale of expense, which often frightens them and presently will horrify the genial rate-

payer. (Given the mind, a Council might negotiate the shoals.) They all agree that procedure under the improvement or reconstruction scheme is very expensive, and they soon get tired—they content themselves with seeing that the houses are patched, and though in themselves these are a nuisance and danger to health they are suffered to remain standing. That is the case with the Brady Street area at Bethnal Green, which has been under consideration since 1854, and has been the subject of three official representations to the London County Council. The death rate of this area, with a population of 3,058, is 24 per thousand as against 16 for the rest of the poor and slum borough of Bethnal Green. The London County Council cannot deal with Brady Street because of the expense; they remember Boundary Street, they have the Tabard Street area on now, and so people are killed off before their time because of the expense of saving them.

The much wider and more general question is that of overcrowding. We have been awaiting the figures for 1911, but must, I suppose, think ourselves lucky if we see them before they are three years old. Anyway, in 1901 there were in England and Wales no less than two and a half millions of people living at the rate of more than two persons to a room. About three-quarters of a million were in the County of London, a similar number in the great county boroughs, ditto in the smaller boroughs and urban districts, and under half a million in the rural districts. I put it in that way because I want to place my finger on a gross blunder in the Boscawen-Baker Housing Bill, which proposed a subsidy of half a million yearly for slum clearance only in town, and another half a million for building in rural areas only. While the conditions in rural districts are bad, and in many counties the rural overcrowding is worse than in the neighbouring towns, it will be seen what an enormous amount of overcrowding is to be found in the towns. So if we are going to deal with the question of overcrowding we must deal with both town and country.

These people do not overcrowd into one room, or two or three rooms, because they like it better than the larger number which, for the sake of decency and health, they ought to have; they are forced to take the fraction which happens to be available. They crowd in Devonport, for instance, because there is not enough accommodation to go round at any price. In London it is evident that though, perhaps, rooms per population, there may be enough to go round, they cannot manage to pay the price. In the rural districts generally both factors exist.

There have been on the Statute Book for many years excellent provisions enabling local authorities to build houses of any kind to suit the workers who wanted them, but those powers for the most part have not been used. Out of over 1,800 local authorities only 150, up to last October, had built houses apart from those in substitution for slum houses pulled down. Their total borrowings for such house building amounted to only some two and a half millions. It is interesting to note that the number of rural authorities was 34, and their borrowings £122,621. Of these two figures Mr. Burns is said to be very proud, because prior to his advent the number of rural councils who had built could almost be counted on the fingers of the hand. But put the £122,000—in fact, the whole £2,673,450—alongside the *eight millions* for *forty thousand cottages* built by rural councils alone in Ireland, and you naturally want to know why and wherefore.

Since 1883 the English Government has been helping the rural councils in Ireland to build cottages, and in some cases compelling them so to do. It meant a charge on the local rates—generally about 3d. in the pound; in one or two cases it was as much as 10d. Then the Irish farmer ratepayers kicked and demanded more help from the Exchequer. I remember Mr. Bryce, shortly after he was appointed Irish Secretary, scouting the idea of providing cheap cottages from public funds for the English agricultural labourer, and six weeks later he was coolly proposing a measure which

would provide four and a quarter millions for the Irish at a rate of interest, plus repayment, less than English local authorities had to pay in interest alone. When that four and a quarter was gone Mr. Birrell provided another million, and now they want more. In addition to these loans certain funds were appropriated so that local authorities had a subsidy towards their sinking funds on the houses. Altogether, on the average, Paddy Hodge pays but a little more than half of the commercial rent of his cottage, the Government shoulders a third, and the local authority contributes nearly one-fifth. Despite all the out-of-date capitalist economists, wages in Ireland have risen instead of going down. If Mr. Burns claims that private enterprise has ceased in Irish rural housing, it may be remarked that that private enterprise was like the famous Mrs. Harris—had no existence.

So the Social Reform Tories sought to take a leaf out of Ireland's book, and to get subsidies for slum clearance in towns, and above all for the building of cottages in the country. The President of the Local Government Board ridiculed the half-million proposed, but his very criticism should cause every rural council to clamour for it. For if, as he said, it meant £750 a year assistance on the average, that would mean that each rural council would be well able to stand the financial strain of putting up 115 cottages in its area. Not much, but more than any rural authority has been able to do as yet. The need is great. Rural councils cannot build to pay—as a rule; and the Government has admitted that by permitting the rules to be relaxed. But the rural councils are not going for all time to saddle themselves with enormous expenditure without receiving help from the Government.

Ireland is the answer to all the Government's objections. The Tory Social Reformers have struck the right note in demanding a national subsidy to clear away the shame of rural overcrowding. The same principle must be extended to the towns. Last year the Boscawen Bill was shamefully treated. The Govern-

ment then dared not oppose its second reading, and let it go to the Standing Committee, where it was severely mauled and left without money. This year again it passed second reading despite the Anarchist Liberals and a few Labourists and Sir Frederick Banbury. Again the Government refused the money, and the Standing Committee thereupon reported the Bill to the House and washed its hands of it.

Now, as I say, both Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George appear to see votes in a policy of rural housing, and the weathercock will turn with the wind.

MORE "SPLENETIC SPIRITUALISM."

A REJOINDER TO "JULIUS."

By JOHN JACKSON.

It is a somewhat chastened "Julius" that replies to the article "Splenetic Spiritualism" in the April "British Socialist," and the devil-may-care iconoclast has been replaced by the cautious warrior with an eye for cover, giving no more chances away.

Professor Huxley naturally comes in for the first castigation, for it was the grim apostle of Darwinism that let "Julius" down badly by saying: "I am no Materialist, but hold it to involve grave philosophical error." Huxley was no Spiritualist either. Indeed, I can present "Julius" with the fact that on one occasion he stated that it was of no interest to him to listen to the chatter of spirits if their conversation was on no higher level than the talk of curates in a cathedral town. A curiously unscientific attitude for a scientist, to whom no new fact should be trivial. The tremendous significance of human survival of death was of less moment to him than his beloved biology. It is a matter of perspective. To me the question of where we are going is of greater importance than where we have come from. Thus, I lean on my sword calmly and watch the onslaught of "Julius" on Huxley, interested to see "whether he kill Cassio, or Cassio him, or each do kill the other; each way makes my gain."

When the dust of conflict has subsided, we gather that "the reluctance of Huxley to adopt an uncompromising label is the one weak spot of his brilliant intellectual character." Reluctance is a mild word. I

suppose most of us would be reluctant to adopt a label which we held involved "grave philosophical error." "Julius" complains he used materialist phraseology for convenience, while disavowing its philosophy. This is no more unfair than "Julius" speaking of his "faith" as an economic determinist. Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things unseen. Because the phraseology is convenient to describe something intangible, no one would suggest "Julius" is therefore unfair to use it, or imply he is a Spiritualist reluctant to be labelled.

"Julius" thinks Huxley coined the word Agnostic because he wanted to sacrifice logic to respectability. That is not right. Huxley ever called a spade a spade, and did not care a brass button for respectability. The term Atheist implied to him the idea that behind the flux and flow of things there was no intelligence or purpose (in common parlance, God; in modern philosophy, Life-force). Huxley said bluntly: "I do not know." That is not Atheism, or Deism either.

"Julius" may call Darwin a Materialist if he wants to. I do not think he ever denied the description so categorically as Huxley. Just here may I point out to him that Darwinism is by no means synonymous with Materialism, and is quite compatible with the spiritual view of the universe. If he thinks Moses is a necessity to the spiritual view, he has much to learn. The co-discoverer of the evolutionary theory is a Spiritualist —our comrade Alfred Russel Wallace. But for his magnanimity in standing aside for Darwin (it was a neck-and-neck race), we might even now be speaking of evolution as Wallace-ism. Space considerations forbid me dealing with evolution. Briefly I ask, is not the method of evolution from lower forms of life to higher? Shaw and Bergson, recognising this tendency, surmise it to be the blind Life-force, aimlessly blundering and experimenting like an irresponsible boy let loose in a chemical laboratory. Twenty centuries ago, the greatest spiritual mind this world has seen, daringly intuitive, and with not a quarter of their knowledge, proclaimed

this force as Love that knew where it was making, and not blind force. This majestic conception of the unlettered proletarian has never been transcended, and it goes deeper than the pitifully fumbling Life-force of the intellectuals. Put me there.

It is interesting to learn, in reference to Darwin, that the discoverer of a profound scientific truth may well "experience a physical and mental exaltation which knocks the inspiration of minor poets into a cocked hat." Exaltation! May I demurely ask if that is akin to ecstasy, or those other spiritual states where with the heightening of consciousness other planes than purely material ones are apprehended? Walk warily, "Julius."

Let us descend from exaltation. "Julius" says he did not identify himself with the idea of limiting Materialism to beef and bread. Well, his words were: "On the lowest plane he may be roughly defined as one who holds that a good feed of beef and bread is more important than all the religions yet hatched." I accepted the definition. Equally freely I accept his desire not to identify himself with that definition. Yet he says he seeks to defend it. Does he mean that while modestly disclaiming it as his own description he is prepared to defend it as a description for *other* Materialists? Very well, choose the ground; I will be found as amiable a warrior as ever broke a lance.

In the economy of this world's order, everything has its place, though in our exuberance we could compile a fairly lengthy list of things that would not be missed. The Materialist is probably designed to prevent the Spiritualist from sending his soul too far into "the Invisible, some letters of the after-life to spell." A deep-laid question is asked: "How does the spiritual faculty express itself? Books? art? music? poetry? philosophy?" The unsuspecting Spiritualist answers joyfully, "Yes, yes, in all these ways, likewise by Socialist propaganda." Then out from the ambush rushes the foe triumphantly: "A full stomach first, then all these shall be added unto you." Oh dear! Be it so then. Seek ye first the kingdom of heaven—

a full stomach—only not *too* full, please, or the other things might *not* be added.

I thought I had made it clear that a true religionist cannot despise the bodily functions, nor hold them gross. The body is sacred. What! know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you? It is all a question of recognising the proper relationship and relative importance of bodily function. We call a man whose horizon is bounded by his stomach and its needs a pig. Which, perhaps, is unkind to the pig.

I see that "Julius" has no desire to exclude me as a Spiritualist. Over half my life has been spent in the movement, and I am duly grateful I am not to be excommunicated. When the great Catholic modernist, Father Tyrell, received his sentence of excommunication, he smiled and quietly said, "They cannot shut me from the Church."

"A Materialist may be mistaken, but he is not a scoundrel," says "Julius." Nothing I have written would suggest it. So when he writes: "Mr. Jackson will not call us a thief, but he will call us John Burns!" I submit he has misunderstood me entirely. My words were: "If beef and bread be all, Burns has succeeded and the idealist has failed." As "Julius" is a Socialist still holding to the ideal, I cannot class him with Burns; nor, indeed, was it in my mind to do so. I disagree that a Materialist is justified in retorting "You are another" when a splenetic Spiritualist suggests that he is a moral pervert. To do so would be to sink to the naughty Spiritualist's level. Show him, "Julius," that a man may be a Materialist—and a gentleman.

The material atom, having been found on examination to owe its origin to non-material, or etheric, states, is no longer any use in the materialist philosophy. It is discreetly handed over to my keeping with the merry quip that when the electron is abandoned in favour of something else I shall cling like "grim death to the latest fact in physics for support of the spiritual theory." I sincerely trust that I shall have courage enough to

follow truth even if it means abandoning cherished theories on atoms or anything else. Why grim death? I do assure you that it has a smiling face. How light-heartedly Science is abandoned when it no longer supports the early-Victorian (apologies to Mr. Chesterton) materialist philosophy. Extremes meet. The religious dogmatist, fighting Science, is joined by the materialist dogmatist, equally prepared to belittle Science if it support not his mechanical point of view. I wonder if "Julius" likes his allies? Strictly between ourselves, "Julius," my philosophy is not based on any theory of atoms, but on my own personal experiences of evidence of human survival of death. That would endure whatever the theories of physicists. If Science supports me, well. If it does not, it is still well, though not so well.

"Julius" is a bit staggered to hear that we only assume that the universe is as it appears to be. Says he: "If after the tests of taste, sight, touch and hearing a man refuses to believe in the existence of the universe, common sense stands helpless." He has not quite got it. No one seriously suggests that the universe does not exist; it is the very different question of whether it is what it appears to be. Whether phenomena and reality are identical. We must get a start somewhere, so by an act of sheer "faith" we take as our base that things are what they appear to be as a rough working hypothesis. The trouble starts immediately you come to scrutinise the base. Then indeed common sense stands helpless. Common sense maintained the earth was flat, and said that the sun rose in the east, passed overhead, and sank at eve in the west. Could not a man trust his sight? Yet common sense was wrong in both instances.

On this point may I quote the well-known scientist, Professor Barrett, from his book, "On the Threshold of a New World of Thought"? (a very suggestive title).

"The first lesson taught by mental philosophy is that all we know of external objects and material phenomena are certain sensations within us. Of the things in themselves we know absolutely nothing. The

things we do know are certain states of consciousness—signs evoked in our minds by events happening in the universe outside our mind. Accordingly we do not actually perceive the material world, nor anything like it, and have not therefore the remotest conception of what the thing we call matter is in itself. The mental signs our brain and nervous mechanism give us of the material world outside are not the things, nor a resemblance to the things, in themselves. The real world around us is absolutely inaccessible to us.

"The common supposition that the material universe and the conscious beings around us are directly and indubitably known, and constitute a world of 'positive' facts on which reason can certainly pronounce without any exercise of faith, is an entire mistake, based upon astonishing ignorance of the essential limitations of human knowledge, of which thinkers who lived in the very dawn of philosophy were perfectly aware.

"And if Science replies that the premises on which it rests are formulated by immediate experience in the shape of observation and experiment, what are we to say about these same experiences when we discover, not only that they may be wholly false, but that they are never wholly true? . . . . Nine-tenths of our immediate experience of objects are visual, and all visual experiences, without exception, according to Science, are erroneous. Degrees of brightness, or colour, whereby we perceive objects, are, as optics teaches, not properties of the things seen, but sensations produced in us by undulations in the ether. Hence, psychologically considered, our perceptions are not merely occasionally inaccurate, but habitually deceiving. It is our ignorance or forgetfulness of these facts, our neglect of the vast differences between our perceptions and the realities for which they stand, that gives rise to the conflict between Science and religion, and to the difficulties of belief in an unseen spiritual world."

Thus does the solid earth become "wriggly" the moment it is examined. The foundation is crumbling.

With Huxley "reluctant," the atom etherial, and the helplessness and unreliability of common sense in the quest for reality, "Julius" feels he is in a bad way. Old landmarks are in horrid nightmare deliquescence. In despair he earths to the kitchen department. "But you eat your dinner just like I do; you assume its existence," he cries in perplexity. To which I answer gravely: "Always I do—when I can get it."

The great "Anti-Materialist Conspiracy" is dismissed in a sentence: "It is obvious I did not mean this to be taken too seriously." Here "Julius" staggers me. That which gave title to the article and was argued about is now only a joke! He should be more careful. It might have been read by Scotsmen, who would certainly fail to suspect the joke.

I expected the dictum that "Socialism is less an economic than a moral" revolt would draw fire. Perversely, I maintain it. Again I repeat, the Manchester School had no martyrs—only victims. Surely it was "economic," but it had no moral dynamic.

"Julius" says that he would be sorrowful to build Socialism on such a quicksand as morality. I would be sorrowful indeed to build Socialism without it. He is inclined to doubt whether there is such a thing as morality. The Lord has delivered him into my hands! I will show him later where he has scored off me because of his morality. One of the drawbacks of the materialist philosophy is the inclination to doubt the existence of anything which cannot be put in a test tube, or weighed in a pair of scales.

Let us take the springs of morality. Hold my hand tight, "Julius," you are going into deep water, but there is no danger, I solemnly assure you. We know of the objective world (your "real" world), and we know the subjective world within—our mental states that arise through contact with that outer world. There is also yet another, the ideal world, which defies analysis or definition, but is yet so real that we are always condemning both the outer and subjective worlds by it. We can always conceive of a better arranged

world than this, and of ourselves being a better person than we are. Obviously there must be a standard or ideal by which we compare and condemn, though "Julius" must pack up his microscope, for I cannot produce it. Many have been the attempts to portray it, from Plato's "Republic" in the long past, to Bellamy's "Looking Backward" and Morris's "News from Nowhere." I am not disparaging when I say they are only attempts. Never yet could two of us agree completely, but behind the diversities of Socialist thought the Ideal City stands, though we cannot give it shape or form. This impossibility of definition we meet on the platform by saying lamely, but truly, "There is no cut-and-dried scheme of Socialism." The religionist, did he but know his own religion, is asking for it when he prays "Thy kingdom come." Its mysterious call is felt in every station and condition (though obviously not all respond to it), and all our propaganda is, consciously or unconsciously, directed to its quickening. The unknown Communard of the barricades said simply, "I die for human solidarity." That was his offering, though he might have been economically unsound in his views, and have based his action on some confused moral feeling. Wilhelm Liebknecht in Germany, and H. M. Hyndman in England, considered worldly position as tinsel compared with the deeper satisfaction of bringing nearer its advent. On its altars Bax lays the tribute of his genius. Every branch room is its shrine. Dare you say this ideal world is unreal?

> Is it a dream? Nay, but the lack of it a dream;
> And, failing it, earth's lore and wealth a dream,
> And all the world a dream.

Obviously I cannot prove the existence of this ideal world, but its results in the lives I have mentioned are quite as "real" and irrefutable as anything the material world can offer for its existence. Without it, I confess, life to me would somehow be infinitely poor and mean.

I agree that morality is always changing. In order to live in society at all we must have rules of conduct.

There is nothing fixed or final about them, and they change with circumstances. What does not vary is the feeling that, whatever the consequences, and all paltry excuses or compromises swept aside, we ought to be the highest we cognise. And a very unpleasant feeling it is at times, as most of us could testify. We cannot escape this intangible, formless, insistent demand on us except by deliberately shattering our inner unity of life. Here, Spiritualist and Anti-Spiritualist both meet. Here we are all orthodox. "Julius" is dubious as to whether morality exists, but he cannot be dubious as to whether this feeling exists. Indeed, he has been stoutly maintaining that Materialists are not necessarily immoral. Why should he consider it necessary to maintain this, except it be that in common with most men he yields to this undeniable inner sense of obligation to the highest we know? The degree of the standard is ever shifting. That matters much less than how far we are faithful to that standard at the moment we deliberately choose our course of action.

Now for the illustration I promised earlier. When I wrote down that old chestnut about the Irishman asking "What has posterity done for me?" I remember thinking, "Here's a joint in my armour." And, lo! you have found it. Man, you are a bonny fighter, and I hereby hand you back your sword. You point out that the Irishman should be told that "what we pay to the future is our debt to the past." Where is your rationalism now? The immediate advantage is to the man who does nothing of the kind. Caiaphas died in the odour of sanctity; Jesus ignominiously as a felon. John Burns is rich and respectable; Jack Williams is ending his days in poverty and obscurity. That debt to the past could not be recovered in the law courts. Yet you are willing to pay it. Verily thou art not far from the Kingdom. You may call yourself a Materialist till the cows come home, but such an attitude carries with it an inherent consciousness of the spirituality of the universal order. It is a truly remarkable fact that in our hours of darkness and defeat we Socialists are

sustained by the unfaltering feeling that what we stand for will ultimately triumph. When did our Grand Old Man falter? It would puzzle him or us to justify our faith intellectually. Our being sinks deeper and soars higher than the intellect can follow, and in this region is the dynamic that can never be supplied by the contemplation of any cold, intellectual, economic skeleton, however perfect its joints. I freely admit the skeleton is there; but we do not cuddle skeletons. It is as if an ardent lover were to muse on his adored one's osseous framework, rather than on the whole subtle effect of her charms of manner and person.

"It is a deep, passionate cry for just human relationship," I say, reflecting on what sent me to the Socialist movement twenty years ago as a young lad in whom the ideal was ever calling. "Indeed, no!" says "Julius," "'tis only a remorseless machine, called economic determinism, mechanically fulfilling its task. Listen! You can hear the cogs grinding."

Which is right? I hope I am. I confess I don't like that horrid, soulless machine, relentlessly grinding us in its iron jaws, clanking and banging to an unknown end, or—worse still—perhaps no end whatever.

He will not have "death a step to greater life." The marvellous results of the exploration of the deeps of human consciousness as evidenced by the patient labours of men like the late Frederic Myers, or Dr. Richard Hodgson, who for twenty years witnessed psychic phenomena, tirelessly trying to explain it on other than spiritualist lines, and who at last was beaten by the facts, "Julius" dismisses in two words: "tall talk"! Alfred Russel Wallace's experiences, Sir William Crookes's researches, Professor Barrett's investigations in this realm, swept airily aside, or perhaps it would be kinder to say he is unaware of them. Little use, then, a mere ordinary person such as I to tell him my experiences in this field that compelled me to renounce philosophic Materialism.

I suggest to "Julius," who doubtless believes in cause and effect, that he find the cause of the persis-

tence in human affairs throughout history and in this our day of the supernormal. Why a scientific body studying for thirty years this region? Its phenomena is too consistent and universal to be dismissed with the phrase "tall talk." A factory or a farm we see the reason for; but why a temple? There is no smoke without fire, and the constant outcropping of the spiritual element, even if at times in repellent forms must be related to some fundamental fact in human nature. I hold that a right understanding of our true nature will be of profound value to the Cause we love.

"The 'cloud' at the Reformation came to nought," I am told. Who spoke of any cloud at that period? I did not. Surely a student of history should know there was then no cloud for class domination, unless we mean the domination of the middle class by the land-owning class. It was no proletarian revolt. Rather it was the rise of the trading class on the economic side, and a powerful Puritan protest on the moral side against the obscenities of the Roman Church.

There are many other points raised that I should like to deal with, but I remember in time there is an editor. I do not suppose I have convinced "Julius." Intellectually we are at a deadlock. The difference in tone between his first and second article is quite sufficient to satisfy me. From "splenetic Spiritualist" we have evolved to the fact that at least one of them is "a harmless and doubtless well-meaning person."

In the quiet dropping of the "anti-Materialist conspiracy" there is the dawning of the thought that the religious or spiritually minded man may be perfectly sincere, even if "Julius" cannot—as yet—comprehend the experiences that produce that aspect of mind.

I have no doubt that if ever I met "Julius" in the body (that sounds horribly materialistic!) instead of on these spiritual planes of thought, I should find him, in spite of his limited outlook, a jolly good fellow.

THE BOOMERANG OF SENTIMENTAL OPPORTUNISM.

By F. TANNER.

That no advantage is to be gained by deliberately exciting the hostility of the man-in-the-street will be readily admitted by every rational exponent of Social-Democracy. In order to win new adherents to their ranks the pioneers of a revolutionary movement are obliged to consider ways and means of rendering their propaganda as attractive as possible to those whose support they wish to obtain. Consequently, so long as our message remains in substance the same, the more sympathetic its appeal and the more homely its terms the better.

Yet the fact remains that Socialism is still Socialism whether it be preached in Whitechapel or Belgravia—a point which is apt to be forgotten by those opportunists who ingratiate themselves with the public at the expense of the principles they are supposed to represent. By the exercise of tact and discretion it is possible to minimise the effect of the prejudice which exists in regard to our doctrines; but the toning down of those doctrines to make them acceptable to the bourgeois mind is quite another matter. Such a policy may serve the immediate end of winning elections and increasing the nominal membership of a party; but if persisted in to any extent, it is calculated in the long run to sap the vitality of the whole movement.

The short-sighted opportunism referred to frequently takes the form of an appeal to conventional religious sentiments, the principles of Socialism being put forward as nearly akin to, if not identical with, those of

Christianity. Electors are given to understand that in order to be true Christians they must vote Socialist; stray passages from the Scriptures which admit of a vaguely democratic interpretation are extensively quoted; while much stress is laid upon the indiscriminate denunciations of wealthy people so freely indulged in by the founder of the Christian religion.

As already stated, these tactics may be all very well from the standpoint of election expediency. On the other hand, assuming that our object as propagandists is to bring as many as possible to accept the economics and philosophy of scientific Socialism, such a line of argument is bound sooner or later to react upon ourselves. It will defeat its own end by attracting to the Socialist ranks large numbers who, having no conception of the grim realities of the class struggle, may well lead the movement astray when a crisis arrives.

It is interesting to observe the chorus of indignation when by any chance some firebrand in the Socialist ranks so far forgets himself as to make a public attack on the Christian faith. For example, it is said that a member was, some years ago, expelled from the S.D.F. for publishing a pamphlet entitled "Christ the Enemy of the Human Race." In the circumstances it was no doubt desirable that such a man should be brought to book, having violated the expressed neutrality of his Party on matters of religion. But is not this neutrality quite as much disregarded by the exponent who refers to "Jesus the Socialist"? And what Socialist Party in Great Britain has ever expelled a member for that?

Needless to say, it is not intended to suggest that one who is incidentally a Christian is not eligible for membership of a revolutionary organisation. As regards purely speculative matters complete freedom should be allowed every member to hold whatever views he pleases, provided, of course, that he keeps his mysticism separate from his Socialism. However, the fact remains that, apart from certain superficial points

of resemblance, the two doctrines are as wide apart as the Poles; and there is no justification whatever for making one the basis of the other, as even avowed Secularists have been known to do for the sake of scoring a cheap point.

We Socialists do not believe in the blessings of poverty. If we did we should be quite satisfied with things as they are. We do not believe in the doctrines, "Resist not evil" and "Turn the cheek to the smiter." We do not blame the individual capitalist merely because he is rich, realising as we do that it is the environment which makes the man, and that only a complete change in the social system can set things right.

Christianity is essentially personal, introspective. It is concerned with the purity of the individual life and the salvation of the individual soul. It teaches that the Kingdom of Heaven is within a man's own heart. The Socialist, on the contrary, would maintain that what we are is mainly determined by external conditions. Moreover, he makes his appeal not to the individual as such, but to mankind in the mass, recognising that the interest of each separate unit is bound up with the interest of society as a whole.

To-day, as in all past epochs, conventional religion and morality are to a great extent the reflex of prevailing social and economic conditions, and are therefore bound to be largely coloured from the standpoint of the profit-mongering fraternity who rule the roost. Our masters want a plentiful supply of docile and obedient wage-slaves who don't cost too much to keep. So Christianity glorifies the virtues of humility, industry and thrift, and teaches the people that, if they are loyal to their masters in this life, by-and-bye they will go to a better world where there will be no more masters to worry them. Under the circumstances we can hardly regard the Christian faith as a force for the Revolution.

Of course, as Socialists we are primarily concerned with the readjustment of economic and social relations

in the interests of the wage-earners. Nevertheless, our study of the evolution of human society proves conclusively that all great economic changes are succeeded by corresponding changes in the domain of thought—both scientific and speculative. We must conclude, therefore, that Socialism will evolve its own religion. As to what that will be we are not called upon to prophesy. The most we can say is that in so far as Christianity has been a means of bolstering up wealth and privilege it will perish with the class antagonisms which gave it birth. On the other hand, we may confidently assume that whatsoever of truth is contained in it will gather force once the minds of men have been freed from material cares and given scope for the fair and impartial study of the problem of Life.

THE MONTH.

The political situation is getting somewhat critical for the Government. During May two bye-elections went against them. At Newmarket the seat which had been held by Sir Charles Rose, a sporting baronet, was lost by Mr. George Nicholls, an ex-agricultural labourer turned preacher. At Altrincham, in Cheshire, the Tories greatly increased their previous majority. Besides this, in the House of Commons itself there are abundant signs that the Liberals are getting tired, and many of them peevish with their own leaders.

This spirit has been accentuated by the revelations of the Marconi Select Committee and the case of Mr. Cecil Chesterton, who has been tried on a charge of criminally libelling Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, brother of the Attorney-General. Although the verdict of the jury went against Mr. Chesterton, the fact that he was fined £100 instead of being sent to prison—the usual penalty for criminal libel—has injured the prestige of the Government far more than it has harmed Mr. Chesterton.

Moreover, the Chesteron verdict was rapidly followed by another revelation in the House of Commons Committee Room—that £3,000 of the Liberal Party's own funds had been invested by Lord Murray (when he was Liberal Whip) in Marconis. It is not necessary to impute corruption or anything of the sort, and quite probably it was only a matter of ordinary business. The party funds had to be invested in something or other, and Marconis were going and promising. And the normal innocence or ignorance of Cabinet Ministers (like that of His Majesty's judges) as to what is going on around them might easily be held to account for the incident. However, the Tories would not be politicians if they did not try to make it profitable for themselves. The whole business, however, from the Socialist point of view, is instructive, as showing the workings of the high finance and the duck-to-the-water style in which political leaders take to them.

The Annual Conference of the British Socialist Party at Blackpool was much more successful than its detractors—Tory, Liberal, and Labourist—cared to admit. Though lessened in numbers because of difficulties of time and distance, and despite, too, the efforts of a few irresponsibles, the Conference started the Party's new year well, and the election of an excellent Executive augurs well for the immediate future.

The month has been remarkable for the risings and rumours of risings and unrest in the industrial world. The shipbuilding trades have demanded another small percentage advance in their rates of pay, and unless this is conceded threaten a strike. The brickmakers, and other wretchedly-paid workers in the "Black Country," have struck for the miserable minima of 23s. for men and 12s. for women. And the dockyard men are still angry with the Government.

The manner in which the Government has conducted the proceedings against the Women's Social and Political Union has naturally brought the question of Free Speech prominently to the front. The Free Speech Defence Committee are to be congratulated on the success of their demonstration in Trafalgar Square, on Sunday, May 4. It was far larger than the most sanguine expected. Whatever happens, freedom of speech, of the Press, and of public meeting must be maintained. If anything is said or written that is calculated, in the opinion of the authorities, to create a breach of the peace, let them prosecute those who have uttered or written the statements, but they must go no further. The stoppage of meetings before any speaking has taken place, and the suppression of journals before they are published, are most serious matters for everybody.

Still, admitting all this fully, we must be careful not to let our heat or our sentiment run away with our judgment. Some of our friends have been denouncing the methods of the Home Office and the police, and declaring that they are worse than in Russia. Now, this is hysteria of the worst description. When we look back upon the horrible tortures that have been inflicted upon Russian Socialists and Revolutionists in prisons and in Siberia, when we think of the wholesale executions of some of the noblest men and women whose only crime has been their determined struggle against one of the worst despotisms that has ever cursed this

planet, it is simply a gross misuse of language to put the prosecution of a few men and women by the Home Office in the same category as the actions of the Russian Government.

Since our last issue a most serious event has occurred in the arrest of Adamovitch. The main facts are as follows. On May 14 information was received in Paris viâ Vienna that "Karl" or "Arles," the Secretary of the Russian Seamen's Union, and editor of the "Moriak" (Mariner), had been arrested at Alexandria, the papers of the union confiscated, and the names and addresses of the subscribers to the organ seized by the police. The London Trades Council and the British Socialist Party at once telegraphed protests to Sir Edward Grey against the action of the Egyptian police. J. Keir Hardie, M.P., who had heard of the affair, probably through the International Socialist Bureau, also wrote to the Foreign Secretary, but for days no reply could be obtained from the Foreign Office. When at last it was given, it was a general one to all the communications sent to Sir Edward Grey, and was to the effect that Egypt was not a British *Protectorate*, and that the existence of the Capitulations made it impossible for the British Government to interfere.

A rejoinder was at once sent by the British Socialist Party to this reply from the Foreign Office. It pointed out that the Capitulations constituted a "privilege forced by foreign Powers from the Sultans of Turkey, in order that subjects of other countries may be shielded from the abuses in the administration of the law which are alleged to be characteristic of the Ottoman Power"; that the action against Adamovitch by the Russian Consul at Alexandria was an abuse of the Capitulations; and that in the 'fifties Turkey refused to give up Kossuth and other Hungarians to Austria and Russia, and that Lord Cromer declined to accede to the request of Turkey for the expulsion of the Young Turks. The only reply to this letter has been a reference to the answers given to questions in the House of Commons.

Various and contradictory reports have appeared from time to time regarding the whereabouts of Adamovitch, but the Foreign Office has been as ignorant of what was happening as the English directors of the Putumayo Company of the cruelties perpetrated on the unfortunate Indians who are virtually their slaves. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, for the Labour Party, has put questions in

the House of Commons, and has sedately criticised the action or inaction of Sir Edward Grey on the Foreign Office Vote; but something more was wanted to raise the question so vigorously in Parliament that the whole country might have been aware of what was going on. The case of Adamovitch is another addition to the long list of lost opportunities to be placed to the discredit of the Labour Party in Parliament. And now Adamovitch has at last been deported, even while Mr. Ramsay MacDonald is engaged in asking more questions.

The agitation against the "Three Years" with the Army has reached dimensions that are causing the French Government grave uneasiness. It is all very well to beat the patriotic drum and to blow the chauvinist trumpet in order so to increase the French Army that it shall make an effective reply to the increase of the German Army. But the strain of three years is altogether too great to be borne. A year, even two years, can be managed without great inconvenience if the service is universal, but every additional month of military training means more than a corresponding increase in inconvenience to those called upon to submit to it. There is another point to be remembered, and that is that, with a stationary population, France cannot possibly compete in numbers with Germany, whose population is steadily increasing. It means, therefore, that Germany can increase her armed forces with far less inconvenience than France. No amount of punishment on the conscripts who have revolted against the additional year with the colours, no amount of "perquisitions" at trade union and Socialist offices, no amount of suppressions of protest meetings, can alter that fact, and the sooner the French Government recognises it the better. In a cordial understanding between the peoples themselves lies the only solution of the situation.

The nearer to peace, the greater the danger of war. The sentence sums up the situation to-day in the Balkans. The Treaty of Peace between Turkey and the Balkan Allies is signed at last, it is true; but the attempt to reach an agreement on the points left unsettled by the Peace Treaty has failed, and these points are now left to the respective Governments to supplement the Treaty by direct conventions. There is, therefore, plenty of material for a Balkan conflagration. The relations between Bulgaria and Servia are almost at breaking point. The Bulgarian forces opposing the Greeks have been reduced to 60,000 in order to reinforce the troops

in the north facing the Servians. There are rumours that another conflict has taken place between the Bulgarians and the Servians. There are also rumours and suspicions among three of the Balkan "Allies"—Montenegro is forced right into the background at the moment—that each of them is intriguing in turn with Turkey and Rumania.

The part played by Russia in this Balkan imbroglio is most sinister. There is no doubt that Nicholas of Montenegro was up to the last looking for Russian help in securing Skutari, though the Muscovite Government was supposed to be joining with the other European Powers in "blockading" part of the Albanian coast as a threat against the holding of Skutari by Montenegro. It is fairly evident, too, that Russia has been secretly agitating Servia against Bulgaria. The limit of Russian mediation in any dispute between Bulgaria and Servia was distinctly laid down in the Treaty between those two States. Now statements are being made at St. Petersburg to the effect that Russia wants a revision of the Treaty before she can accept arbitration; consequently Bulgaria fears the worst. Bulgaria is militarily the strongest of the Balkan States. Russia does not want a strong Balkan State. She much prefers three or four weak States that can be used against each other when advisable in the interests of Russia.

The Australian General Elections ended in a complicated draw. The Labour Party still retains its majority in the Senate, but in the Lower House finds itself in a minority of one or three. As a result the Labour Cabinet has resigned, and a Liberal Ministry (which the English Liberal papers assure us is really Conservative) will take office. The small majorities on the referenda against the control of monopolies show that Australia is not very far off from trying conclusions with the Trust.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY IN JAPAN.

By Fritz Kummer, in "Die Neue Zeit."

I.

THE INCREASE OF TAXATION AND THE NATIONAL DEBT.

On the occasion of the death of the Mikado Mutsuhito, an immense amount was talked everywhere about the enormous progress of Japan since it was opened up (in 1854) to Western civilisation. The social reformer reads these rose-coloured reports with very mixed feelings. If by the progress of a country is meant the rise of industry and trade, the strengthening of militarism, the increase of the National Debt and the creation of a small number of gigantic fortunes, then indeed the Land of the Rising Sun has made great progress. But the upward movement of a country is not only to be measured by the improvements in the production of commodities and the strengthening of armaments, but, above all, in the increase of the material and spiritual welfare of the great mass of the people. That this has, even approximately, kept pace with the extension of industry, etc., no one acquainted with Japanese conditions will dare to assert.

New Japan is, strictly speaking, nothing more or less than the metamorphosis of the old feudalism. The economic and political transformation has converted the feudal lords into large landowners, capitalists, drawers of rent or high officials of State, and the members of the warrior caste into manufacturers, merchants, and subordinate administrative officials. And the peasants, practically serfs, of the Kyuhandschidai (the time previous to the introduction of Western civilisation) have become the factory slaves, dependent on the money-lenders or landowners, or coerced by law, police and hunger. During the last period of feudal times, the people, the peasantry, had to deliver twenty-two million koku of rice in one year to the Government in taxation (1 koku equals about 1.7 hectolitres); now their annual taxation amounts to thirty-two million pounds. Or, in other words: In old Japan about 7s. 4d. had to be paid per head per annum in taxation, but in present-day Japan about 12s. 5d. This comparison cannot indeed claim absolute certainty, as its elements are of a somewhat doubtful nature. So much, however, is sure, that the burden of taxation on the individual has not decreased, but considerably increased. Certainly the taxation was very high in Old Japan also, but it was

then, at the time of the payment in kind, not felt anything like so severely as in the twentieth century, when the Exchequer for the most part demands cash payments, and when the necessaries of life have become dearer and more numerous. How unendurable the burden of taxation has become to the working people is shown by the ever-increasing protests of the population in spite of the Asiatic patience with which they are endowed.

The greatest "progress" of Japan is undoubtedly in the domain of debt. The Japanese manufacturers of taxes are not easily to be outdone by anybody in inventiveness or in want of consideration. Their talent is great enough to enable them to burden consumers, trade and commerce beyond what they are able to bear, but it does not reach so far as to be able to bring receipts and expenditure into agreement. Year after year continually increasing deficits have appeared in the State Treasury, which were airily covered by loans as long as the state of credit permitted. At the end of the Russo-Japanese war the country was drained dry, the national debt amounting to £195,000,000, or £3 13s. per head; by the end of the third month of 1911 the debt had increased by another £80,000,000, making a total of £275,000,000, or £3 19s. per head. Five-eighths of these £80,000,000 go, it is true, to remunerative undertakings, such as improving the railways and such like; but, even allowing for that, this growth of the debt, during a normal, peaceful period, is enough to force the statesmen at Tokio to seek a remedy. That this has its difficulties needs no explanation. Of the total expenditure during a single year (1911), which amounted to £54,000,000, £11,950,000 were spent on the debt, and £16,800,000 on militarism. That these two items of unproductive expenditure will diminish within an appreciable space of time, is expected. The contrary will certainly be the case.

Thus, on the one side we see increasing demands for unproductive objects, on the other side the people's capability for paying taxes exhausted and foreign credit dried up. The Saionji Ministry sought a way out of this dilemma by calling the director of the mortgage-bank, Yamamoto, to the post of Finance Minister. Whether the latter will be able to fulfil the hopes placed in him leaves room for doubt. The state of finances has become so undermined, by means of decade-long mismanagement, that even the famous talent of this bourgeois expert will hardly suffice to bring about a recovery.

Attempts to put some order into the finances had already formerly been made, under pressure of the threatening State-bankruptcy. The most important point in the programme of Saionji's predecessor (Katsura) was that of doing without new loans. His financial plan, intended to restore the extinguished confidence of the foreign money market, really did not look bad—at least, on paper. Brutal reality, however, branded it as an unrealisable hope. Katsura's "heroic" policy of clearing off the debt not only failed to bring about any diminution in the National Debt, but

caused a return inrush of Japanese debentures from abroad, and finally an increase of the debt by £42,000,000. Katsura's successor, Saionji, adopted the unsuccessful project in a somewhat different form, under very much more difficult circumstances. The first attempt at a budget on the part of the new Finance Minister did indeed show energy and the desire to economise. He took a good deal off the military demands, but also, it is true, off the amounts devoted to economic undertakings, such as the building of railways, the World Exhibition, etc. That the almighty military caste will continue to put up with having its plans limited in this way is improbable, especially now, when Imperialism and Militarism are eagerly preparing for great undertakings in Manchuria (and China). But even if the impossible were to happen, if the greed of the military Moloch could be appeased, the financial misery of Japan would only be a trifle relieved.

The fact is that the difficulties in the way of a healthy financial reform lie less in a political than an economic direction.

For years Japan's trade has been carried on with a considerable deficit. Without counting the years 1906 and 1909, which brought an outstanding debt of £100,000 and £1,850,000 respectively, during the other 14 years which preceded 1911 the imports exceeded the exports by £73,090,000, that is an average of about five and a-quarter millions each year. 1912 will have closed even more unfavourably. The exports for the first six months amounted to £12,900,000, as against an import value of £34,950,000. That is a deficit, for the first half year, of £22,050,000, or an increase, as against the first half-year of 1911, of rather more than a million and a-half. The hopes for the balance of trade to take a better turn are not great at present. The general insecurity of the situation in the Far East, and especially the revolutionary ferment in China—that great market for Japanese goods—make it appear pretty certain that the export trade will in future continue to fall short of the import trade.

After this, it is hardly necessary to say another word about the misery of Japanese finance and the dismal fate of the new Finance Minister's plans. The possibility of State bankruptcy, hitherto looked upon as the product of timid pessimism, is rapidly coming nearer. And the worst is that the attempts to find an effectual remedy are quite unsuccessful. To fill the yawning and ever-widening cleft in the State Treasury with the disposable income is, unfortunately, impossible. The only thing, therefore, that remains is to increase this income by new taxes. If these are to bring in enough to meet the needs of the State Treasury, the masses of the people will have to be saddled with them. But this, for a thousand and one reasons, is not to be thought of. The people are already taxed so heavily, and sucked so dry, that the interests of internal peace demand that the long-promised reduction of indirect taxation should at last begin. Any attempts at further burdens might drive the hungry masses to open rebellion. And yet it will be impossible to hold to the principle enunciated in the first speech

of every new Minister. No new taxes! The necessities of life for the capitalist-militarist State urgently demand more means. As an appeal to the small taxpayers is hopeless, and moreover dangerous, there remains only the taxation of the moneyed class. The Government, no doubt, has, in the fortunes of the upper ten thousand, very fruitful sources as yet untouched. The only question is as to whether the ruling caste have the inclination and intention to tax their own incomes, inheritances, and fortunes, and those of their class. Such self-denial on the part of the plutocracy for the sake of the State is indeed talked of; but, on the other hand, there is little chance of its crystallising into an actual fact. If a plutocracy of the Japanese type, which has the reins of government so completely in its own hands, should so burden itself with imposts, it would be a real miracle, in which not even the Japanese peasants, superstitious as they are, can believe. Much more likely, and easier to carry out, though not so fruitful for the State Treasury as the effectual taxation of the ruling classes, would be greater economy in the lower branches of the administration. Millions might be saved by abolishing the numerous sinecures and substituting an industrious and capable staff of officials for the present incapable ninnies. This would indeed have to be done in a very diplomatic manner. For to rob the under-officials of their berths will not be calculated to awaken a feeling of contentment and obedience within them. On the contrary.

II.

RISE AND GROWTH OF THE INTELLECTUAL PROLETARIAT.

The "enlightened" autocracy, which, some decades ago, took the place of the caste which ruled over the feudal State, knew very well what they were about when they opened wide the doors of the State administration to the tribe of feudal lords and knights, and to the children of the rising bourgeoisie and commercial class, giving them posts and sinecures which, even though not brilliantly paid—according to European ideas—still constituted a certain rank in the new society, and represented the enviable post of chief, or commander. These officials, nurtured in the mouldy soil of the Asiatic feudal State, had not, indeed, much education or technical knowledge, but they made up for this lack by their gratitude and devotion, and their conviction of the exalted mission of their fatherland. In the Army, which was organised by foreigners, and the factories, which were erected by European engineers, an immense number of half or wholly incapable people were able to live their life. Besides, too great demands must not be made, if State, Army and industry were not to have to do without officials altogether. The building up of State administration and the development of the production of commodities demanded more officials than were to be had. For decades the demand exceeded the supply. Up till about ten or fifteen years ago one could not speak of an excess of educated people with knowledge qualifying

them for official posts. Attempts were made to meet the increasing demand, created by the feverish haste with which factories, etc., were built from the beginning of the 'eighties, and especially after the Chinese-Japanese war, by means of the erection of new educational institutions and enlargement of those already in existence. Some of these were arranged from the start with a view to mass-production. They soon turned out more young men than industry and commerce could make use of. The surplus number of these found a refuge in the enlargement of the Army and the extension of colonial property. But, also, these possibilities of a livelihood were soon reduced to a certain minimum, while the educational establishments continued, to an increasing degree, to produce aspiring officials. The natural increase or falling vacant of situations remains more and more behind the number of those who aspire to them. The increasing want of proportion between vacant posts and unemployed officials caused K. Uematsu, the editor of "Toyo Keizai," to undertake an investigation. According to the latter the number of (State and private) officials amounted in 1908 to 900,000. Of these, 45,000 were high officials, 135,000 clerks, etc., and 720,000 other employees.

This mass is annually reduced through death and invalidity by about 45,000, while there come each year on an average 62,253 from the higher schools. Thus there are annually more than 17,000 people trained to intellectual work who cannot find a post such as they, thanks to their education, think they ought to have. As the surplus increases at a rate which comes nearer to a geometrical than an arithmetical progression, the number of unemployed intellectuals will soon assume alarming dimensions. Only emigration or descent into the ranks of the factory proletariat will remain for them. The first is difficult, if not impossible, owing to the legislation of West European States, which is arranged to exclude Asiatics. Thus most of them are forced on to the other path—into the proletariat.

That which was still possible for the "enlightened" autocracy of yesterday—to attach the educated to itself by providing them with good berths, and thereby to keep them loyal and contented—is no longer possible to the autocracy of to-day. Here, too, social development proves itself stronger than human wisdom and goodwill. This state of things can only be advantageous to the oppressed classes of the people. The Japanese proletariat needs more than any other an influx of educated elements. It is kept systematically in ignorance, bigotry and hard drudgery, and has neither intelligence, strength, nor courage to loosen its chains. In this respect the intellectual proletarians, cheated of their life's hope, and dissatisfied with the existing order, are, thanks to their higher education, more able to take action. As in all other lands, so in the Mikado's Empire, the discontented, revolted elements of the middle class and bourgeoisie will become enlighteners and leaders to the awakening proletariat until it is capable of taking the task of its liberation into its own hands.

(To be continued.)

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNE.

To each and all I give the hand,
To every nation, every land,
To every soul—man, woman, child,
The civilised, the savage wild,
The rich, the poor, the high, the low.
None would I rule, to none I bow.
I want to be *bon camarade*
With everyone, both good and bad,
And when the battle-flags are furled,
Ah! then I'll be *bon camarade*,
Bon camarade with all the world.

I care not be they white or black,
From frozen Greenland's icy wrack,
Or from the tropics' sunny charms,
Or for what nation they bear arms;
For everyone I'd fain include
In one grand, world-wide brotherhood.

I hope some time to see the day
When money's power is cast away.
No longer shall the poor man cry
For life and bread in misery.
No more the rich in gilded state
Shall idly grumble at his fate.

I also hope for that bright day
When war is banished for alway;
When all the nations' flags are furled
And peace is known throughout the world.
We all are brothers, so why fight?
Why might usurp the place of right?

I'd have a reign of liberty,
When every land is truly free.
I'd banish every government
To which weak men do pay a rent
Of money and of peace of mind,
And in one nation all I'd bind.

I'd have no high or low degree,
But everyone should equal be,
As brothers and as sisters all,
Who move upon this earthly ball.
No power should rule below, above,
Except the mighty force of Love.

Then Labour with industrious hand
Would cultivate the desolate land,
While Genius with untiring brain,
And Poetry and Music's strain,
Would fill our souls. At last should be
The noble Press unbound and free.

So, brothers, will you hark to me?
I hail the commune that's to be,
When money's power and war are done;
When everyone beneath the sun
Is glad and happy, good and free,
And ruled by sacred Liberty;

When all our goods are common stock,
Both land and city, field and flock;
When age nor sex nor caste nor creed
No difference make; when free indeed
Is this sad world whose constant strain
Was sorrow, wretchedness, and pain;

When this sad world that now doth crave
Freedom from tyrant and from slave
Shall then indeed know Liberty,
From pole to pole, from sea to sea;
When this sad desert overflows
With joy, and blossoms like a rose.

Now, brothers all, come work with me,
Soon shall we everyone be free;
Soon all the nations of the earth
Shall know the joys of a new birth;
And, told by prophet, poet, sage,
The worlds shall enter the New Age.
I want to be *bon camarade*
With everyone, both good and bad,
And when the battle-flags are furled,
Ah! then I'll be *bon camarade*,
Bon camarade with all the world!

EVÉLÈNE N. BUTLER.

THE EVENTS OF MAY.

AT HOME.

1—May-Day Celebration in Hyde Park and Shoreditch Town Hall.

House of Commons: Plural Voting Bill read a second time; Unionist Housing of the Working Classes Bill withdrawn because Government refused to finance it.

2—Sir William Lever's offer of Stafford House to the nation accepted.

40,000 miners on strike against non-unionists in South Wales.

Boilermakers' vote announced to be in favour of a strike for 2½ per cent. advance.

3—Arrival of Berlin Trades Council Executive on visit to London Trades Council.

4—Disturbance at Free Speech demonstration in Trafalgar Square.

5—Price of "The Times" reduced to 2d.

6—Mr. Dickinson's Woman Suffrage Bill rejected by Commons—266 votes to 219.

Lord Roberts on "National Service" at St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow.

8—House of Commons adjourned for the Whitsun holidays.

London Trades Council demanded recall of new American Ambassador.

9—Another mansion (near Barrow-in-Furness) destroyed by Suffragettes.

10—Second Annual Conference of British Socialist Party at Blackpool.

Mansion destroyed near Dundee by Suffragettes.

British Esperanto Congress at Eastbourne.

16—Bye-election at Newmarket (result declared next day): Pender (Unionist), 5,251; Nicholls (Liberal), 4,400; Tory gain.

18—Threatened strike on Great Northern Railway (over engine-driver Chappell) settled.

21—Commander Evans lectured at Albert Hall on Scott Antarctic expedition.

Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies issued instructions to trade unions re political funds.

22—Death of Lord Ashbourne, ex-Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

23—Celebration of Sir Isaac Pitman Centenary.

25—Scenes of great disorder at Suffragist demonstration in Victoria Park.

26—Mrs. Pankhurst re-arrested.

Strike of Carters at Bradford.

27—House of Commons re-assembled.

Polling at Altrincham (result declared next day): Hamilton

(Unionist), 9,409; Kay-Shuttleworth (Liberal), 8,147; increased Tory majority.
Trial of Mr. Cecil Chesterton begun on charge of criminal libel.
28—Death of Lord Avebury (Sir John Lubbock).
Police attack strikers at Bradford.
30—Government of Scotland Bill read a second time in Commons.
Spread of strikes in the Midlands.
Mrs. Pankhurst again released.

ABROAD.

1—Labour Day demonstrations in all countries.
2—Finnish Diet dissolved.
3—Yuan Shih-kai issues a warning manifesto to the revolutionaries of Southern China.
5—King Nicholas resigns his claims to Scutari.
6—Second Chamber of Dutch States-General endorsed Bill to fortify Flushing.
Sir Cecil Spring Rice (new Ambassador to U.S.A., in place of Mr. Bryce) presented his credentials to President Wilson.
8—Bulgaria accepted Russia's offer of mediation in new Serbo-Bulgarian dispute.
9—Japanese Ambassador interviewed American Secretary of State on Californian-Japanese dispute.
Death of Hector Denis, Socialist deputy for Liege.
12—Hundred Years' Peace Conference received by President Wilson at Washington.
14—Foreign naval detachments entered Scutari.
15—Canadian Navy Bill passed third reading.
16—Elections for Prussian Diet: Socialist successes.
Serious fighting between Italians and Arabs at Darna (Tripoli).
19—Kaiser pardoned British officers imprisoned for espionage.
Mutinous incidents in French garrison towns against Three Years' Service Bill.
Danish elections: Socialist gains.
23—Celebration of jubilee of united German Social-Democratic Party.
24—Wedding of Kaiser's daughter and Prince Ernest Augustus of Cumberland.
25—Great Socialist demonstration at Pré Saint Gervais against Three Years' Service Bill.
Harmless bombardment of Greek fleet by Bulgarian batteries.
26—Raids on trade union centres in Paris.
29—Alsace-Lorraine Diet expressed disapproval of Government's repressive measures.
Strikes at Lisbon.
30—Treaty of Peace signed by Balkan Powers at St. James's.
31—Australian General Elections.

THE GENERAL STRIKE IN BELGIUM.

It has happened!

It began at the appointed hour, at the day decided upon at the beginning of February, and at the time that was foreseen early last June. For six long months, though burning with ardour, the working classes had controlled themselves. No provocation disturbed them, neither did they listen to impatient counsellors. In the whole of Belgium not one false start was attempted.

It took the course decided upon by resolution. The workers wished it to be imposing, and, for that purpose, they raised a contingent more numerous than the Regular Army. They wished it to be peaceful, and it has been heroically peaceful; not an incident, not a fight, and even less police summonses than in ordinary times. The police were reduced to involuntary unemployment. The only disturbances during the strike occurred amongst the troops sent against us.

It ceased at the appointed hour according to the vote of the Congress. The return to work was as unanimous as the cessation. These four hundred thousand men—far from having weakened their powers of resistance, and animated by a great desire to continue the fight, and desirous of giving of their best—listened without exception to the wise counsel given them by their leaders. Those who had every reason in the world to claim some amelioration of their working conditions had the good feeling to resume work with the others, in order to show the solidarity of the working class in a convincing manner, and then left their work some days later in order to settle their differences with their particular employers. We cannot help being struck with admiration by such a spectacle and by such a spirited movement. A class capable of such noble effort to secure its rights, having such a mastery of itself, proves its consciousness and its maturity as it proves its power. It can legitimately aspire to the highest destiny.

We are too near yet to this great event to pretend to judge it. The urgent need is now to gather the material, so as to enable us to estimate it precisely, and minutely to determine the results. Later, when the facts have been submitted to the test of critical examination, when the fever of the conflict and the exultation of victory have died down, when we are able to view the matter more coldly,

it will be time to deduce a lesson from this gigantic strike. Let us now content ourselves with some general reflections.

No one doubts now that we have issued victoriously from the struggle. The speeches at the Congress of Anseele, Vandervelde, Destrée, have done justice to the peculiar pessimism of some.

The great victory is to have gone out on strike with such force and discipline; to have put to the test the new arm which is destined to render such great service to the working classes in their struggle for Universal Suffrage and in many other combats; to have learned its management, to have shown its powerfulness; and to have caused us to recognise its efficacy. It is to have greatly increased the confidence of the working classes in their own efforts, and in the same proportion to have increased the respect of the employing class for the power of the workers. Now that it has been established indisputably that proletarian Jack is formidable, the most conservative members of Parliament will no doubt have the good sense to make the necessary concessions to public opinion; for each one knows that in politics the fear of the people is the beginning of wisdom.

It is also a victory—and to belittle its importance is a mistake—to have made the Chamber, in granting an obvious concession to the Socialists, recognise the reality of the pressure which the stoppage of work exercised on the public authorities. It is quite in vain that some comrades set themselves to the difficult task of attempting to establish that the declaration on which the deputies took action on April 22 is similar to that which the Minister of War formulated on March 12. It does too much honour to a Parliamentary paper rather badly drawn up, and it is amusing to attest that it is precisely those who are habitually contemptuous of all that which is done in Parliament who now give the resolution of M. Masson the honour of critical examination. What matter the words? The fact is the thing. For the first time the Government has made a pronouncement with respect to Suffrage legislation; it has accepted that there should be an official body—its form is of secondary importance—which should occupy itself with the amendment of Article 47, and thus, after so great a resistance, it has taken the first step in the revision of the Suffrage. What more could one hope for? It is said that the "Right" cannot keep the promise it has made. What of that? Would it not have been the same in any circumstance? Let us suppose that after some weeks' duration of the strike the majority had formally discussed amendments. Would it not quite as likely have ended in nothing? Let us take it farther. Supposing it declared by vote that it was about to revise the Constitution and called for a General Election. The new members elected under the plural system would in all probability be Clerical in majority. Could not they refuse to amend the Constitution and maintain Article 47 as at present? To escape this situation it would be necessary to keep the workers outside the factories during all the elections, and all the delibera-

tions of the new Chamber, during months or even years. Is there a man stupid enough to dream of such a thing?

The truth is the Belgian Suffrage movement will take a long time to settle. And it is this fact which makes the workmen's movement so grand, and shows the conscious power which, on occasion, it knows how to put in evidence. The revision will take at least two years before any results will be seen. The business is to put in motion the machinery for the purpose, or rather to put it again in motion. It was in motion before June 2, and we could foresee that it would produce a new Article 47. The Liberal defeat caused it to stop. The Clericals, intoxicated by their victory, proclaimed noisily that the machinery would be put out of use for a long period; they even talked of putting it on the scrap-heap. But the workers have intervened, coldly and methodically. They have declared that if the machine for electoral justice was unemployed the factory machinery should be unemployed also. With the preparation for the strike, and with the strike itself, they have kept their word. We see the machinery again in movement. What does it matter, I again ask the hair-splitters, whether a Central Commission, a Special Commission, a Parliamentary or extra-Parliamentary Commission, is given the job to set it going? What is necessary is to see that the machinery never stops again nor goes too slowly, that the official workers do not "ca canny." The Government can decide that the work goes slowly. Certainly! but so can the Chamber or the electors. The word of the Ministry is no security? Agreed; but in no case could it be. But we have another and stronger guarantee: the possibility that the workers will again intervene, the certainty henceforth that the Government will take account of the wishes of those who know how to support claims in so efficient a manner.

Certainly, if the workers remain satisfied with the results obtained, and fall asleep in false security, the Commission will soon know how to wander off into a study of the "organisation" of Universal Suffrage as described by M. Woeste. In place of the simple justice we ask for, they would stultify political equality in the complicated formulas of M. Prins, that learned Liberal who has written on the "spirit of democratic government" such a large book of so little account! But the workers will not go to sleep, and the four Socialists on the Commission will have a kind of moral majority, for at the side of them will sit the 400,000 strikers of yesterday, who will become, if necessary, the 400,000 strikers of to-morrow!

A lot has been said respecting the formation of Circles to discuss Revision. Some rejoice that such a Circle should be found in the offices of the Commission. Is not that a happy result of the strike? The nomination of 21 sociologists and politicians, to my mind, can only have one result: the beginning of the procedure for revision. As for the discussion circles, I regard it as a most grave danger that the discussion should be confined to this distinguished com-

pany, necessarily somewhat biased. The discussion circles must be those where the workers discuss their own affairs: the Sunday meetings, the workshops where the men exchange political views while breaking a crust at mealtimes. And if the gentlemen of the Commission wish to do useful work they must listen to the workers instead of attempting to stupefy them with learned cackle. I wish them to understand that this is so for the good of revision and of public peace. If necessary, the workmen can be relied upon to speak loud enough for the deafest of the Suffrage Academicians to hear their demands.

—LOUIS DE BROUCKÈRE
in "The Class Struggle" (Belgium).

THE REVIEWS.

THE TRADE IN ARMAMENTS.

Mr. J. Fischer Williams writes the following under the above heading in this month's "Contemporary Review":—

The trade in modern naval armaments is a peculiar trade. War, and the fear of war, which are other trades' poison, are its meat. It has in its nature something governmental: its customers are Governments, and Governments are sometimes its partners. (The Hungarian Government, for instance, is just going into partnership with the Krupp firm in a new gun manufactory.) Its sales are matters of international importance. It never works except to order, but sometimes a customer is not so solvent or so warlike at the time for delivery as at the time of the order, and the firm may find itself with its goods upon its hands. In such a case a limited company with two or three Dreadnoughts to sell may play, for dividends, a great part in diplomacy. In our modern wars a managing director may be a Warwick, a veritable king-maker—Athens and Constantinople may compete for the smile of a "Board" (or on sad occasions of a "Receiver").

. . . . . .

Mr. Angell's arguments cannot help us; the trade in armaments is the one trade to which he must appeal in vain. Civilised nations may be incapable, in modern conditions, of gaining material advantage for themselves by war with their fellows; but armament firms and companies live and prosper by war and the fear of war. For them the diversion of national wealth to the appliances for destruction is pure gain. For them peace and the spread of the pacific spirit is the danger. . . . .

On April 18 last Dr. Liebknecht, the Socialist deputy in the German Reichstag for Potsdam and Spandau, made a speech on this subject which has had a European echo. He made certain specific charges, and he barbed them with a constantly recurring taunt of the "unnational character," the Vaterlandslosigkeit, of capital. The taunt, perhaps, seems at first sight to be a mere report ad homines to those who denounce Socialism as unpatriotic. But it embodies an obvious truth in the modern world of business. Capital, as a whole, tends more and more to be international.

Foreign investments grow apace. International syndicates exploit backward countries. All this is normal development. But to simple souls the capital employed in armaments might have seemed to demand to be excepted from this process of internationalisation. Can a patriot make a profit out of arming his enemies? Alas! there is no such exception. A German or French or British capitalist in the armament trade will borrow money in the cheapest market—even that of an hereditary enemy; and sell a Dreadnought in the dearest—even that of to-morrow's invader. Our own British armament firms have their own subsidiary establishments abroad, and the Italian fleet, now reckoned by our anti-Germans as a possible enemy, is in large part the product of British capital and engineering skill.

Dr. Liebknecht gave instances of the abuses to which the system of private profit-making in armaments gives rise. He alleged that the Dillingen Works (the proprietors of which are connected with the ultra-jingo journal, "Die Post") were owned largely by French capitalists, so much so that at the general meetings of the company the French language was to the fore. He accused the patriotic armament company known as the Deutsche Munitions und Waffen Fabrik of causing, or attempting to cause, a false report to be inserted in a French newspaper (the "Figaro" was the intended channel) to the effect that the French Government had decided to expedite and double their orders for machine guns; and actually read out to the Reichstag a letter which he alleged to have been sent by the company to an agent in Paris containing instructions for the insertion of the necessary paragraph. He charged the firm of Krupp with bribing officials to betray military secrets which it might be to the advantage of the firm to know, and he passed on to the jingo articles in the "Post," the organ of the armament interests, articles which made a violent attack on the Kaiser for his peace-loving tendencies. His speech concluded with a ringing challenge to the whole system: "It is not only on grounds of financial decency and honesty that we press for a fundamenlal alteration of the system. The nationalisation of the whole industry of armaments must be carried into effect, and that speedily, cost what it may; because this is the only way to extirpate a class of interests whose existence constitutes a standing danger of war for the whole world, and to destroy one root of the infatuation for armaments, one root of the discord of the peoples. . . . ."

General von Heeringen, the Minister for War, replied to Dr. Liebknecht's demand for the nationalisation of the armaments industry. He made no attempt to meet the general case for the elimination of the motive for private profit from the tendencies that make for war, but put his argument on the lower grounds of administrative convenience and the interests of the workmen employed in the private workshops. "We cannot," he said, "lay down in peace as much stores of materials as we should want in case of

war. Mobilisation would mean an immense demand which the State factories could not supply. We have to call in private factories. Therefore, the military administration is interested in having a competent trade in private hands behind it. In peace we cannot give their factories orders enough to make them equal to the emergency demand on mobilisation. Hence our private factories have to look abroad for orders. Who gets the advantage? Without doubt, that class whose representatives the Social-Democrats claim to be—the working men; for if the orders from abroad fell off, then factories that give them wages and bread could not exist at all."

In other words: (1) we cannot so organise our military workshops as to bear the strain of war—a wonderful admission of incompetence, if true; and (2) the private trade in armaments benefits the working man—an argument interesting chiefly as showing the prevalence in German governing circles of the old delusion that any abuse or luxury can be justified if thereby you "give employment." It is plain that, so far as the German Army is concerned, the maintenance of the private trade is not demanded by any national necessity.

The reasons usually given for our own refusal to nationalise our armaments industry are not unlike those of General von Heeringen, but others are sometimes added.

THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY.

Writing in this month's "Nineteenth Century and After," Mr. J. A. R. Marriott says:—

Is it true that, as a matter of historical fact, the wealth of the wealthy is the root-cause of the poverty of the poor?

The existing "capitalistic" system, against which so many hard things are said, is not much more than one hundred years old, and it is during that same period that "modern" England, with its peculiar problems—social and economic—has come into being. Who has not been captivated by the idyllic pictures of the pre-capitalist era which Socialist writers are wont to draw—the picture of the stout English yeoman, hopelessly conservative in his agricultural methods, possessing neither enterprise, nor capital, nor scientific knowledge, but giving to the smiling countryside an aspect of contentment, if not of opulence; of manufacturing industry carried on mainly on the self-sufficing system—for use rather than for profit and exchange: master, journeyman and apprentice working happily, side by side, at the loom or in the forge, united by bonds of genuine human affection, living the same life, absorbed in the same interests? The picture is in many respects undeniably attrac-

tive. But to those who paint it, and to those who gaze rapturously upon it, I venture to suggest one or two considerations. That there is another side to all idyllic pictures goes without saying; but it is more to the point to recall the fact that pictures just as idyllic and just as regretful were painted of the fifteenth century by the reformers who witnessed the social dislocation and economic distress incidental to the agrarian revolution of the sixteenth. A study of the writings of Sir Thomas More, Bishop Latimer, and John Hales (if he be indeed the author of the "Discourse of the Commonweal of England") may be commended to the pessimists of to-day, and to all in any age who are disposed to idealise the immediate past in contrast to the confusion of the present. Periods of rapid economic transition, such as the sixteenth century and the nineteenth, are always apt to seem uncomfortable to contemporaries.

There is another point too frequently ignored. The England of the idyllic eighteenth century carried a population less numerous than that of the Greater London of to-day. If England had been content to take rank with Denmark or Sweden or Holland, she might undoubtedly have avoided many of the problems by which she is now perplexed. The prestige of the world-empire is not a thing to be bought without price. The "capitalistic" era has synchronised not only with the marvellous development of commerce and the accumulation of wealth, but also with the expansion of Great Britain into Greater Britain. Can the economic system on which it rests be justly charged with responsibility for the poverty of the poor?

. . . . . .

The researches of scientific statisticians, like Sir Robert Giffen and Professor A. L. Bowley, have established beyond cavil or dispute the fact that during the "capitalistic" era the lot of the wage-earning classes has enormously improved, whether regard be paid to money-wages, or, what is infinitely more important, to wages as measured in the price of commodities. Not only has there been a steady rise in money-wages, but until the last few years a virtually continuous fall in prices. Mr. Money . . . . does not dissent from this conclusion. "Between the increase in money-wages and the increase in the purchasing power of money, there can be no question that the actual position of the wage-earner has considerably improved in the last forty years."

It is, however, superfluous to elaborate a point which is not open to contradiction. But, apart from the ratio between wages and prices, the condition of the poor has been substantially ameliorated by legislative and administrative effort: shorter hours of labour due to a long series of Factory Acts; healthier and safer conditions; compulsory compensation for accidents; insurance against sickness, and, in some cases, against unemployment; a modest provision for old age; gratuitous education for the chil-

dren; the provision of public parks, museums, picture-galleries, public libraries, and so forth. All these things, and many more, have added enormously to the amenities of working-class existence, and most of them have been provided at the expense of the wealthier classes of the community. But not all. The charge falls, as a rule, upon the Imperial Exchequer—in some cases upon local rates. And this suggests a consideration too frequently ignored. Few things can be more certainly relied upon to evoke the enthusiastic plaudits of a certain class of audience than to hold up to execration the holders of urban house property. It is quite true that rent does form an increasing item in the expenditure of the working classes. Rent is frequently an "intolerable burden" also upon the lower middle-class. The difference between the two classes is this: In the case of working men "rent" almost invariably includes "rates," and the rise is due, generally speaking, not to the accentuated greed of the urban landlord, but to the multiplying demands of the municipal rate-collector. The improved hygienic conditions of our towns, and the provision of public utilities and amenites, are naturally reflected in increased rents.

Despite, however, larger expenditure upon rent, or rather upon rates, despite the recent fall in the purchasing power of money, despite the fact that in some occupations labour is still deplorably underpaid, there can be no question that the statisticians are justified in claiming that their optimistic conclusions find an accurate reflex in the actual conditions of life among the working classes as a whole.

These facts are undeniable. If, then, it is true that during the last hundred years the poor have become richer, have the "rich," during the same period, become poorer?

A REMARKABLE PEOPLE AT PANAMA.

Mr. W. B. Lord contributes an interesting article under the above heading to "Chambers's Journal" for May:—

The San Blas Indians are a remarkable people. Living so close as they do to the works of Panama Canal, not one is to be found among the motley thousands labouring on the "big ditch." This is all the more noticeable when it is borne in mind that native labour is paid at a much higher rate than has ever been known in the annals of labour in the West Indies or Central America. These people occupy a narrow strip of territory along the shores of the Caribbean Sea, extending from Mandiga Bay to the Gulf of Uraba, and from the coast to the headwaters of the streams that flow into the Atlantic. Nominally they are subject to the Republic of Panama; but, like Indians in the tribal condition in

the United States of America, they pay no taxes, and have their own form of government. They know that the white man would come into their country only to exploit them, and they therefore keep him out. It is not probable that they could or would offer much resistance to an armed force of a thousand men, but they are able to scare away prospectors and the like; and thus, by preventing white men from making claims on their land, they avoid any excuse for trouble. From early days they have been able to keep their women free from contamination by contact with white men, and to-day they will not permit a white man to sleep in their country if they can readily get him out of it by sunset. Yet these are not hostile Indians. They trade with the whites (practically all the cocoanuts of Panama are from their groves), and sail their canoes down to Colon, where they sell and buy.

Loading down their frail, tiny, picturesque craft almost to the water's edge with native produce, they hoist their huge sail to the flowing breeze and glide gracefully out into the open sea. They sail for a distance of a hundred miles or so along the coast of Panama, every now and again, on these hazardous voyages, breaking away from land into the broad expanse of the Caribbean Sea. With a fair wind they travel at a remarkably rapid speed, and seldom ship much water. The crew generally consists of two men and a boy, or three men. The canvas used in making the sail is spotlessly white, strongly reminding one of the white wings so familiar to British eyes at yachting resorts. To prevent the tiny vessel from capsizing when the wind is unusually strong one of the occupants of the boat stands up on the weather side, holding on to the mere sapling which does duty for a mast. His weight is quite sufficient to keep the canoe in a fairly upright position. She is steered by means of an exceptionally long-bladed paddle with a short handle.

Upon reaching her destination in the harbour of Colon she is quickly surrounded by coloured folk of many nationalities, of all ages and sizes. These are always eager to possess themselves of the commodities offered for sale by the San Blas Indians. No coloured man or woman is happy in Colon unless he or she is engaged all day long chewing sugar cane, and no child of colour is content unless he or she is pounding a cocoanut on the paving-stones preparatory to spending a good time.

The San Blas Indians are keen men of business. They give no change. Whatever coin is handed to them remains in their possession, providing it suffices to cover the price of the article wanted in exchange. Folk who do business with them regularly are aware of this peculiar trait, and take care never to give them a coin exceeding in value the article for which it is tendered. However, the Indians do not accept every coin that is offered to them, thus showing that they have some idea of relative values in the circular discs of metal, principally silver, offered by people wishing to trade with them. Only unsuspecting foreigners,

mostly British and American tourists, fall into the trap thus laid for the unwary, often paying a dollar for goods ordinarily sold for twenty cents or even less.

The Indians in the territory referred to number 7,255, according to the census recently taken. In their tribal state they live in towns of well-built bamboo and thatched houses, raise vegetables and fruits, make articles of wicker ware, and weave a cloth of coarse grass. These were the first Indians that the Europeans met in Panama. Balboa got along very well with these people when the country was first discovered; but his brutal followers completely alienated their support, and this state of affairs continued down to the present time. They object to negroes quite as much as white folk.

The San Blas Indians are short in stature, well built, and keenly alert to anything that affects their interests. Needless to say, their womenfolk never accompany them on trading voyages to Colon or elsewhere. Those who have beheld the well-guarded ladies in their retirement declare that they scarcely appear to warrant the care that is taken of them, for they are far from possessing charms of the captivating order. About a year ago the President of the Republic of Panama, Dr. Pablo Arosenena, sought fit to pay these curious people a visit in his official capacity; but they refused to allow him, or any of those with him, to land. So his Excellency and suite had to "beat it," as the Americans say. The Indians allow their boys to leave home and live among the white men in their towns and villages until they are sixteen years of age, when they are compelled to rejoin the tribe. At various periods missionaries have attempted to evangelise in the San Blas territory, but few Indians would listen to them. Apparently they object to save their souls at the cost of their lands.

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THE
BRITISH SOCIALIST.

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MRS. H. M. HYNDMAN.

Death has recently dealt heavy blows to the Socialist movement in many countries. Socialists in this country now mourn the loss of Mrs. H. M. Hyndman, who went to rest on Friday, June 27.

Her influence for good in the Social-Democratic movement in this country cannot be measured by her direct personal work. That has been very considerable—much more than most of us realise. But her devotion to her husband during the long years that he has given whole-heartedly to the Socialist movement cannot be measured. Throughout the whole of the time when difficulties were always present—sometimes of a most pressing kind—she has uncomplainingly borne more than her share of them.

It is well for us who are of the working class sometimes to imagine what this means. The middle-

class man who occasionally comes among us and leaves us at the first reasonable excuse is sometimes taken as typical of Socialists outside the working class. Hyndman, on the contrary, has given of the best of his life more completely to Social-Democracy than any other man of his order that we know of in this country. Can we realise what the sacrifice has been to him? Can we gauge what it must have meant to his life-companion and comrade when, in addition to their own personal difficulties, the future of Social-Democracy has looked dark and drear?

Our heartfelt sympathy goes out to our friend and comrade, H. M. Hyndman. May the love and respect of his comrades help in some small degree to comfort him in the sad loss which he is called upon to suffer.

SCIENCE AND SENTIMENT: ACTIONS AND MOTIVES.

By H. W. Lee.

There is one thing above all others that distinguishes the modern Social-Democratic movement from all the more or less socialistic or democratic movements of former times. It is that for the first time in human history the demands made by the Socialists for the freedom of the mass of the people from the yoke of capitalist profit-mongering are based upon a sure and sound economic foundation. They are made with a full knowledge of the causes that have placed them not only within the range of possibility, but have rendered their adoption in some shape or form essential if mankind is to dominate the enormous powers of wealth-production instead of being dominated by them. Many of the measures we press forward have no doubt been advocated years ago. Much that we say to-day has been urged with equal force and vigour before. That we do not dispute for a moment. The evils endured by the disinherited classes—whether chattel-slaves, serfs or wage-slaves—have moved the noblest men and women of the time to do all in their power to relieve the sufferings of their fellow-creatures. But whatever they may have done, whatever sacrifices they may have made, have been due to sentiment, to the desire to help those who could not help themselves. The demands which they made, the measures which they advocated, were not based upon any scientific foundation, for the very good reason that the historical and economic knowledge

which we happily possess to-day was not within the reach of the reformers and revolutionists of older times.

The modern Socialist movement rests upon a scientific, historical and economic foundation. Yet there have been many sympathisers with Socialist principles who, having been led to take a keen interest in our movement from sentiment—as all *active* Socialists must do—have never gone beyond the sentimental stage. Such are they who have assumed that a Socialist is one trying to secure "better conditions" for the working classes. That is true, but it is not the whole truth. If such definition is once admitted, it can be contended directly that therefore anyone who seeks to bring about "better conditions" for the workers is a Socialist. This attitude leads to an acceptance of the famous declaration by Sir William Harcourt, "We are all Socialists now," and to sharp criticism of those more firmly-grounded Socialists who, in trying to make the Socialist position clear, have to fall foul of some of the mere sentimental fallacies that sometimes pass muster as Socialist principles.

A recrudescence of this sentimental idea has been observable during the last two or three years. It is true it has taken a more "revolutionary" form, but is that not the more mischievous? Socialists are revolutionary. They must necessarily be so, as they are working for a complete revolution in the method of distributing wealth. The substitution of production for use for production for profit will be unquestionably one of the most revolutionary changes that has ever taken place in human history. But it does not follow that all those who are "revolutionary" are necessarily Socialists. It is therefore most lamentable that even a few good, earnest Socialists should latterly have been led away by mere "revolutionary" sentiment until they act as if they thought the means were everything, and the end nothing.

This sentimental idea, devoid of all scientific and economic basis, tends to a further mischievous mis-

conception. Those who are led in this direction end in laying more stress upon the motive which prompts a person to act than upon the result of the act itself. This attitude is particularly observable in the supporters of the Suffragette agitation. That many—possibly the large majority—of the members of the Women's Social and Political Union have acted as they have acted from the purest of motives may be at once admitted; but has not the result of their actions been to put back both Woman Suffrage and Adult Suffrage in this country? I am using the Suffragette agitation to show the utter confusion that is bound to arise from regarding actions solely from the standpoint of motive and not from that of the results produced. It is an illustration of how a cause may be set back with the best possible of intentions. Though we can and should deal differently with individuals according to the motives which animate their actions, yet in considering how far those actions may help or retard our cause, we have to put motives altogether on one side, and to judge entirely from the results produced.

This sentimental outlook on the Socialist movement, and any democratic changes in which Socialists are interested because of the greater opportunities they may afford them, is largely due to the mistake of *a priori* reasoning. Those who take this view usually start with a preconceived theory or notion and endeavour to make the facts fit in with it instead of recognising as clearly as possible what are the facts, and from them deducing their theories. All theories thus deduced may not be correct in every case, but if the facts are clearly recognised, the chances are that the theories obtained from them will be in the main reliable. By the *a priori* method, on the other hand, are we not almost certain to go wrong? "Revolutionary" doctrines when advocated from the standpoint of "natural rights," "eternal truths," "absolute justice," and a variety of other nice little metaphysical phrases of like nature generally lead to Anarchism in some shape or form. To base any movement, especially the

Socialist movement, on mere abstract phrases is the height—or depth—of absurdity. Truth, justice, liberty, right—all these are abstract terms, and can only be reduced to concrete forms when embodied in and compared with something of a definite character. What may appear true, just, free and right under one set of circumstances may be altogether false, unjust, tyrannical and wrong under a totally different set of circumstances. To achieve anything like success for our movement, to secure for it that voluntary discipline and organisation which is essential for its progress, we must see to it that our ideas are based upon the historical development that has led up to the present capitalist system of society; we must take account of the facts around us, and by observing the direction of capitalist development, and all that arises from it, we can be ready to take advantage of every opportunity that offers and turn it to the advantage of our common cause.

Realising that, unless we know how the capitalist system of society has come about, we cannot tell whither it is tending, and we shall therefore be like unto the utopians of the early Socialistic movements, nevertheless, it would be sheer folly for us to ignore the important part which sentiment plays and must play in the Socialist movement. We know full well the value of true sentiment to our cause. It makes us feel the hardships that others undergo, though at the moment we may not be suffering from them; it stirs us to hatred of that which is unjust and wrong—and unless we hate the wrong we cannot love the right; it bids us hope and struggle on when all around looks dark and discouraging; and in the certainty of the happiness that our Socialist cause will bring to countless generations that are to follow us, it nerves and quickens us to meet all difficulties unflinchingly. Without true sentiment, without the feeling that to work on for the benefit of our fellows is the surest road to our own happiness and satisfaction, and is the highest and noblest aim to which men and women can consecrate

their lives, we must inevitably sink back into mere professorial Socialists discussing economic problems as a botanist does some curious plant, or a geologist some rare mineral. But we know, also, that we can appeal to the reason as well as to the emotions of those whom we address. Science and sentiment are both essential. They must work hand in hand: the one pointing out to us the right road, the other giving us hope and resolution to proceed along it to our goal.

SOCIALISM AGAINST MILITARISM.

By A. A. Watts.

The question of Militarism shows perhaps more than any other question the fundamental difference between the Labour Party in the British Parliament and the Socialist Parties in the Parliaments of other countries. On every possible occasion our comrades in the Continental Chambers offer vigorous opposition to Militarism in all its forms. Recently our German comrades—Karl Liebknecht in particular—have most effectively exposed the corruption inseparable from the capitalist supply of war material, and the hollowness of so-called "patriotism," which does not debar the "patriots" from selling armaments to their country's enemy. For some weeks past the French Socialist deputies, together with Socialists in all parts of the country, have been opposing by every means in their power the extension of the militarist system known as the "Three Years."

Here, on the contrary, scarcely a ripple disturbs the unanimity with which both capitalist political parties cheerfully vote huge sums for our ever-increasing armaments, the only difference between them being who shall support the bigger amount to be expended. But, so far as the Labour Party is concerned, Militarism is not contested; it is not made a battle-ground on which to show how opposed it is to all the best interests of the workers. Indeed, some of the members, who happen to sit for constituencies where armaments are manufactured, and where the employment of the workers is bound up with the continuance of their manufacture, openly resent and oppose any effort at

reduction. How different to our comrades abroad! But, then, one must be careful of one's seat—in England!

This makes it all the more necessary for Social-Democrats outside Parliament to on every possible occasion give voice to our opposition to Militarism. (For the purposes of this article I am taking Militarism to include Navalism, seeing that our chief arm is the navy.) An enormous amount of work lies before us under this head, for the army, and particularly the navy, is popular with the masses of the people. This popularity is, of course, assiduously fed by the ruling class, who display the soldiers, with all the glamour of uniforms and military trappings, to the admiration of a patriotic (and unthinking) populace.

This article is not meant to be controversial; it is not written with that view nor in that spirit. Notwithstanding our differences of policy, all Socialists are opposed to war, and to a mercenary army and navy Our opposition is founded on many reasons, some of which will be here set out, together with the Socialist proposals in lieu of armies. We are pretty certain that armies and Militarism will not be abolished until capitalism itself is abolished, or near abolition; yet it is "up to us," as our American friends say, in advocating the abolition of armies and Militarism, to meet the criticism of those who want to know what would be done if our campaign were successful.

We are absolutely opposed to war. War is simply legalised murder, arson, pillage and crime on a wholesale scale. People are killed, injured and maimed for life; homes are given to the flames and crops destroyed; women ravished and children done to death. Famine stalks through the land, and famine prices rule; disease accompanies famine. Suffering is inflicted on the mass of the people, who have to bear the hardships of war but share in none of the benefits—if there are any. Wives are bereft of their husbands, children of their fathers, mothers of their sons. What is almost as bad as losing a husband or son is the return of the defender

of "his" country minus a leg, arm, hand, or eye, which deprives him of ever again earning his living or keeping those dependent upon him. The ruling class, on whose behalf the war is undertaken, have never yet shown a keen desire to adequately provide for those disabled.

The loss of liberty each one suffers in time of war is not a small thing. There is the human shambles called a battlefield, and the brutalising of men due to their most evil passions being encouraged and fanned into flame.

All these hideous accompaniments of war are glossed over and hidden under the glamour and blaze of what is called "glory." The private soldiers, or the mass of the workers, do not get any of this glory. They can do the fighting and the suffering, bear the losses and the pain, but the honours and rewards all go to the few at the top. Tommy gets a shilling a day and a bit of ribbon to pin on his breast; big grants of thousands of pounds, titles, promotions, higher salaries, etc., go to his "superiors." His class, the working class, suffer and starve; the non-workers, the "upper" class, swindle the nation and make huge profits by contracts, by increased dividends, by manufacture of war material, by corruption; and when it is all over may have greater fields for investments, for trade, and for the exploitation of labour. The workers are never better off as the result of war, although they suffer most.

Moreover, the peoples have no quarrels with each other to lead them to commit these atrocities. Whatever differences they have, or may have, can readily be settled by arbitration; but the war fetish is made to look attractive and held up for adoration; it is used to delude the people, to blind them and to prevent them trying to come by their own; for while they are shouting about conquering another country they forget all about winning back their own. While our astute rulers can keep the worker's mind fixed on the (supposed) enemy abroad he will not think about the enemy at home. It is like the case where the sharp shouted

to the people to look up at the balloon in the clouds and keep their gaze fixed on it—the while he picked their pockets.

The presence of an army, kept and maintained especially as such, is always an incentive to war. Certain interests benefit by war, and consequently are continually intriguing for quarrels, fanning the war flame, encouraging the fighting spirit. For the army itself in times of peace the days pass heavily, promotion is slow; sham fights and military manœuvres have to be organised so that they may be doing something. The whole army welcomes international trouble, and the outbreak of war and fighting and killing becomes a welcome relief. What a shocking condition of things!

Militarism creates and fosters a caste system which is opposed to all the ethics of the brotherhood and equality of man. An officer has power over the men below him in rank such as no man should have over any other. The military caste is exclusive; the military law is tyrannical and opposed to the faintest shadow of democracy.

A paid army is a monument of waste. When it is not at war its whole cost is pure waste. When it is at war, its cost, increased a hundredfold, is waste in its most terrible aspect. All the time it withdraws large numbers of men from useful labour during the best and most vigorous years of their lives. It dooms men congregated together in large numbers to years of unmarried life, with shocking results to many girls and women.

The Army versus the People.

We have now to consider Militarism and the army from a different aspect, an aspect that has come into sharper prominence in the last two or three years, the period in which the workers have made various efforts to improve their economic conditions. Usually soldiers are immediately drafted into the district. It is significant that *the paid army is always used against the workers*

The soldiers, although belonging to the same class as the men on strike, the working class, are ordered to bayonet or shoot down the workers. And they do it, at the command of their officers, who are of the same class as the employers against whom their fellow-workers are striking. In other words, the soldiers (workers) are used by the employing and officer class to shoot down their fellow-workers, who are seeking to better their conditions. Brother might shoot brother, or son shoot father, but the employers of labour and the officers are callous of that.

It is, of course, not a new thing to find the army used against the people. Without going to remote times, the instance of Peterloo and many labour disputes since then prove our assertion that it is always thrown on the side of the employers and the ruling class. We cannot be surprised at this when we remember that the control of the army is in the hands of this same class. The soldier has even less voice in the control of the army than the worker has in the industrial field.

Small wonder is it that applications to enlist do not come up to the requirements. At least, we judge that it is so, or we should not have a crusade for Conscription such as we see now going on. We ought to say *suitable* applications, for a very large number of the young men who apply to be soldiers are rejected owing to physical imperfections, due mainly to semi-starvation during their youth and the malnutrition and bad home conditions of their parents. The voluntary system seems doomed, and consequently we now see strenuous efforts being made to inaugurate Conscription. Lord Roberts has been especially active in this agitation, and some remarkable scenes have occurred when he has visited certain towns. Of course, all the ruling caste laid themselves out to boom his Lordship and his mission, and thousands of people, their minds completely chloroformed by the patriotic, military fetish, cheered and welcomed the man who is seeking to enslave them still further.

We are opposed absolutely to Conscription because it has all the evils which we have been exposing with this added one, that it makes compulsory on the workers what is now simply voluntary. Moreover, as we understand Conscription, it exempts certain amongst the idle class while coming down with an iron hand on the workers. Seeing that it makes permanent what we wish to abolish, namely, Militarism, we express ourselves as Socialists as totally opposed to Conscription.

Our Proposal—The Citizen Army.

But, as previously stated, we have not abolished capitalism; neither is the Social Revolution yet here. Rulers, financiers and all the crowd that run the show will still intrigue, and, when it pays them, declare war on each other. This being the case, we are called upon to formulate a substitute for the army we wish to abolish; we are expected to have a plan to meet the case if our desire were to be fulfilled.

We have that substitute: The establishment of a national citizen force. In other words, the armed nation: Every citizen armed and trained to the use of arms; not compulsory military service, but a compulsory and universal military training *free from military law*. The universal training here suggested is training pure and simple, training which involves no compulsion to serve except in cases of invasion; and training under the ordinary conditions of civil life and under the protection of the civil law.

"The compulsory military training which we advocate . . . . means that every citizen shall be trained to act as a soldier when necessary for the national defence, but that no one shall become merely a soldier or cease to be a citizen. It means that the flower of the nation shall not be withdrawn from civil life and made to waste some of the best years of its existence in the useless routine and pernicious atmosphere of a barracks. It means that no more of a man's lifetime shall be taken up by military duties than is absolutely necessary for the national defence, as it is only for that

purpose that military service should be required. Thus by training every man to the use of arms from his youth up, we should have—without the waste, the expense, the vice and demoralisation of the barracks—the armed nation, the real 'army of the democracy.'

"It is not necessary that men should be divorced from civil life in order to make them capable of bearing arms and using them effectively against an enemy. In Switzerland, where we have the nearest approach to an armed democracy that is to be found, the recruits in the army service corps serve for 38 days in their first year, those in the ordnance corps 42 days, those in the infantry 45 days, those in the hospital corps 46 days, those in the engineers 50 days, those in the artillery 55 days, and those in the cavalry 80 days. In the aggregate, the terms of service, or training, amount for the infantryman, from his 20th to his 32nd year, to 119 days; a sergeant does 222 days, a lieutenant 440 days, an artillery captain serves till his 38th year and does 530 days altogether. This time is devoted to the actual work of military training and is not wasted in useless drill or idle showy parades which only serve to give a false importance and splendour to Militarism, and to stimulate a spirit of jingoism and vainglory, but do nothing to actually equip men for the stern work of war, whose grim realities they but serve to disguise." *

That is our case, and that is our proposal. It would be impossible to use such a citizen army against the people; it would destroy at their roots all the evils inherent in Militarism we have been describing above; and the training would preserve to us the physical improvement of the young men which is perhaps the only good thing that can be said for the present system. To conclude, we demand:

1. The Abolition of Standing Armies and the Establishment of a National Citizen Force.

* "Social-Democracy and the Armed Nation." By H. Quelch. (T.C.P.). 1d.

2. The Establishment of Tribunals of Arbitration, to regulate peaceably disputes between nations.

3. The final decision on the question of War or Peace to be vested directly in the People in cases where the Governments refuse to accept the decision of the tribunal of arbitration.

4. We protest against the system of secret treaties.

WHY WE ARE STILL SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS.

By W. G. Veals.

A few years ago it was the fashion of writers and speakers of the J. R. MacDonald type to refer to Social-Democrats, especially those of this country, as "old-fashioned Socialists" who were fast giving place to those of a more tolerant and practical outlook.

Revolutionary Social-Democracy, according to our critics, was played out; the circumstances of the twentieth century demanded a brand of Socialism in which "statesmanship" and a considerable quantity of "political sagacity" would be outstanding features.

To talk of a "class war" in society was futile nonsense; the emancipation of the working class was to be gained without bad feeling or hard blows between the classes by a wise and far-seeing policy of co-operation with the "more advanced sections" of the other political parties, who would most certainly be won to the side of Socialism and general progress when once the "sweet reasonableness" of the newer order of Socialists was made clear unto them.

To-day, we all know where this much-boomed policy has landed us. That peculiar Labour group in Parliament has never shown any real and fighting enthusiasm in working-class interests; in so far as enthusiasm has been shown, it has been on behalf of the Liberal Government. Nobody really respects this child of "political sagacity" now: the Liberals openly flatter and privately hold it in contempt, while the Tories have lost any fear for it they may have once had. Even when this Labour Party was seriously regarded as an independent and militant organisation,

we "old-fashioned Social-Democrats" strongly maintained that a working-class party which rejected the theory and practice of the class struggle in political action, and allowed itself to be drawn into the vortex of Parliamentary humbug and statesmanship, would soon lose all fighting ability and develop middle-class tendencies of an inferior order. Things have worked out as we feared. There is now no essential difference between the present Labour members and the Liberal-Labour members of last century. J. R. MacDonald and his friends, in their eagerness for mere political success, have managed to add to the number of old-fashioned Liberal-Labour members. That is all!

The soundness of Social-Democratic criticism having been fully demonstrated by opportunist opponents, and our policy in the main justified, we are again assailed from quite another quarter with the same cries of "old-fashioned Social-Democrats," "Tory Socialists," etc. The failure of the policy of the Labour Party, which we foretold, and the growth of bureaucratic collectivism under capitalist Liberal auspices, have helped into being in Great Britain the Syndicalist movement; and a few one-time professed Socialists claim to have made the discovery that Social-Democrats favour the tyranny of the State control of the means of life, and that Social-Democracy would be no more than a glorified extension of the powers of the present "Masquerading State."

Says "G. R. S. T.," in the "Daily Herald" recently:—

"It is hard to see why the orthodox State-Collectivists should be bold enough to think they have a stronger case than the Syndicalists . . . . By what right have the Collectivists this supreme confidence in the success of the official to save society? . . . . The State has been masquerading so long as the organ of the public mind. It is just nothing more than the entrenched fortress of the Fat Men. It is the fortress which they have built for their own defence, as the chief instrument of tyranny."

If "G. R. S. T.," before posing as an apostle of a kind of "New Light," had taken the trouble to read the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels, he would have found his *modern* view of the capitalist State expressed very clearly as follows: " . . . . the bourgeoisie has . . . . since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie." It would thus seem that all our friend "G. R. S. T." has to say on the function of the capitalist State has already been much better said by Socialists and Communists. Social-Democrats have always accepted and acted upon this theory of the present State. Our object is certainly not to extend the powers of the latter; and Social-Democracy is something quite unlike the mere State Collectivism we now have with us. No body of persons has denounced the bureaucratic tendencies of modern State Collectivism more than Social-Democrats; and it smacks of dishonesty for our critic to make it appear by obvious inference that our aim is to extend the powers of the existing State.

The State of to-day is based on the material interests of the large owners of private property; and Social-Democracy would abolish these private interests by substituting common interests based on common or social ownership.

The capitalist and landlord class, who are wise enough not to neglect the weapon of political action, are in our day represented in Parliament by overwhelming numbers of lawyers, coal owners, railway directors, cocoa and soap manufacturers, etc. These people, therefore, constitute the State. They use the State in their own interests; and naturally they take most special care to run such collectivist undertakings as the Post Office entirely from the profit-making point of view. Social-Democracy implies the removal of the legal opportunity for private persons to own mines,

railways, factories, etc.; and, under such social circumstances, elected public assemblies would be free from members selected by private individuals to look after private material interests. The State would thus become a community based on mutual interests.

With no private interests to serve, all citizens selected by the popular vote would be entirely free to devote themselves to public interests without fear or favour, and class rule and class law would of necessity become things of a past age.

Let us close up our ranks, and work to hasten the day of universal Social-Democracy.

THE MONTH

The Leicester bye-election may prove the turning-point in the history of the Labour Party. When Mr. Crawshay Williams resigned his seat, it was realised on all hands that a most interesting and difficult situation had arisen for the National Labour Party. The old S.D.F. criticism of the position there had been that Mr. MacDonald was elected by Liberal votes. The Liberals themselves had hinted as much, and in such a way that Mr. MacDonald had, like Mr. Keir Hardie at Merthyr, challenged them to run two candidates, and to try conclusions. As soon as the bye-election hove in sight, the question arose—Would the Labour Party bid for the second seat?

The Labour Party refused the combat. The local men wanted to fight, as they felt confident that with their local champion they could win. But the Party heads at Westminster felt that, while Leicester might be won throughout, there were the other two-membered constituencies in which the Liberals could make reprisals; and, moreover, there were the single-membered constituencies where the Labour men would be second or third in a three-cornered fight.

So the National Labour Party would not fight, and also tried all they knew to prevent the local men from fighting. It was left to the British Socialist Party to attempt to save the honour of the working-class movement. They put forward Edward Hartley seven days before the poll, and Hartley was enthusiastically acclaimed by the local Labourists. For the first three or four days it looked a close fight; and then the National Labour Party came down on the side of the Liberal.

Treachery is the only word for what they did. They sold themselves, they sold their friends, and they even tried to sell the Liberals. For, having permitted the message to be sent through

the Liberals that every vote for Hartley would be a vote for driving MacDonald from Leicester, they proceeded to repudiate it. The depth of the morass of treachery and lying into which they have sunk has yet to be discovered. The incident has given a fearful shock to their followers and to the more honest of their Liberal allies as well.

The debate on the report of the Marconi Committee was an illuminating if sad business. It looks as though it is no longer possible to make a charge of corruption against a Minister in the House of Commons ; and Ministers can shelter themselves against charges of gross impropriety by glibly defending themselves against charges which have not been made. The Committee's report itself constituted a scandal—a pure piece of partisan white-washing ; the Commons debate was unreal, and its conclusions unsatisfying. The fact remains that Lloyd George, Rufus Isaacs, and the Master of Elibank had dabbled in shares of a concern which had dealings with the Government. George glories in it, and the Commons condoned it.

A most significant incident of the month was the Liberal Prime Minister's repudiation of the "Free Breakfast Table." For a quarter of a century Liberals have been declaiming against "Protection" and the wicked Tories' desire to "tax food." They have when in opposition bemoaned the taxes on tea and sugar, and their Federation have advocated the "Free Breakfast Table" ; but when Mr. Snowden gave them an opportunity of removing the taxes on food and placing them on wealth they declined, and Mr. Asquith suddenly discovered that he had never been in favour of the "Free Breakfast Table," and urged that the sweated as well as the sweater should feel the burden of taxation! Another exposure of the fraud of Liberalism.

The spirit of revolt has touched with his magic wand further masses of low-paid wage-slaves. During the month a considerable part of the district around Birmingham has been aflame for higher wages and better conditions, and at the moment of writing the "unrest," so far from dying down, seems to be spreading. The most general demand is for a minimum wage of 23s.—an amount paltry enough in all conscience, but representing a considerable advance on what these poor tools of the capitalist class have been receiving for their hard toil and long hours.

Knowing what we do of the conditions of life amongst the people, it is almost impossible to shock us as to what the poor sweated folk have to put up with; yet it must have been an uncomfortable surprise to many people to know that in this twentieth century, and at this stage of organisation amongst the workers, large masses of men engaged in useful labour in the Black Country receive the starvation wages of 16s., 18s., and £1 a week, and women a good deal less. For ourselves, nothing that the capitalist class does in the way of exploiting the workers can surprise us. It is one of the elementary features of capitalism, up to its present stage, to sweat and oppress the workers, to grind them down, to impose upon them the most degrading conditions of life. It may be that as capitalism develops it will find its greater profit in granting higher wages and better conditions of labour. Whatever method pays best, that method the capitalist class will adopt.

It seems almost incredible that these workers and those at Cradley Heath, for example, should have remained so long without making a determined effort to raise their conditions. We remember the propaganda and agitation on behalf of the poor chainmakers of Cradley Heath a generation ago; how the horrible conditions of labour and of living were shown up in all their lurid balefulness; how it was published throughout the length and breadth of the land, by newspapers and at hundreds of meetings, how women were being degraded with toil that would be regarded as slavery by most men; the long hours, and the shockingly low pay; the vile conditions of their hovels—they could not be described as homes. That is 20 to 25 years ago. How much better are the conditions now?

Again, with respect to the workers in the Potteries, years ago the deadly nature of this occupation was exposed, and here, also, the low wages and vile conditions of the workers' lives. Evidently "He who would be free, himself must strike the blow" is being proved true in the Midlands, and the workers are finding out that they must bring about their own emancipation. The sorrowful part is that they are not trying to end the evil altogether, once and for all; that they are only demanding a pitiful 23s. a week. How long, O Lord!

The agricultural labourers, we are glad to note, are also showing signs of waking up. This class of worker is perhaps the most conservative of all, and has so far been like a rock in its

imperviousness to Socialistic teaching. But anything is possible! We are, as ever, optimist of the future. We are convinced that the "shaking-up" the world of Labour has had during the past three years has left the workers in a different state to their previous paving-stone-like lethargy. This is where the Socialist finds his opportunity.

On Thursday, June 26, an event occurred which may be regarded as one of those "milestones" marking the passage of years, and furnishing an opportunity for judging how the Socialist movement in this country has progressed. H. W. Lee, after more than twenty-seven years' service as secretary of the S.D.F., S.D.P., and latterly the British Socialist Party, has resigned that position, and will devote himself in future to the Twentieth Century Press and "Justice." The occasion was taken by many of his old comrades to ask him to be their guest at a most enjoyable dinner at Gatti's on the date mentioned. Naturally, reminiscences were the order of the day—or night. Amongst the veterans, A. S. Headingley (the chairman), Herbert Burrows, J. E. Williams, and James Macdonald bore unanimous testimony to the whole-hearted devotion H. W. Lee had shown in a position of peculiar responsibility—a position which, if occupied by one who did not possess ample discretion, would, in days gone by, have resulted in danger to the members and disaster to the movement. Lee has not been even a speaker, in the ordinary sense of the word; he has been a secretary in its best sense, keeping the business of his organisation closed to outsiders—an invaluable virtue. It was the universal regret that H. M. Hyndman and H. Quelch were unable to be present—Hyndman on account of the illness of his wife, which the next day proved fatal, and Quelch by reason of his own ill-health.

The General Elections in Holland have resulted in a gain of eleven seats to the Socialists. In the former Chamber they had seven deputies, in the present Chamber they have eighteen. Troelstra was the only Socialist elected at the first ballot. That was in the third electoral district of Amsterdam. The other seventeen Socialists were all elected at the second ballot. Our comrades now hold five of the nine districts in Amsterdam, and three out of the five districts of Rotterdam. The votes polled, too, show a wonderful increase, being 90 per cent. in Amsterdam, 135 per cent. in Rotterdam, 150 per cent. in the Hague, and 180 per cent. in Haarlem.

One or two difficulties, however, are likely to occur. Troelstra, elected at the first ballot for Amsterdam III., was also elected for Leeuwarden at the second. As his majority was much greater in Amsterdam than in Leeuwarden it is expected that he will keep to the latter constituency, and let another candidate go forward in Amsterdam. Spiekman has also been elected for both the first and second districts of Rotterdam, as well as for Hoogezand, and Mendels for Schoterland and Amsterdam II. As a matter of fact, the Socialists never expected to do as well as they have done, and some of the candidates who have been elected were put forward more to test the strength of the Socialist vote than with any idea of their being returned. The Clerical Party, that strange combination of Catholic and Protestant, no longer holds the premier position in the Dutch Parliament, and the Government has resigned. Troelstra, as the leader of the Socialist Party in the Chamber, was sent for by Queen Wilhelmina to consult about the formation of a Government, but Troelstra has declined to have anything to do with it.

France, Italy and Spain have their hands fairly full just now with Morocco and Tripoli. France's policy of "pénétration pacifique" in Morocco, so vigorously denounced by Jaurès, has cost the lives of 352 officers and men killed during the last twelve months, while 1,354 have been wounded. There is, of course, no "war," but a series of constantly recurring engagements in which troops have continually to be employed. The French forces in Morocco now number 60,000 men. Spain is even more occupied just now with the Moorish tribesmen. For the last five weeks scarcely a day has passed without news of some engagement.

Most of the news comes through Madrid, and is, therefore, "official." The Moors are always "decimated." But on two or three occasions the Spanish forces have been in a tight fix. Communications between Tangier and the centre of Morocco have been cut twice; the gunboat General Cincha, which ran aground at Alhucemas, was fired on by the Moors and part of the crew captured before two Spanish cruisers could come to their help; and the tribesmen have taken the offensive against the Spaniards at Alcazar. The "Times" correspondent at Tangier says he has "never seen such determination and unity among the mountain tribes." One ugly feature is that the Spaniards have taken to burning the crops. As for Italy, the Derna column has again

made an attack on Ettangi, and the troops have dispersed and pursued the Arabs at Bengazi, who have left their dead on the field, according to despatches from Rome, but apparently have made off with their guns. The Socialists in Italy and the Socialists and Radicals in Spain are denouncing the continuance of these fruitless campaigns, which do not even lead to conquest.

The position in the Balkans is going from bad to worse. Bitter as was the warfare waged by the "Allies" against the Turk, it is not to be compared with the savagery with which the Serbs and Greeks are fighting the Bulgars. Already the carnage in a week far exceeds that of the sanguinary contest in the "official" war. Poor Macedonia! How thankful she must be to her "deliverers"! The Bulgarians are pressing into their service the able-bodied inhabitants of the country which they have "conquered," even to the extent of calling up those Turks who have not left the districts. There is no doubt that Bulgaria is hardly pressed. She suffered more losses in the official war against Turkey than the other three "Allies" combined. She bore the brunt at Kirk Killisse, Adrianople, the struggles right up to the Tchatalja lines, as well as the fruitless assaults upon the almost impregnable positions of the Turks at the latter place. Consequently, her forces are considerably weakened compared relatively with those of the Serbs and Greeks.

Previous to and during the war against the Turks our Liberal "Balkan" Committees denounced the Ottoman Power in as vigorous language as their thin English would permit. What have they to say now? For the most part they are maintaining a discreet silence. But the worst feature of this war is the powerlessness of the European Powers to prevent it, and now they have apparently taken up the cynical attitude that it is as well to let the "Allies" fight it out among themselves. It is probable that some understanding might have been arrived at had it not been for Russia and Austria. The former Power has obviously been intriguing with Servia and Montenegro against Bulgaria, in order to prevent the most powerful of the Balkan States from becoming predominant, and no doubt has urged on Roumania for the same purpose. Austria, on the other hand, sees that a strong Bulgaria will be able to keep Servia and Greece in check, and make it easier for her ultimately to get through to the Ægean.

THE EVENTS OF JUNE.

AT HOME.

2—Mr. Snowden moved an anti-food-tax amendment to the Finance Bill.
Death of the Poet Laureate, Mr. Alfred Austin.

3—Customs authorities at Belfast detained twelve cases of rifles with bayonets.

4—Emily Wilding Davison, Suffragist, brought down the King's horse at the Derby.
Result of shipyards' ballot reported: For a strike, 12,215; against, 4,348.

7—Mr. Cecil Chesterton fined £100 for criminally libelling Mr. Godfrey Isaacs, brother of the Attorney-General.
Death of Miss Davison.
Demonstration in Trafalgar Square for Plasterers on strike.

9—Before the Marconi Committee, Mr. Illingworth stated that his predecessor, Lord Murray (the Master of Elibank), had invested £3,000 of Liberal Party funds in Marconis.
Death of Mr. George Wyndham, formerly Chief Secretary for Ireland.
Fire at St. Helens Town Hall: £20,000 damage.

10—Four thousand rifles with bayonets seized at Hammersmith.

11—Mr. Snowden's anti-food-tax amendment rejected. Mr. Asquith disowned the "Free Breakfast Table."

12—Wandsworth bye-election: Samuel Samuel (Unionist), 13,425; Havelock Wilson (Liberal-Labour), 7,088. No change.

13—Marconi Committee's report issued: Ministers whitewashed.

14—Funeral of Miss Davison: Mrs. Pankhurst re-arrested.

16—Labour Party announced a Land Policy!
Mrs. Pankhurst again released on licence.

17—Death of Canon Barnett, President of Toynbee Hall.
Officials of Women's Social and Political Union sentenced to from six to twenty-one months for conspiracy. (They were released the following week.)

18 & 19—Marconi debate: Sir Ryland Adkins's amendment accepted.

20—Edward Hartley adopted as Socialist and Labour candidate in Leicester bye-election.

23—Premier proposed time-table for three Bills under the Parliament Act.
Death of Sir Jonathan Hutchinson, surgeon.
24—French President arrived in London.
Paris Municipal Council visited the L.C.C.
Farm labourers' strike in Lancashire continued.
25—Mysterious Labour Party "manifesto" issued to Leicester through the Liberals.
26—Dinner to H. W. Lee on his retirement from B.S.P. Secretaryship after 27 years' service.
27—Polling at Leicester: Hewart (Liberal), 10,863; Wilshere (Unionist), 9,279; Hartley (Socialist), 2,580. No change; but Liberal now in minority.
Death of Mrs. Hyndman.
28—Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., visited Leicester, and explained his position re the bye-election.
29—Free Speech demonstration in Trafalgar Square.
30—Conference at Guildhall on reform of school meals.

ABROAD.

2—Socialists in French Chamber strongly opposed Three Years' Service Bill.
3—Hungarian Ministry resigned.
4—Second stage of Prussian Diet elections: four Socialist gains.
6—Adamovitch attempted to escape from Hadra Prison (Egypt) but was recaptured and deported a few days later.
8 & 10—Heavy French losses in Morocco.
9—Peace Conference held its last meeting and abandoned attempt to reach an agreement.
Count Tisza formed a new Hungarian Cabinet.
11—Shevket Pasha, Grand Vizier, assassinated.
Czar warned the Allies against war.
Spanish Cabinet resigned.
12—Servia and Bulgaria agreed to submit their claims to Russia's arbitration.
Danish Ministry resigned.
15—German Kaiser's 25th anniversary.
18—Serious Italian losses in Tripoli.
19—Duma adopted resolution condemning Government education policy.
20—French Chamber again adopted Proportional Representation Bill as originally sent to the Senate.
Australian Commonwealth (in minority of one) resigned.
24—Mr. Cook (Liberal) formed new Australian Ministry.
27—Dutch Prime Minister resigned.
28—Roumanian warning to Bulgaria.
Dutch elections resulted in 18 Socialists being returned.
29 & 30—Outpost fighting in Macedonia.
30—Great strike on the Rand.
Reichstag passed the Army Bill.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY IN JAPAN.

By FRITZ KUMMER, in "Die Neue Zeit."

(Conclusion.)

III.

INDUSTRY AND PROLETARIAT.

There is no doubt that since its infancy (the 'eighties of last century) Japanese industry has made considerable progress, though not to the extent that one might be inclined to suppose from reading the reports. The mere fact that the Asiatic island-empire has erected 15,000 industrial establishments in four decades (not counting mines or State undertakings), goes to justify the assumption that the "England of the East" is near overtaking the England of the West, or even surpassing it. But, according to all human calculation, this assumption will never be verified. The extent of the development which appears from this number of factories diminishes considerably if subjected to a more thorough examination.

	Number of Factories.			Number of Factory Workers.		
	Machine.	Hand-work.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Total.
1899	2,395	4,394	6,699	158,793	264,378	423,171
1909	6,723	8,703	15,246	240,864	451,357	692,221
Increase in ten years (in percentages).						
	292	198	230	152	171	164

According to this, the average number of workers to each industrial establishment in 1909 was 44.8. This number becomes considerably lower if the few gigantic works of the textile and metal industries are eliminated from the statistic. A very large number of "factories" are dwarf establishments with apprentices or a few assistants. The preponderance of women and their increase beyond the average is very striking. This is especially the case with the textile industry. Among the total number of workers (not counting mines and State undertakings) the men represent 34.8 per cent. and the women 65.2; in the textile industry (72,231 men, 414,277 women) the men only represent 14.7 per cent., and the women 85.3. In the 10,502 factories which employ more than ten workers, the men constitute 37 per cent., the women 73. Of the total number of children under 14 years who work in factories 23 per cent. are boys and 77 per cent. girls. At the end of September, 1909, the Ministry for Trade and Agriculture investi-

gated the industrial conditions in 25 Prefectures. In their factories 27,861 children under 14 were employed (3,099 boys and 24,762 girls), 107,692 young persons under 20 (13,717 male and 93,975 female), and 175,480 persons over 20. In the match, glass, weaving and spinning factories children under ten years of age were also met with. Even the gloomy picture of Japanese industrial conditions suggested by these statistics regarding the factory work of women and children of school age is brighter than the reality. To Europeans who have seen the crowds of little girls in the workrooms of Japanese factories the above figures seem too low.

The works with motor-power have increased more rapidly than the hand-worked mills, and the horse-power has increased at almost the same rate. Unfortunately, it is impossible to determine the numbers of workers employed respectively in these two kinds of undertakings. For the works reckoned in the above table for 1909 the horse-power is given at about 550,000, or an average of 82 horse-power to each machine-worked factory. By far the greatest number of factories content themselves with small motor-power, the greater part of the total horse-power falling to the few dozen large works.

The above does not show the whole numerical strength of Japanese labour, as it only includes actual industry, and not the mines nor State undertakings. If one adds the latter, the total number of persons occupied in the industry of Japan (1909) was as follows :—

Actual industry	692,221
Mining	235,809
State works (1906)	129,321
Total	1,057,351

IV.
WAGES.

The wages of the Japanese workers have risen throughout, and steadily. Only rarely has a rise been due to the united action of the workers themselves. The employers found it good policy, in the interest of regular production and of maintaining a staff of workers, to pay a few more sen, to grant a rise which, however, did not nearly make up for what is swallowed up by the higher prices of food and by taxation. The Japanese worker's nominal wage has risen, but his actual wage has diminished. And that in a country where the life of the workers, even at its best, approached the hunger line.

The lowness of wages in Japan is well known. People generally seek to account for it in the cheapness of living. But this is a fairy tale. Most of the necessaries of life are dearer in the island-empire, and certainly not cheaper than, for instance, in England.

If the English factory worker's little brown colleague is able in spite of this to procure for his starvation wage the absolute necessaries of life, it is thanks to his frugality and the power of resistance inherent in his race, and other similar qualities which he has acquired by going short for centuries.

The wage-statistics of Japan have still all the failings of infancy. They speak, for instance, of average wages, without mentioning what is the basis of the average, or saying how many workers they maintain. As a makeshift, we take them as they stand. For the sake of brevity, only the most important callings are given. Average wage per day :—

	1899. £ s. d.	1909. £ s. d.
Weavers, Women	0 0 4¼	0 0 6¼
Weavers, Men	0 0 7½	0 0 10½
Tailors, Japanese Clothing	0 0 9	0 1 0¾
Tailors, European Clothing	0 1 0¾	0 1 7
Shoemakers	0 0 11	0 1 3½
Carpenters	0 1 0	0 1 7¼
Bricklayers	0 1 4¼	0 2 0¼
Goldsmiths	0 0 10	0 1 1½
Joiners	0 0 11	0 1 6
Smiths	0 0 10¾	0 1 4
Printers	0 0 7½	0 0 11½
Saké-brewers (monthly)	1 2 7½	1 11 10
Servants, Men ,,	0 5 2¼	0 8 7¼
Servants, Women ,,	0 3 6½	0 5 10½
Country Workers (yearly)	3 2 2	4 6 7½

These wages are in general for a day of twelve hours. It is only rarely that the working day drops to ten hours, and often thirteen, fourteen, or even fifteen hours are worked daily. It is somewhat better with the workers in the mining industry. The hewers work eight to nine hours daily, the others eleven. The miners also receive higher wages. It is true that on the other hand their work is harder and more dangerous. According to the investigations of the Mines Bureau, the daily wage vacillates as follows :—

	In the Ore Mines between		In the Coal Mines between	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
	d. s. d.		s. d. s. d.	d. s. d.
Hewers	8 & 1 3	—	1 1½ & 2 2½	8 & 1 1½
Stampers	8 ,, 1 2	—	0 11 ,, 2 7½	5¾ ,, 1 0¼
Melters	6½ ,, 1 1	—	—	—
Hauliers	7¾ ,, 1 1¼	—	0 8¾ ,, 1 5	5½ ,, 1 0
Assistant Workers	7¾ ,, 0 10	—	0 7 ,, 1 0	5¾ ,, 0 7½

This limited extract from the wage-statistic will suffice to give an idea of how Japanese workers are paid. The wretchedness of the payment is evident, and it is not made up for by cheap food and dwellings. If the Japanese worker had the requirements of his English colleagues he would have to pay the same, or even more, to satisfy them. If he can save himself from death with his starvation wage, it is only owing to those qualities peculiar to the Asiatic worker, the simplicity and frugality of his way of living, and his power of resistance to cold and hunger. On his table appears, year after year, not much more than coarse rice boiled in water, with which are often mixed the husks of beans and barley bran, and a brown bitter liquid, so-called tea. Both are taken without any additions. And if it is possible to add some fish, vegetables or sauce, the meal assumes a festal appearance. One or two rooms of a very limited size serve a whole large family as a dwelling. They eat, sleep, and sometimes even work, on the floor of this practically unfurnished cell. The Japanese worker thinks himself lucky if he can procure for himself and his family tea, rice, and a place where they can lie down. Should a rainy day—economically speaking—or sickness come, he stands alone in his misery. No provision whatever is made against unemployment; Labour protection laws are practically non-existent; sick clubs are as yet only known among the employees of a few large mines, and in State undertakings. The other workers fetch a quack in case of illness, if they still possess a few sen, or lie down and suffer and die without medical assistance. They have not the means to pay a "European" doctor.

With so small a wage a single man is just able to keep his head above water; for one who is married it is impossible, in spite of all his frugality and thrift. If he would not have his family actually suffering from hunger, he must send his wife, and even the children under age, to work. To what an extent this is done may be seen from the above figures regarding the extent of woman and child labour. How the Japanese worker portions out his scanty income, and how meagre his way of living is, may be seen from the following household account, which may be regarded as typical in so far as it expresses the minimum of food which is absolutely essential for a family of five, if they are not soon to lose all strength.

V.

BUDGET OF A JAPANESE WORKMAN'S FAMILY.

This monthly budget is that of an artisan's family, consisting of man and wife, a mother 60 years old, and two children of nine and seven years. The father, a highly qualified workman, and his wife earn both together in 30 days 60 shillings. There are only one or two holidays, seldom three a month, Japan having no Sunday. Out of this income there was spent on—

	£	s.	d.
Rent	0	6	0
Rice	0	16	0
Firing Material and Oil	0	5	4
Fish and Vegetables	0	6	6
Sugar, Salt, Tea, etc.	0	3	9
Drinks and Tobacco...	0	5	5
Schooling	0	2	5
Pocket-money for the Children	0	2	5
Baths, Water	0	1	6
Hairdressing, Shaving	0	1	1
Wooden Shoes	0	0	11
Newspapers	0	0	6
Paper, Matches	0	0	4
Sundries	0	3	10
Put by...	0	4	0
Total	£3	0	0

The English workman will be struck by the absence of items of expenditure on meat, milk, baker, and amusements in this household budget. Such "luxuries" even the highly-paid Japanese artisan cannot afford. The 4s. savings represent the reserve fund, out of which extraordinary expenses, as doctors, clothing, etc., have to be met. The sum of 6s. for rent may appear small, but it is very high if the quality and size of the dwelling for which this amount is paid be taken into account. The dwelling of the family from whom this budget was procured consists of two rooms, one measuring six, the other two, matt—in Japan the size of rooms is reckoned in matts : one matt about 6 by 3 feet—or both together measuring 72 square feet. Thus our Japanese paterfamilias has to pay one penny monthly for each square foot of room. That is a gigantic price for Japanese conditions, and for the bare dwellings made of thin boards joined together, and it is easy to understand why the whole family squeezes itself together into an alarmingly narrow space.

This budget is represented as typical for a skilled Japanese worker. But that is only true in a very limited sense. For the factory hands who earn regularly 1s. 6d. per day are rare even among the well-paid classes of workmen. Anyhow, a pale meagreness is suggested by this household budget of a highly-qualified Japanese workman, a meagreness which cannot be put out of sight even by pointing out the smallness of the needs of the Asiatic proletarian.

PETERLOO.

By George Malton.

As the student turns the pages of history the tedious rate at which progress has been made almost overwhelms him. This is well illustrated in the struggle for the franchise. But, limited though its objects have always been, aiming not at an end but at a means to an end, this movement is remarkable for the heroism and sturdy fighting qualities that it has called forth from its adherents.

So long ago as 1430 electors had to have a freehold worth a clear 40s. annually. This meant, according to Thorold Rogers, an amount that would represent in our day a freehold of £200 per year. The result was that the number of electors was very small. "Rotten boroughs" were common. A movement for Parliamentary Reform was started by Major Cartwright in 1776. The Society for Political Inquiry was formed in 1777, and the Society for Constitutional Information in 1781. In a population of eight millions there were but 160,000 electors.

The Industrial Revolution was just developing. This change meant the rise of the commercial class. Political power was in the hands of the landed aristocracy, but the rising class wanted to take hold of Parliament to aid them in their development. Proposals were brought forward in Parliament about 1785 to abolish some of the rotten boroughs, and to transfer the members to counties, but the opposition was too strong.

In 1793 the war broke out with France, and this great struggle occupied the thoughts of the people until 1815. The close of the war caused great suffering. The disbandment of the army and the development of machinery increased the number of unemployed. The agitation for Parliamentary reform was renewed. The Prince Regent (George IV.) was petitioned for Annual Parliaments, Universal Suffrage, and Vote by Ballot. A huge demonstration was held at Spa Fields, on November 15, 1816. The newspapers misrepresented the speeches and resolutions. Hampden clubs were formed in many parts of the country.

A meeting of Parliament was to take place on January 28, 1817. Petitions were poured in from all parts of England and Scotland. The meetings were peaceful, but the Government were afraid, and

Bills were passed to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act and to prevent seditious meetings. The Whigs took a prominent part against the people, and they were quite as loud and as violent against the reforms as the Tory Ministers.

In the early part of 1817, four men who had taken an active part in the agitation for reform were committed to the Tower for high treason. The trial commenced on June 9, and lasted seven days, when they were acquitted. Many of the Lancashire reformers were arrested. By this time some 600 petitions, signed by nearly a million and a-half people, had been presented to the House of Commons, praying for retrenchment, a reduction of the army, and a radical reform in Parliament; but the Government took no action. The reformers were kept in prison and no charge made against them.

A riot took place in Derbyshire, which the Government used to justify their action in suspending the Habeas Corpus Act. Three of the men were executed. Mr. Robert Huish says, in his "Life of Henry Hunt": "Thus ended the year 1817. The prospect was most gloomy; the poor were greatly distressed for want of employment; provisions were dear; the quartern loaf averaged about thirteen pence, and there was a general depression of trade. At the same time, every honest man in the kingdom considered himself as being injured and insulted by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and, indeed, a general feeling of disgust prevailed as to the proceedings adopted by the Government."

On June 2, 1818, Sir Frances Burdett moved a resolution in the House of Commons for Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments. It was negatived by 100 votes to 2.

A meeting in favour of Parliamentary Reform was held at Smithfield, London, on July 21, 1819, it being estimated that 70,000 people were present. A warrant was executed at this meeting, and it was strongly suspected that this was done with a view to causing a riot. The man allowed himself to be taken away quietly, and the crowd were exhorted not to make any trouble. The Manchester Reformers decided to follow up this meeting by one on August 9. The chairman of the Smithfield meeting, Henry Hunt, was asked to preside, which he consented to do. The magistrates of Manchester declared this meeting illegal, cautioning all persons "to abstain at their peril from attending it." The Reformers took legal advice, which decided that the clause in the notice of the meeting which suggested the propriety of choosing representatives without legal authority was contrary to the usage and practice of the existing establishments of the country. Under the circumstances it was decided to abandon the meeting and to request the borough-reeve and constables to convene a meeting under the following terms:—

"We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, request that you will convene a meeting at as early a day as possible, to consider

the propriety of adopting the most legal and effectual means of obtaining a reform in the Commons' House of Parliament."

In three hours nearly one thousand people signed this requisition. The request was not acceded to, so it was decided to call a public meeting on the area near St. Peter's Church, Manchester, on Monday, August 16, 1819. The magistrates issued a proclamation with the object of deterring people from attending the meeting. Notices were posted on the walls of Manchester warning the people against the chairman, Henry Hunt.

The proclamation and warning were ineffectual. Contingents came from surrounding towns, and when the chair was taken there had assembled some 50,000 men, women, and children to swell the cry for reform. The magistrates had made considerable preparations. The magistrates of Manchester and Salford, with the borough-reeves and constables, and various forces of military and artillery, were in readiness. The latter consisted of the Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry, the Prince Regent's Cheshire Yeomanry Cavalry, the 15th Hussars, a detachment of the 88th Foot, some pieces of Royal Horse Artillery, and a detachment of the 31st Foot.

Mr. Henry Hunt took the chair just after one o'clock. The meeting had only just commenced when it was stopped. The proceedings are described in Henry Hunt's biography as follows, the account being taken from the "Manchester Gazette":—

"A considerable disturbance was now observed on the south side of the area which the meeting occupied. It was caused by the arrival of the Manchester and Salford Yeomanry Cavalry, at full gallop, and their ranging themselves in front of the houses in Mount Street, in one of which (Mr. Buxton's) were the magistrates. The persons on the outside of the compact crowd which formed the body of the meeting had fled with considerable precipitation on the first arrival of the military; several, indeed, were knocked down and trampled on by the horses as they went to their stations. Those who were within reach of his voice Mr. Hunt kept exhorting to 'be firm.'

"A double cordon of special constables was ranged from Mr. Buxton's house down to the hustings, the orders to whom were to leave room between them for two persons to pass abreast, so as to maintain a free line of communication. When the cavalry had formed in Mount Street, not five minutes had elapsed before they were addressed by one of their officers. They replied to his address with three loud cheers, waving their swords over their heads. The persons on the side of the crowd nearest them now faced about, and cheered in return.

"Previously to this period a strong detachment of infantry had taken post in Dickenson Street, and the alarm created in the meeting by the first appearance of the military had a little subsided when the word of command was given, and the corps instantly charged up to the hustings. Numbers of men, women and children

were trodden underfoot or sabred. The peace officers had no protection, and probably suffered in at least an equal proportion with any other class. The scene was truly terrific.

"In the consternation that ensued, the immense crowds pressing on each other in their flight rendered escape more difficult, and even swiftness of foot did not always save them from being hewn down. About two minutes after the attack of the Manchester Yeomanry on one side, the Cheshire Yeomanry, a detachment of Dragoons, and of the 15th Hussars, charged on another, thus adding to the dangers and horrors of the scene. Clouds of dust raised by the trampling of horses, frequently obscured nearly the whole of the area, and when a sudden breeze of wind momentarily cleared them away, the glittering of swords brandished in the sun, and the consideration that those against whom they were raised were fellow-countrymen and friends, was truly heart-sickening.

"We mentioned that on the first attack a party of the Manchester Yeomanry had dashed up to the hustings. The persons who occupied them were mostly taken into custody; amongst them, Hunt, Johnson, Saxton, and Moorhouse were immediately conveyed to Mr. Buxton's house. Mr. Hunt refused to surrender to a military force; a civil officer therefore made his appearance, to whose authority he instantly yielded. As he was led along the files of constables and soldiers to the magistrates he was repeatedly and brutally struck by those behind him; an attempt was made to knock off his hat, that the blows might fall on his bare head, but it did not succeed. He was mounting the steps which led into Mr. Buxton's house when a half-pay Major-General resident here, with a thick stick and the united force of both hands, gave him a blow which almost levelled him with the ground. Under these circumstances, exposed to the blows of every person within reach and who chose to strike him, it is no wonder that Mr. Hunt should cry, 'Murder,' and that when he entered into the presence of the magistrates he should display considerable agitation. What passed before the magistrates was only known from report; but we wish particularly to confine ourselves to facts. Suffice it to say that in a few minutes Mr. Hunt and the rest of the party taken along with him were marched down to the New Bailey, preceded by two magistrates, and guarded by several special constables and a double file of soldiers. He there remained in custody upon the charge of treason.

"But the work of dispersion still continued; the standards were seized in triumph and borne away; the cavalry galloped upon everyone whom they saw, even at a considerable distance from the place of meeting, and into the Quaker's burying ground. It is, however, but justice to say that the regular soldiery behaved with coolness and comparative moderation. When the ground was nearly cleared several pieces of horse-artillery were paraded over it, and some discharges of firearms took place.

"After the commencement of the attack some brickbats were thrown at the Yeomanry; one of them was struck in the face, so that he let go the reins, and, falling from his horse, fractured his skull. On Monday he was thought in great danger, but he subsequently, though slowly, recovered.

"The number of persons killed, or whose recovery is impossible, we apprehend to be not less than ten, and sixty were brought as patients to the infirmary, of whom thirty were in-patients. A great number have also been under the private care of surgeons in town; and many from a distance who were not severely wounded, too much alarmed to stay here, have had their wounds dressed by surgeons in their own neighbourhood. We therefore think there cannot have been fewer than 200 wounded; many conceive there have been 300 or even more.

"When the field was cleared, the Yeomanry formed opposite Mount Street, and after a speech, we believe of thanks, from Mr. Hay, gave three cheers, and waved their swords in token of victory! They again cheered at the police office, about half-past two in the afternoon. Parties kept patrolling the streets during the after-part of the day and through the night. In the evening the windows of a man named Tate, in Oldham Street, were broken, a person there having imprudently waved one of the captured flags at the people as they passed by. In the course of Monday afternoon several persons were arrested, in addition to those who had been taken into custody upon the hustings, and among them Knight.

"Amongst those killed on Monday was Mr. Ashworth, of the Bull's Head, a special constable. Several inquests were immediately held, in which, incredible as it may seem, the verdicts were 'Accidental death.'"

The arrested men were charged with high treason, but this charge was withdrawn, and they were committed for trial for misdemeanour. The prisoners were kept in solitary confinement for eleven days, and were then committed to Lancaster Castle for the Assizes, where they were kept for 22 days. The charge against the prisoners was "that of having conspired together to alter the law by force and threats." The Lancaster Assizes were held on September 4, and a true bill was brought in against the prisoners.

Mr. Scarlett had charge of the prosecution, and made a long speech, from which the following is an extract:—

"It has long been the practice of the Constitution to hold such meetings, and to receive petitions from them on the Throne, or in either Houses of Parliament. He never heard a lawyer arraign the legality of such meetings. He hoped he would never hear a decision pronounced which would militate against their continuance. But when he declared this to be the right of Englishmen, he also denied the right of all the people to rise en masse, and by the threat or terror of their physical strength overawe the consti-

tuted authorities, and declare, in such a manner, their will and pleasure to be the law and constitution of the land."

After a long trial, in which justice played a very small part, if indeed any part at all, H. Hunt was sentenced to two and a-half years' imprisonment, and at the expiration of his sentence to find security for his good behaviour for five years, himself in £1,000 and two securities in £500 each. The other defendants, J. Johnson, J. Healy, and S. Bamford, were each sentenced to one year's imprisonment, and at the expiration of their sentences to find security for their good behaviour for five years, themselves in £200 each, and two securities in £100 each, and to be further imprisoned till such security should be entered into.

Peterloo is only a page in the history of the workers. It was due to the latter that the Reform Bill of 1832 was passed, but they were left out. The middle class was enfranchised, and as soon as they realised their desire the workers were thrown over. The workers have not been enfranchised. Property is still the qualification.

THE UNITED STATES CENSUS AND THE UNEMPLOYED.

In an article on "Sidelights on the Census of 1910" in the "New Review" (New York) Mr. Glassberg deals with the last Census in the United States, which appears to have been taken in anything but a careful manner. He says:

"To prove to us that prosperity reigns supreme, our statistical friends will dig up from the Census returns the fact that 9,000,000 families own their houses--forgetting to mention how many of them are owned free, and how many are mortgaged, and the number of families that hire out part of their homes; that consequently we have 9,000,000 happy, contented families, who are loyal to the flag, and who are satisfied with our social and political institutions. Or, again, we are told that the per capita wealth of this country is higher than that of any other, that our corn crop reaches several billion bushels yearly, and that our unemployment figures are ridiculously low. We enjoy a wonderful prosperity, in short, but do not realise it, is what these statistics are intended to make us believe."

He confines his attention entirely to the work of the division of Population which began on April 15, 1910, "when an army of 68,000 enumerators was sent out over the country armed with 'Instructions to Enumerators,' a large portfolio containing the population schedules, and a trusty fountain-pen. It was indeed a motley and variegated crew that set forth so boldly. In the cities most of the enumerators were of a fairly intelligent character and most of them performed their Census activities in conjunction with their regular work. In the sparsely settled sections of the country the grade of people secured to do this work was a rather poor standard. Even a cursory examination of the schedules they sent in shows this; words are misspelled, columns are often left blank, and definite instructions are disregarded and misunderstood."

Not only was the work marred by errors, but the still greater temptation of packing the returns and thus fraudulently increasing their pay confronted the enumerators, and many did not withstand it. "When the fraud is as flagrant as it was in Tacoma, Washington, an attempt can be made to correct the returns. When the experts at the Census Bureau at Washington went over the Tacoma population schedules they were surprised at the great

number of boarders and lodgers enumerated along with most of the families. They became decidedly suspicious and it was determined to send special agents to check up each person enumerated. When the work was completed and the schedules were returned to the Bureau, every page had its quota of red lines through the fictitious names fraudulently entered by the enumerators. It is well to keep in mind that the supervisors of the Census in Tacoma were supposed to have examined the original returns. They had found them satisfactory and sent them on to Washington as absolutely correct. The amount of fraud perpetrated in that one city was shocking, even to people well acquainted with Census affairs.

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"Of the thirty-two questions that appeared on the population schedules which were to be answered for each individual, those of most value were questions 21 and 22, which inquired as to whether the person was out of work on April 15, 1910, and how many weeks the person was out of work during the past year. These two questions, if properly handled and correctly filled out, would give us a fairly accurate idea of that most vexing of all questions—unemployment."

Mr. Glassberg describes the laxity shown in preparing the statistics of the unemployed. He says :—

"In spite of all this juggling, misrepresentation and fraud, 6,468,964 labourers were out of employment in 1900 out of a grand total of 29,073,233. It is interesting to note the figures for the building trades for that year. They are astonishing for the high percentage of unemployment which the Census force credited them with. These are the figures :

	Total employed	Unemployed	Per cent. Unemployed
Carpenters	599,707	248,182	41.4
Masons	160,638	89,091	55.5
Painters	275,782	116,892	42.4
Paperhangers	21,749	9,686	44.5
Plasterers	35,649	19,983	56.1
Plumbers	97,659	21,497	22.0
Roofers and Slaters	9,065	3,311	36.5

"The average of unemployment for the building trades was thus over forty per cent.

"Out of 2,505,287 general labourers, 1,109,725, or 44.5 per cent., were unemployed, and so on through the various grades. Were the figures carefully enumerated, and then carefully and accurately tabulated, how different they might be from these haphazard ones, the result of a hasty enumeration, with its incomplete padded returns and of a careless tabulation and perfunctory inspection. These are the statistcs we are asked to swear by, to accept without reservation.

"Another interesting phase of the occupation statistics is the method employed in handling the returns of women marked 'prostitutes' or 'public women.' Enumerators were cautioned in every case to give the exact occupation followed by the individual, especially so in regard to women. It is not at all a surprising thing to see pages filled with names of women in large resorts, drawn from every nation on earth, whose occupations are returned as 'prostitute,' 'public women,' or 'sport.'

"After making great efforts during the enumeration to arrive at the truth in this matter, it is curious to note the policy pursued when the schedules reached the Census Bureau. There was a corps of specially selected clerks to 'edit' occupations—that is, place above the occupation the letters chosen to represent it. All prostitutes, however, were marked 'N. G.'—meaning, 'nothing gainful.' This was the same symbol used to designate children who did not work, housewives and other women not following a gainful oocupation. In this class were placed the prostitutes, and the best available method of arriving at a correct estimate of the real number of the prostitutes in the country was deliberately destroyed.

"At a meeting of the American Federation of Sex Hygiene, held in Washington, on September 17, 1912, Prof. Vernon M. Cady declared that there were 300,000 registered prostitutes in this country and that the police of the various towns estimate the number not registered as one million more, and that three billion dollars are annually spent upon prostitution, its diseases, and immorality in general. The terrible result of prostitution on the race was vividly portrayed. Only the truth, said the speaker, can rid us of its horrible and loathsome diseases. Sex Hygiene and the facts regarding the transmission of life must be taught. Ignorance is no longer a guarantee of innocence, was the verdict of Science.

"But our Government officials, with eyes turned piously toward the past, shrink from publishing the number of prostitutes in the country, and deliberately suppress the figures. Why are not these statistics tabulated? 'Ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free.' Therefore the Government buries the truth or falsifies it."

THE REVIEWS.

THE GERMAN KAISER AND SOCIALISM.

Mr. Louis Elkind, M.D., has an interesting article under the heading of "The Emperor William II.: A Retrospect" in this month's "Fortnightly Review." After reviewing the conditions prevailing on the accession of the Emperor to the throne, he goes on to say:—

Now, in order to arrive at a correct estimate of the leading motives of Socialism in general—that is, as it is at present being developed in all civilised countries—and of those Socialistic tendencies in particular by which the Social-Democratic Party in Germany, taking it as a whole, is animated, it is interesting to call attention to one essential factor in this respect—namely, that the political movement in question in the Fatherland is, after all, not confined, as it is usually described, to a conflict between Socialism and Individualism on the one hand, and again between Competition and Co-operation on the other, but, as a careful inquiry into these points will convince the students of economic questions of to-day, that it is, perhaps, class difference more than anything else that is responsible for the widespread tendency towards Social-Democracy, a tendency of which it can be said that it so far prevails in practically every corner of the German Empire. As a matter of fact, the working classes—the term now being applied in its widest sense—are at the present time in a similar position to what the middle and even some of the upper classes were in Germany, and particularly in Prussia, between fifty and a hundred years ago—that is to say, they are labouring under the painful consciousness of an inferior position, both economic and social.

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Properly to understand the Kaiser's attitude in regard to social questions in general, we must go back to the earliest stages of this movement in Germany. To put it briefly, the fact that the working classes have come to realise not only that they have strong common interests, but also that they can, from the economic and material points of view, in the first instance, facilitate the advancement of their cause and the object they have in view by means of

organisation, and thus considerably better their position: that one and all of them are on an equality, and, what is still more important, they are a different class in themselves, is due in a large measure to Ferdinand Lassalle, whose work was subsequently amplified by Karl Marx and his faithful followers.

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In so far as some important historic data in this direction are concerned, it is interesting to note that originally the movement, as it was originated by Ferdinand Lassalle and his school, had nothing in the way of a revolutionary tendency—a fact which cannot be strongly enough emphasised, especially as regards the present state of development of Socialism in this country. But, unfortunately, the political parties did not properly grasp at the right moment the problem, which in its present aims does not differ much from a striving for a complete upheaval of the established order of things. As with the parties, so also with the Government, they misunderstood. And it was resolved that the new ideals should be exterminated by repressive measures.

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Bismarck, however, did certainly not fail to realise the actual significance of these ideals. . . . . His aim, therefore, was first to conciliate, and then to win over the adherents of the new movement. . . . . He gave them the vote, not because he wished to create a fourth class, but because he thought this would do something to keep the people from Socialism. He also introduced the State subsidy for old-age pensions, and established working-man's insurance. . . . . He might have gone further, but he stopped at protecting the working classes, and protecting their rights against the employers; and here it was the Chancellor and his new master, the Emperor William the Second, came into collision.

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Basing his views, as the Emperor really does, on the considerations contained in the historic facts, he feels, rightly or wrongly, convinced that the Social-Democratic tendency is but a passing one, which will die out when the root of the trouble—that is, the unsatisfactory relations between masters and men—has been removed by legislative and other measures. He also believes that, as regards education, the spread of knowledge will ultimately have the effect of convincing the masses of the people that Social-Democracy is a political creed which is not calculated to promote the welfare either of themselves as individuals or of the nation at large. Consequently, on analysing in detail the Kaiser's aims concerning this department of domestic affairs, it will be found that, ever since he came to the throne, his main efforts on behalf of the working classes—that is, in order to ameliorate their social and economic positions as well as their general well-being—lay in those two directions.

THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY.

In an article entitled "Our Present Discontents," in the May "Nineteenth Century," the late Canon Barnett said: "If the poor are to become richer the rich must become poorer." For this he is called to task by Mr. J. A. R. Marriott in an article of five chapters in the June number. In the fifth chapter he writes:—

Canon Barnett's article raises an issue even wider than those which I have thus far discussed. "Poverty," in his view, "is at the root of our present discontent, not the poverty which the Poor Law and Charity are to relieve, but the poverty of the great mass of the workers." Is he right?

The existence of "poverty" cannot be denied. The term is a relative one, but it is an undeniable and deplorable fact that a considerable section of the population, not "the great mass of the workers," live habitually on the border-line of subsistence. No one doubts that it would be an immense gain, ethical, political and economic, if this section could be permanently lifted well above that line. Incidentally, I would remark that the significance of much statistical argument is discounted by a common and very natural error. In such statistics it is assumed that the economic unit is the individual wage-earner. Anyone who is personally familiar with the conditions of life among the wage-earners knows that in many parts of England the real economic unit is the family. That is more particularly the case in the great districts where textile manufactures form the staple industry. At the opening of the present Session, Mr. Snowden greatly impressed the House of Commons by pointing out that "even in the greatest of manufacturing industries, the cotton trade, where trade unionism has become a tradition, 21 per cent. of the adult men for full time earned less than £1 a week, and 48 per cent. of the adult men received for full time less than 25s. per week." The argument was singularly infelicitous as urged in support of a demand for a legal minimum wage. For everyone who is acquainted with Lancashire knows that there is not in the whole world a more highly organised industry than the Lancashire cotton trade, that in no trade are profits cut more fine, and that nowhere is the earning of the individual a less accurate index to the income of the economic unit. But this is an incidental point.

Canon Barnett argues that poverty is the root cause of discontent, and that poverty is due to unsatisfactory legislation. . . . Does he really suppose that the existing distribution of the national income depends upon the enactments of the Legislature? . . . . Has he never heard of the Lancashire aphorism "Clogs to clogs in three generations"? And it is not only in Lancashire that a fool and his money are soon parted. "Clogs to clogs" implies more than this. It means that there is no caste system in trade. Of course, the inheritor of capital gets some advantage in the

race; but he is frequently handicapped in other directions. There is still a career open to talent, if not absolute equality of opportunity. What Canon Barnett seems to be aiming at is a further restriction of the right of inheritance, or, in plain words, an increase in the death duties. . . . . All classes of the community are vitally interested in the abundance of cheap capital: most of all the classes who live by manual labour. But how will capital be cheapened by treating large lumps of it as revenue? . . . . The value of capital has appreciated to the extent of something like 25 per cent. in the last fifteen years, and that in spite of a rapid increase in its aggregate amount. Many explanations of this appreciation have been suggested. Has sufficient account been taken of the gradual but continuous attrition of capital by contemporary methods of taxation?

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My immediate purpose is to express a very serious doubt as to the accuracy of Canon Barnett's diagnosis of the social diseases of our day, and still more seriously to question the efficacy of the remedy which he prescribes. That the poverty of certain sections of the labouring population is one of the contributory causes of the prevailing unrest I do not for a moment deny; but I submit that to describe "the great multitude of the working people as steeped in poverty" is a palpable exaggeration; that conditions in this respect are not deteriorating, but improving, though less rapidly than one could wish; that it is not the wealth of the wealthy which can be held responsible for poverty; and, finally, that of all possible prescriptions for the extinction of poverty the most preposterous and the least efficacious is an attack upon accumulated wealth. It would be affectation to deny that the spoliator may get some fun out of the fruits of plunder; but this merriment will be short-lived. The game is not one which can be frequently repeated, still less can it be played indefinitely. Is it worth while to play at all? Still more: is it wise or right for men in authority to incite to such profitless and ephemeral amusement?

THE CHARM OF ETHICS

The "Literary Guide" for July has a very friendly appreciation of our comrade Gould's latest book, "Moral Instruction: Its Theory and Practice." We make no apology for giving the review in full:—

Mr. Gould's books leave scarcely a loophole for the critical rifle. One can only go on praising and praising, and wonder when he will leave off surpassing himself. The present volume, published under the auspices of the Moral Instruction League, is the

most elaborate and systematised which he has yet produced. It is primarily a manual for teachers, and the sooner all teachers read it the better it will be for the taught. Mr. Gould has hit upon what seems a fruitful idea : that the education of the young should correspond (of course, only in broad outline) to the development of the race. The syllabus is formidable in its three-fold range ; but Mr. Gould mercifully explains that the whole of it is not necessarily to be acquired by each individual pupil. Moral instruction by means of concrete incident, story, and illustration ; the advantage of order combined with the free play of natural faculty ; the utility of praise, censure, obedience ; the superiority of positive over negative methods ; the value of art, of beauty, of poetry ; the true meaning of "character"—these are some of the subjects on which Mr. Gould has many wise and faithful things to say. Emphasising the need of positive rather than negative conceptions of life, of noble examples instead of perpetual "Thou shalt nots," he asks :—

"Which is the grander ideal for the teacher—to display before the child's imagination only an occasional illustration of generosity or justice, and to say, 'Strive to follow such a one,' or to surround the child with so great a 'cloud of witnesses' to the glorious dynamic of goodness that, without exhortation, the young soul insensibly approaches, and, according to its ability, even imitates?"

Discussing the age at which moral and religious principles can properly be brought within the child's comprehension, he remarks that the educators of the past have "treated the child as plastic material on which abstract principles could be imposed, whereas childhood is only capable of understanding life in the concrete, and facts rather than large generalisations."

Part II. of the book, dealing with practice, gives many admirable examples of the mode in which moral lessons should be conducted. Mr. Gould's style, in its union of clearness and charm, makes this work as interesting as it is valuable.

SPEEDING UP.

How often is demonstrated the wisdom of doing nothing overmuch—yet how infinitely more difficult than abstinence is temperance. A theory or a truth good in itself may be made to do much harm by those who lack discretion or sense of proportion. A truth given undue proportion becomes relatively an untruth. In such a way have the most zealous advocates of efficiency brought their ideals into question, if not disrepute.

A vision of perfect development of human ability to achieve results has of late years been called efficiency. The term has been popularly applied to every activity under the sun—we have been

told of efficiency in democracy, in memory, in sewing on buttons, in household management, in municipal administration, in getting labour out of workmen, in prayer, in street cleaning. As applied to industrial affairs some of the efficiency schemes have been merged with the popular phase of another influence dominating modern thought—the scientific. From this merger have come various schemes for scientific management that have dazzled the unwary with seeming plausibility and insincerity of purpose. Most of these scientific aids to complete efficiency have been disclosed to be either unfeeling experiments to discover the nearest approach to perpetual action on the part of the industrial worker or just one more attempt to exploit Labour by a new type of "speeding up."

This kind of efficiency seems particularly pernicious to those who regard industrial workers as human beings and realise the already tremendous strain of modern industry. Progress and improvement in industry have been along the line of the introduction of more machinery and specialisation of work. As the work of the individual has been increasingly restricted and specialised, it has become correspondingly mechanical and monotonous. "Monotony," as Miss Goldmark has said, "may make highly taxing to our organism work which is ordinarily considered light and easy." This monotony, this uninteresting sameness, this sheer repetition of a single muscular motion constitutes the strain of modern industry—a strain that wears upon body and soul.

These schemes of scientific managers and efficiency engineers would intensify this strain by eliminating every useless motion or thought that every bit of energy may be conserved for productive purposes and not a motion made but which would produce visible results. There is a certain fascination in this conception—in which every act is purposeful, well-directed, telling in effect—but when the intellectual element is removed the ideal loses all its allurement. Then the worker is reduced to the plane of an errorless machine, loses individuality, initiative and vitality. For it must be remembered that the worker is a living thing, and that constant, unremitting repetition of one single act does not permit opportunity for the restoration of cells, a process necessary to life. Life is a balance between the tearing down and the building up of the cells which constitute the body. If there is no cessation from the monotonous activity, there is no chance of regaining the vitality lost in catabolism, the system becomes clogged with dead cells, and the poison of fatigue clogs the organs and by osmosis affects the whole body.

It is well, then, to let "discretion be our teacher," and to temper desire for efficiency with regard for physiological facts and humanity. Human beings cannot with safety be treated as machines. A recent number of the "American Medicine" contained the following editorial, which substantiates this position :—

"Working along with his partner, the 'efficiency engineer,'

the speeder-up has managed to obtain from the factory worker a larger output in the same period of time. This is done by eliminating the so-called superfluous motions of the arms and fingers—i.e., those which do not contribute directly to the fashioning of the article under process of manufacture. Hailed at first as a great reformer, with joy by the manufacturer and with a sort of pride by the worker, the speeder-up is destined soon to become anathema to the latter, while the employer will ere long reluctantly have to admit that there has been something wrong in the premises. Just as the wise employer now finds it cheaper by welfare work to conserve the life and health of his workmen, so will he find it more economical in the long run to relax the newly-found speed.

"The reason is of interest to the physician because it is purely physiological. The movements thought to be superfluous simply represent Nature's attempt to rest the strained and tired muscles. Whenever the muscles of the arms and fingers, or of any part of the body for that matter, undertake to do a definite piece of work, it is physiologically imperative that they do not accomplish it by the shortest mathematical route. A rigid to and fro movement is possible only to machinery; muscles necessarily move in curves, and that is why grace is characteristic of muscular movement and is absent from a machine. The more finished the technique of a workman, and the greater his strength, the more graceful are his movements, and, what is important in this connection, vice versa. A certain flourish, superfluous only to the untrained eye, is absolutely characteristic of the efficient workman's motions.

"'Speeding-up' eliminates grace and the curved movement of physiological repose, and thus induces an irresistible fatigue, first in the small muscles, second, in the trunk, ultimately in the brain and nervous system. The early result is a fagged and spiritless worker of the very sort that the speeder-up's partner, the 'efficiency engineer' will be anxious to replace by a younger and fresher candidate, who, in his turn, will soon follow his predecessor if the same relentless process is enforced.

"It will always be necessary to consider workers as human beings, and charity and moderation in the exaction of results will usually be found the part of wisdom, as representing a wise economy of resources. This scientific charity, however, is something quite apart from the moral effect on a personnel of due recognition of their long service, and of the loyality which is likely to accompany it."—From the "American Federationist."

BRITISH MUSEUM 12 JUL 13

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THE
BRITISH SOCIALIST.

Vol. II., No. 8. AUGUST 15, 1913.

AUGUST BEBEL.

BORN FEBRUARY 22, 1840. DIED AUGUST 13, 1913.

Death has removed one of the greatest figures in the International Social-Democratic movement. No more shall we see our comrade August Bebel at International Socialist Congresses; never again shall we hear his voice. But his work remains to us. He has left us an example of faithful devotion and tireless activity which it will be well for us to emulate to the full extent of our powers.

It is our comrades in Germany who will most feel his loss. Throughout the whole history of the Social-Democratic movement in Germany Bebel has been prominently to the front. He has seen the

Social-Democratic Party march forward until it is the largest political party in the German Empire.

In bidding him a last farewell we honour a life well and nobly spent in the greatest cause to which the work of a lifetime can be devoted. In common with the whole International Socialist movement we mourn his loss, while we pledge ourselves to keep green his memory by following the example he has set before us.

SOCIALISTS AND GOVERNMENTS.

By Fred. Knee.

The recent crisis in the Dutch Socialist Party raises afresh the question whether Socialists should, under any circumstances, join non-Socialist Ministries and participate in the administration of affairs. There is probably no question that so sharply divides the Socialist movement, and whenever Socialists have been permitted by their respective parties to accept office and responsibility such acceptance has inevitably led to divisions in the ranks. When, against the opinion of their party, they have taken office the movement has lost them for ever.

For the outsider, who has now become so used to the Socialist "spectre" that he has got into the habit of classing us along with other parties, as ready to take office ourselves—if we got the chance—the proposition that under certain circumstances we should coalesce temporarily, or even permanently, with some other party possesses no difficulties. Despite their opposition we have won our way, and to those outsiders it seems like a reward for our assiduity and persistence, our enthusiastic work and keen faith in our ideals, that we should be asked to sit in the seats of the more or less mighty, to execute judgment and make laws, and to give effect to our principles.

The latter was expected of the lawyer Millerand when, with the part-consent of his party, he joined the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry to save the Republic. That was expected of the engineer John Burns, when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, to keep him from

mischief, appointed him to the Local Government Board. Similar things were expected of Viviani, and probably still more of Aristide Briand, who in his earlier days had been even more revolutionary in his talk than John Burns. Yet somehow these outsiders, these non-Socialists, seem to have a better—certainly a more cynical—appreciation of human nature in office than we Socialists often have ourselves. *They never evinced any fear of these Socialist office-takers!*

Many of us thought we had gone up a bit when Jaurès became one of the Vice-Presidents of the Chamber; I cannot say we were enthused about Millerand's promotion; but there were thousands of Socialists here and abroad who thought we were appreciably nearer the great transformation when John Burns became Right Honourable. George Bernard Shaw went into ecstasies in the "Clarion." And Shaw is a shrewd observer—and a Socialist. Yet Millerand made no difference to the French bourgeois Governments of which he was a member; while Briand, as Premier, whipped his former comrades of the Confederation of Trade Unions with scorpions equally as stinging as any used by Clemenceau or any other Minister, Radical or Moderate. Over here the measures of the Government which, rightly or wrongly, have been acclaimed by the Labour Party, have come from other State Departments than the Local Government Board, whose policy during the Burnsian régime has been more reactionary, repressive and inhuman than before. The Government of which this prominent trade unionist has been a member has never hesitated to bring out the Government forces, with arms of a more or less deadly character, to hold down the scale in the interests of the employers.

It is well to have these facts in mind before we start theorising.

The Socialist movement for long has been divided into two sections—those who think that office should be readily accepted; and those who are almost

against taking office under any considerations in a Ministry controlled by capitalism.

It is interesting here to give the resolutions of the International Congresses of 1900 and 1904 (Paris and Amsterdam) on the question. First there is the "Kautsky resolution," passed at Paris in 1900:—

"In a modern democratic State the conquest of political power by the proletariat cannot be effected by a sudden act of violence, but must be the result of a long and toilsome work of proletarian organisation—political and economic—of the physical and moral regeneration of the working class, and of the gradual conquest of municipal and legislative assemblies.

"But in the country where the governmental power is centralised it cannot be conquered in a fragmentary manner.

"The entry of an isolated Socialist into a bourgeois Government cannot be regarded as the normal commencement of the conquest of political power, but only as a compulsory expedient, transitory and exceptional.

"If in some special instance the political situation necessitates this dangerous expedient, that is a question of tactics and not of principle; the International Congress is not called upon to pronounce on that point; but, in any case, the entry of a Socialist into a bourgeois Government affords no hope of good results for the militant proletariat, unless the great majority of the Socialist Party approves of this step and the Socialist Minister remains the delegate of his party.

"In the contrary case, in which such a Minister becomes independent of the Party or represents only a section of it, his intervention in a bourgeois Ministry threatens disorganisation and confusion to the militant proletariat, threatens to weaken rather than to strengthen it, and hinders rather than advances the proletarian conquest of public powers.

"In any case, the Congress is of opinion that, even in the most exceptional circumstances, a Socialist ought to quit the Ministry whenever the latter gives any proof of partiality in the struggle between capital and labour. No Minister delegated by the Socialist Party can continue to participate in the Government if the party concludes that the Government has not observed absolute impartiality in the relations between capital and labour."

On the foregoing there was a division, but the following was agreed to unanimously:—

"The Congress reasserts that the class struggle forbids all alliances with any fraction whatever of the capitalist class.

"Even admitting that exceptional circumstances may sometimes render coalitions necessary (without confusion of party or tactics),

these coalitions, which the party should seek to reduce to the smallest possible number until they entirely disappear, must not be permitted except in so far as their necessity is recognised by the district or national organisation to which the groups concerned belong."

The entry of individual Socialists into Ministries was to be only a "compulsory expedient, transient and exceptional," but the conditions were to be such that no capitalist Premier would tolerate a Socialist Minister with them. Alliances were forbidden, coalitions were permissible only where justified by exceptional circumstances.

At Amsterdam in 1904 there was a battle-royal over the same question. In alliance with the Revisionists was Jaurès. Bebel was the protagonist for the Revolutionaries and warmly supported the "Dresden Resolution," so called because it had just been adopted by the Germans at their Party Congress at Dresden. That resolution read as follows :—

"The Congress condemns to the fullest extent possible the efforts of the Revisionists, which have for their object the modification of our tried and victorious policy based on the class war, and the substitution, for the conquest of political power by an unceasing attack on the bourgeoisie, of a policy of concession to the established order of society.

"The consequence of such revisionist tactics would be to turn a party striving for the most speedy transformation possible of bourgeois society into Socialist society—a party therefore revolutionary in the best sense of the word—into a party satisfied with the reform of bourgeois society.

"For this reason the Congress, convinced, in opposition to revisionist tendencies, that class antagonisms, far from diminishing, continually increase in bitterness, declares :

"1. That the Party rejects all responsibility of any sort under the political and economic conditions based on capitalist production, and therefore can in nowise countenance any measure tending to maintain in power the dominant class.

"2. The Social-Democracy can accept no participation in the Government under bourgeois society, this decision being in accordance with the Kautsky resolution passed at the International Congress of Paris in 1900.

"The Congress further condemns every attempt to mask the ever-growing class antagonisms in order to bring about an understanding with bourgeois parties.

"The Congress relies upon the Socialist Parliamentary Group

to use its power, increased by the number of its members and by the great accession of electors who support it, to persevere in its propaganda towards the final object of Socialism, and, in conformity with our programme, to defend most resolutely the interests of the working class, the extension and consolidation of political liberties, in order to obtain equal rights for all; to carry on more vigorously than ever the fight against militarism, against the imperialist and colonial policy, against injustice, domination and exploitation of every kind, and finally to exert itself to the utmost to perfect social legislation and to enable the working class to fulfil its political and civilising mission."

Against this was put up the following proposition, on which Vandervelde, the Belgian leader, and Victor Adler, the leader of the Austrian Socialists, had collaborated :—

"The Congress affirms in the most emphatic manner the necessity of maintaining unwaveringly our proved and glorious tactics based on the class war, and will never allow that the conquest of political power in the teeth of the bourgeoisie shall be replaced by a policy of concession to the established order.

"The result of this policy of concession would be to change a party which pursues the swiftest possible transformation of the bourgeois society into a Socialist society—and is consequently revolutionary in the best sense of the word—into a party which contents itself with reforming the bourgeois society.

"For this reason the Congress, persuaded that the class antagonism, far from diminishing, increases continually, states:

"1st. That the Party declines all responsibility whatsoever for the political and economic conditions based on capitalist production, and consequently cannot approve of any means which tend to maintain in power the dominant class;

"2nd. That the Social-Democracy, in regard of the dangers and inconveniences of participation in the Government in bourgeois society, reiterates and confirms the Kautsky resolution passed at the International Congress in Paris in 1900."

This latter was supported by Jaurès, not so much on account of any difference in principle, but because he chose to regard the Dresden Resolution as aimed at himself, and, therefore, could not be expected to vote for a censure on himself. When the Vandervelde-Adler proposition was voted on it failed to be carried, the voting by nations being equal—21 to 21. The Dresden Resolution was adopted by 25 votes to 5 against, there being 12 abstentions.

So the decision of the Amsterdam Congress was that the "Social-Democracy can accept no participation in the Government under bourgeois society . . . . and condemns every attempt to mask the ever-growing class antagonisms in order to bring about an understanding with bourgeois parties."

That is a pretty clear declaration.

Excepting in Great Britain, the Socialist movement has always implied a recognition of the class war and that the workers wage that war with the intention of coming out atop and establishing the Socialist Commonwealth. Against a party of that character, revolutionary in aim and revolutionary in method, the parties of property were bound to be opposed. Imprisonment and fines, sometimes death, were visited on their prominent members whenever their criticisms of the existing order became too scathing. Till now in Prussia, as in her next-door savage-State Russia, Socialists cannot hold any public office, even if they want to do so. In some of the other German States the rigour is less severe; but there will come a time, even in Prussia, when the authorities will find it to be to their interests to tempt the Socialists with office; and it will be to the interest of those authorities for the Socialists when so offered to accept.

It was to the interest of the Waldeck-Rousseau Ministry in France that Millerand joined it. I know you may say it helped to save the Republic. (Bebel could well ask at the International Congress if such a Republic were worth the saving.) It did something more than that. It helped to keep back the proletariat, to soften the antagonism between the classes, which was all the better for the classes in power; and it gave a filip to the Anarchist movement in the trade unions. Burns's definite going over to the Liberals, for which he had long been ready, probably meant 30 seats to the Liberals in 1906 and helped to keep Labourists and Socialists out in three-cornered contests. The Labour alliance with the Liberals helped to create the Syndicalists in Great Britain.

I cannot help thinking that, if it be to the interest of the propertied classes that we should help them in running the show, it cannot in the long run be to the interest of the working-class movement. Any such taking of office means a truce to the class war, so far as those taking office are concerned and those who back them. No one can say that the class war is waged for the workers any longer by Burns or Briand. So, at any rate, if we are going to take office, we must have no more vain imaginings about the war of classes.

But a few days ago our Dutch Socialists were deciding their fate. Their circumstances are certainly peculiar. Every party in the Dutch Parliament is in a minority: but 55 per cent. of the members are in favour of Universal Suffrage. The Clericals are completely out of it. The Liberals are divided among themselves; the Socialists are the third largest party; and the leader of the smallest party in the Parliament has been commanded to form a Ministry. There were three courses open: (1) For the Socialists to decline office altogether; (2) for Troelstra to have formed a Socialist Ministry, and to have dealt only with Universal Suffrage; (3) for the Socialists to accept the three portfolios in the Bos Ministry.

It is claimed by some of our Dutch friends that the very fact of their declining office has already prejudiced the Socialists with the electors, and will lose them votes. Such votes can have been given to the Socialist Party not for Socialism but for other reasons, probably Universal Suffrage. Many Socialists felt that they must now do anything to get Universal Suffrage, and that they must not let their opportunity slip. Very good; but if office at all, why not office under their own control? Such a course may have been quixotic, as a Socialist Government would not have been allowed to last six weeks. What matter, if only in that time Universal Suffrage could have been pushed through? On that one subject the Socialists could have claimed a majority of the Chamber, and had that majority failed them they

could have thrown the onus for that failure on the other sections of that majority. After Universal Suffrage had been gained the Socialist Government could very well have relinquished its difficult and unwelcome position of being in office without power. It may be, of course, that Queen Wilhelmina never offered Troelstra any such option and would have been aghast if he had suggested it. If, however, the Bos Ministry had been entered by the three Socialists with the full consent of the party, those three Members and their party would have become responsible for the acts of the other Ministers. That is the law of Cabinet responsibility in Holland as well as here.

Here there need never be any difficulty of principle about our Labour Party having one, two, or three Members in the Ministry. That would or should shock no one. Our Labour Members do not believe in the class war, the only principle on which they could refuse. Moreover, as it is, they are getting, in the minds of the electorate, the responsibility for most of the Government's iniquities, without tasting any of the sweets of office at all. It was an open secret a year or so ago that the Labour leader could have been translated to Cabinet rank quite a while before but for the resentful opposition of Mr. Burns himself, who will stand no other Labour Member in the present Ministry. Everybody expects that when, sooner or later, the next shuffle comes one, at least, of the Labour Members will be inside. In fact we get names shuffled together beautifully—Lloyd George and MacDonald; Keir Hardie and Haldane; and so on. I, for one, should not blame them. Neither their own past professions nor the sentiment prevailing among their supporters outside should prove any barrier. The Notts miners recently had Lloyd George as the chief figure at their annual demonstration. As I say, nine-tenths of the Labour Members in the House of Commons do not believe in the class war at all. Most of the Socialist Members scout it, and point to Hyndman's

top-hat for its utter refutation. Many of them tacitly accept the Fabian notion that all that is necessary is for Socialists to permeate all parties—Labour, Liberal and Tory, though there are very few of them who have ever tried the Tories. Yet there is an excellent field in that direction. So in discussing the question whether Socialists should ever join hands with any other Government than their own and allow a member, or members, to become hostage in the enemy's head-quarters, we must leave Great Britain out of account.

Now, the Continental Socialists, whether Revisionist or Revolutionary, all profess to believe in the class war. The Adler-Vandervelde proposition at the Amsterdam Congress on the question of policy was quite as emphatic in its devotion to the class war as was the Dresden resolution, and in arguing on the question for Socialists we have to start from the class war basis. If we desert that, there can be no objection at all to our coalescing with the Liberal—or Tory either for that matter, especially if we are anxious to "get on."

By "getting on" I mean either of two things: the desire of the ambitious leader to wield the sceptre of power, and the desire of a party to have legislative and administrative acts recorded to its credit. The latter is more likely to lead a party into the other camp than the former. It is strange how the desire to get "something in our day" will turn us off, like a stale herring will divert the fox-hounds. Some it will entice into Liberal Ministries, others it will turn into Rip Van Winkle Trade Unionists or Syndicalists, who make a great song of reaching a wage of twenty-three shillings a week. Let us have something in our time, but for goodness sake don't let it be Socialism! That seems to be their view.

With an army in the field, after weeks of blood-letting and agony, an armistice brings little social interchanges of a pleasant character, and as we fraternise we feel what a pity it is that we, being on both sides such excellent fellows, should ever fight

again. That is the effect of a temporary cessation of hostilities. An alliance or coalition has an even greater effect. If we expect that by a coalition we shall perhaps gain the other fellows over, the other fellows may have the same idea about ourselves; and hitherto they have gained by such alliances. If I were a Liberal leader in any of the European countries to-day I would make the way so pleasant for the Socialist parties that they could not help "coming in." That would serve to stave off the Social Revolution by two or three decades at least.

DOWN WITH THE FADDIST!

By C. H. Le Bosquet.

It was towards the close of a brilliant career that the great American philosopher, Samuel L. Clemens, convulsed the intellectual world by the statement of his stupendous Principle of the Interpretation of Human Action. The historic path of humanity is illumined by the discoveries of an army of illustrious thinkers: it was left to this great man to surpass them all in the importance of the system which he founded. Exponents of the higher truths have been justly criticised for their use of obscure and difficult verbal forms, but the triumphant note of Clemensism, the supreme mark of its author's transcendent genius, is its grand simplicity. There is a noble directness in his teaching which is wanting in his predecessors. The whole of his doctrine, the last and perfect effort of a master mind, the keynote to all the problems of history, the principle of unbounded importance in its application to every department of life, is summarised, fully and luminously stated, in four little words: *We are all mad!*

Yes. That is the Clemensite law in all its grand severity. It is an avalanche of truth. To seize it in all the immensity of its applications, it must be understood that Clemensism in its extended form allows for variations in individual manifestations of lunacy. We all obey the law, but we obey it in different ways. You and I are certainly mad, but my madness is not thy madness, and both of us differ from other people in the quality of our aberrations: quot homines tot dementiæ. Another highly important point is this: that except in desperate cases individual madness is only of a very partial kind. It usually manifests itself in some single peculiar idea to which the individual is addicted, a fad or phantasy of any kind. It may always be recognised

by the fact that this fad is just the very thing on which we think we are intensely sane, and concerning which we are supremely fitted by Nature to be "the Way, the Truth and the Life" to our weaker brethren. All humanity falls under this rule, and nothing would be more entertaining than to construct something Hegelian and massive on the theme: it would be a charming task, for instance, to vindicate Clemensism by reference to living politicians, which would be the most convincing way of proving its soundness. But this wonderful doctrine is so pregnant with salutary lessons that it may be better if we allow charity to begin at home and apply the Clemensite principle to the Socialist movement in the first place.

Here we are, then, the professedly authentic followers of Karl Marx. We are Marxian Socialists, the advocates of a deeply-reasoned scheme of action. According to our creed, the moral, intellectual and æsthetic culture of a people is dependent for its development on the degree of perfection attained in the arrangements of the material life. That is to say, that the first needs of a community are good food, healthy housing and clothing, and an arrangement of wealth-production by work without excessive strain and with ample intervals of leisure. Finally, an equable distribution of the wealth when produced, so that the means of the higher life may be offered to all. These, we say, are the necessary precedents of all intellectual, ethical, and æsthetic progress. Therefore, in concentrating our attention on the perfection of the economic system, so that it will fulfil the conditions roughly laid down above, we claim that we alone are working for full mental and moral progress.

On the practical side surely the work of Socialism is urgent and engaging enough. To express our creed we have the populace to convert and capitalism to destroy. We have to abolish adulteration of all kinds; re-organise production; provide and distribute an abundance of wholesome food and clothing; burn the slums; break up the over-great agglomerations and

scatter men, women and children over the land on chosen sites where Nature smiles, amidst pure air and with the freedom of space. We have to build new and seemly homesteads for all and put the soil under tribute. That is only a fraction of the task, and I am quite prepared to admit that it is not exactly a trifle. For that very reason, it might be thought that of all people the Socialists, with such a long row to hoe, would stick to their own particular work. They would, presumably, have little time to spare for extraneous excitements.

Now, it is precisely at this point that we realise the awe-inspiring profundity of the gospel according to Clemens. Because Socialism is so much wider as a creed and so much more exacting as a present-day political cult than all other systems, therefore—note the reasoning—it seems necessary to large numbers of our excellent comrades to tack some abominable little fad or phantasy on to it. Socialist Number One accepts the programme of course, but the demon of Vegetarianism is gnawing at his heart; he says we shall never eat the true bread of life unless it is cooked in paper bags, and he wants to lead us to the Promised Land viâ a fruit diet. Socialist Number Two is death on whiskey; Number Three has a private passion for hunting Jesuits; Four wants to introduce the Sermon on the Mount, and Five is just as deeply convinced that Atheism is the only hope of the world. And so it runs. Anti-Vivisection, Votes for Women, Anti-Vaccination, Humanitarianism, Theosophy, Homœopathy—anything you like—except the socialisation of wealth, except the minding of our own plain and, Heaven knows, urgent and tremendous business.

I remember one branch, many years ago, which was wholly given over to the Anti-Vaccination campaign. It was led on this wild-goose chase by an individual who is a Liberal Alderman to-day, and for months he succeeded in involving a Marxian body in a discussion of lymphs and bacteria, of which, by the way, nobody there knew anything whatever. There was another humbug—we had to expel him—who had acute anti-

theological mania. His only object was to get on to the platform, and once there he criticised every Biblical character, but he never said one word about Communism. These are but two examples, but every man in the movement could add more. For your faddist does not strike his breast from afar. He rushes with his wretched delusion to the front of the fray, he pushes it forward at every meeting, and airs it in the Press. One could overlook this weakness, but unfortunately it has become a serious matter. The faddists have wrought harm in two specific ways. They have, by the introduction of endless vagaries, vastly enlarged the possibilities of dissension, and they have utterly disguised the true nature and work of our organisation and raised a barrier between us and the plain man in the street. Now, without a doubt, the great majority of us are economic Socialists first and foremost. The rank and file of the movement, the men who never write and rarely speak, who do nothing but attend meetings loyally and pay continually, they share none of these outrageous eccentricities. What the main body of the silent members in the Socialist movement ardently desire is tangible progress in the socialisation of wealth: they want better material conditions of life, and they will back any movement of which the tendency is towards Communism much more vigorously than "Reform" antics. So, too, with the general body of Labour: the frequency and vigour of recent strikes, ineffective though they have been, are proof enough that the British proletariat is beginning to realise that there is a world to be fought for at last.

We must put our fads in the background and our clear, revolutionary purpose well to the front. The beginning of wisdom—old style—was the fear of the Lord, but our wisdom will begin with a wholesome dread of ourselves. To lead in the greatest historic change which has ever been effected is no light charge, and we must be circumspect. One, and a highly important, task of democracy is self-imposed discipline, and there can be no better school for that than the

Socialist movement. The Socialist must realise that, as such, he is asked to aid in the overthrow of capitalism, and he must make no attempt to saddle the movement with matters not relating to that end. On the other hand, he is entitled to the fullest liberty in all his private actions. If he wants to oppose Vaccination, or Vivisection, or the Flogging of Whoremongers, he can do so, but he has no right whatever to speak for the rest of us on such things. He can worship one God or a whole Olympus if he likes, or curse the same, with or without bell and candle. It does not concern us. He can gorge himself with meat, fired or unfired, or imitate the Ingoldsby monks and live upon cabbage and hot cross buns. We do not care either way. He can indulge in any fad he pleases; he has a right to a fraction of insanity, it is a gift of Nature, the Clemensite endowment. But, for the sake of humanity, let him go off and do it in a corner where no one can hear him.

Then, so it seems to me at least, a more decided insistence on economic action would sweep away a lot of the rubbish which at present encumbers the movement. It would be possible to formulate a far more distinctively Socialist plan of campaign. Why, for instance, could we not draw up a Bill embodying cumulative taxation of incomes, the funds thus raised to be put to the realisation of palliatives, housing, feeding, rational old-age pensions, &c.? We should not carry that Bill at once, but are we likely to carry *any* Bill at once? We should give a lead to the nation; we should show what we mean. The measure would explain the mind of the Socialist to the population at large; it would explain his method; it would proclaim the equal right of all to the revenue of the country; it would form a splendid basis for propaganda, and, properly handled, rally the masses. The success of the Syndicalist agitator is due largely to the fact that he has furnished strong meat. The time is apt for us; we need to put forward one definite and bold measure. It will find more support than a score of vapid, unavailing fads.

THE EDUCATIONAL MIX-UP.

By Samuel Williamsburgh.

It has long been an axiom of mine that if you give an Anti-Socialist sufficient rope he is bound to hang himself. It is worthy of note that when any interested or ignorant person gets up on his hind legs and brags about the "follies" of Socialism, he invariably manages to contradict himself upon one, if not more, occasions. A case in point is that of Mr. Joynson-Hicks, who, in his debate with our friend Grayson, declared that "Socialism is the gospel of despair," but, later, admitted "the high ideal of the Socialists," without attempting to reconcile the two statements.

Somewhat in the same category the enemies of the secular solution of the educational tangle may be placed. Note this most brilliant of their stock arguments: "*The Secularists wish to drive God out of the school*"! Prodigious!

From the foregoing, four facts may be deduced: (1) That the denominationalists, having become so wrapped up in the contemplations of their paltry flesh-pots, have lost the sense of humour. (2) The sceptics are not the only people guilty of irreverence. (3) Is illustrative of the proximity of the sublime to the ridiculous. And (4) that, presumably, God was placed in the schools by the denominationalists.

This Supreme Being—He who has made

"The earth with its store
Of riches untold";

who made the sun, that mighty sphere of molten flame, which gives light and life and warmth to the green grass, the lovely flowers, the stately trees, and

the waving golden corn; who made the majestic lion, the ferocious tiger, the gentle deer, the playful kitten, and the faithful dog; who has created the pale silvery moon, the dark lowering cloud, the eternal snow-clad hills and fertile smiling plains, the rippling brooks and mighty rivers, the vast unfathomable ocean, the frowning rocks and numberless sands of the sea-shore; who made those far-off worlds which, "when over earth Night draws her sable pall," seem as twinkling points of light, and cluster "like swarms of golden bees," or "rivers of living gems"; who sends the gentle rain and the torrential downpour, the refreshing zephyrs of summer and the icy blasts of winter; who has created the strong, affectionate father, the gentle, loving mother, and the innocent, lovable child (about whom all the educational pother), with its refining and civilising influences; who gave inspiration to Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Demosthenes, Cicero, Copernicus, Bruno, Galileo, Michael Angelo, Raphael, Shakespeare, Wagner, Goethe, Herbert Spencer, Darwin, Mill, Huxley, Carlyle, Ruskin, Dickens, Thackeray, Dumas, Hugo, Wordsworth, Shelley, Swinburne, Hardy, Stevenson, and—and—yes, the Editor of the "Daily Mail"! this Almighty, Infinite Being, the Author and Monarch of the Universe; who is Omniscient, Omnipotent, and Omnipresent; who has always existed and always will; who is cognisant of every occurrence—past, present, and future; who has the power—did He so will it—to destroy the Universe He created; shall He, we ask, be driven (like some mongrel cur) from any place into which He may choose to put Himself? Not if *man*—puny, denominational man—knows it!

And now, you self-constituted, "funny little champions of the Most High," do you really believe that an All-Powerful Being, whose majesty and glory language such as mine could never adequately portray, needs protection such as *yours*? The wonder is that you are not ashamed of such foolish blasphemy! "Nonsense!" one seems to hear the denominationalists exclaim; "what we mean is that the protagonists of

secular education desire to make a clean sweep of religious education from the schools. We are of the opinion that such a step would tend to the undermining of religious influences. 'Train up a child in the way it should go and it will not depart from it in after life,' is a truism which none can dispute. Religion is the principal safeguard of society, and if we inculcate in children of an impressionable age a reverence for our Heavenly Father and of religious truths, that reverence will remain when childhood's days have passed. It is, therefore, essential that religious instruction should be given in day-schools as part of the curriculum."

"It is *essential* that religious instruction should be given in day-schools——" Wherefore? Are there no Sunday-schools?

And what is the "religious" teaching of which they speak? Singing a hymn, saying a prayer, reciting the Apostle's Creed, and reading a chapter out of the Bible. And the unfortunate children's minds are crammed with stories such as that about Joshua wanting the light of the moon in addition to that of the sun, so that he might demonstrate the loving nature of *his* God by shedding the blood of the Amorites; or of Jonah living, breathing, and saying his prayers in the belly of a fish! No wonder the fish vomited him!

We had that sort of "religious" instruction when I attended school, and much good it did us! On St. Patrick's Day (after the "religious" instruction) we would lay in wait for the children who attended a Roman Catholic school, or they for us, and prove the truth of this "religion of love" by pelting each other with stones and other missiles.

"'Train up a child in the way it should go and it will not depart from it in after life,' is a truism which none can dispute"! Oh! Are there, then, no proselytes—no changing creeds? How many people to-day believe what their ancestors of a thousand years ago thought proper? A few hundred years ago, an ancestor of mine was a Roman Catholic; another

ancestor, who lived in pre-Christian days, was a Pagan. Had there been no Reformation, and sons had not departed from the faith of their sires, England would still be a Roman Catholic country, and I and a great many others would never have been taught to disbelieve the infallibility of the Pope.

The bulk of "religious" people are too dogmatic: are too prone to imagine that they have reached the limits of human wisdom. But none are more ignorant than those who think they possess all knowledge and refuse to learn more; but—"There are more things in heaven and earth, Denominationalist, than is dreamt of in your philosophy."

If it be necessary to teach children religion, it must be by example, not precept; and their best exemplars are their parents. In one respect, children resemble monkeys: they are imitative, not original. Whatever they see grown-ups do they will attempt to copy. If the parents are of good manners the child will be of good manners as well; if the parents use bad language in its presence it will do likewise; and you may tell a child that such is wrong till you are black in the face, but it will not believe you. The child cannot *believe* that such is wrong until it *knows* it to be wrong; and it cannot *know* that it is wrong until its *reason tells it so*.

Therefore, to attempt to instruct children in the science of ethics is a sheer waste of time and energy. Children cannot understand religion because they have no conception of the morality from which religion is inseparable. The truly moral people are the philosophers: the people who use reason and logic. But children lack the capacity for logical deduction. They do not think clearly; they only wonder.

Besides, religion is something more than a hotch-potch of attending church in Sunday attire, listening to or preaching sermons, singing hymns, chanting psalms, and accepting without demur everything the parson tells you. It is something better than praising God by word of mouth—and denying Him in deed! I

consider it more religious to eat the good food He is supposed to provide—even if one never says grace either before or after meals, breathe the pure air He is supposed to have made for our benefit, or admire the beauties of Nature we see around us. Go to church! The church was built by man. The grass, the flowers, the hedgerows, the trees, the birds—Nature's feathered choristers, the pellucid, rippling brooks, these are the supposed handiwork of a beneficent Creator. That's the church for me: the open country.

I mean the religion which impels me to seek both the material and spiritual advancement of the whole human race; the religion which advises the keeping of a sound mind in a sound body; the religion which enjoins me to develop my "God-given" faculty of reason to the fullest possible extent. I consider it more to the glory of God to demolish slums than to build churches; to feed the hungry and clothe the naked than to preach at them. It is better to teach than to preach. Ignoramuses preach; philosophers teach. The only religion that I can accept is that which is founded upon reason. I have little patience with the dolts who dub reason a carnal thing. Many of the teachings of the Nazarene are based upon reason. Were it otherwise, Christianity would be unreasonable.

Yes, inculcate in the children's minds, if you will, the philosophy of the Nazarene. Impress upon them the desirability of practising the Golden Rule. But when they leave school to face the harsh realities of life they will have to slough those principles, and that very quickly. There's no room for such sentiment in this workaday world!

Having said so much by way of clearing the ground, let us turn our attention to the main points at issue.

(To be continued.)

THE MONTH

As we go to press the Parliamentary Session is drawing to a close. It has been a most unproductive Session so far as legislation is concerned, and the Labour Party seems in it to have reached its lowest point. The Home Rule and Welsh Church Bills have again been passed by the Commons and again rejected by the Lords, and the only point of agreement between the two Houses appears to be the extension of control of the policeman, as evidenced in the Mental Deficiency Bill and the Temperance (Scotland) Bill.

Although the country is heartily sick of the Liberal Government, especially of Lloyd George and his nostrums, there seems to be no possibility of a relief, even by means of a General Election. Mr. Bonar Law snarls and flounders, and alienates some of the more staid and law-abiding of his own party, which has seriously suffered by the deaths of Mr. George Wyndham and Mr. Alfred Lyttelton. Never since the early days of Disraeli's career has the Tory Party been so poorly off in personnel as now, and if ever they came into office it would only be because the electorate had grown so weary of the present corrupt régime that they would be prepared to chance anything.

The Government's determination to side with the employers was brought into prominence over the Leith dock strike. Gunboats were despatched to the port of Leith, and bluejackets landed to guard the docks against the strikers. The contemporary strike of Edinburgh tramwaymen was also the occasion for police rowdyism and outrage.

With no love for collectivism to start with, Mr. Churchill has found out that a policy of laisser faire, in regard to the question of the oil supply, will not serve the purposes of the Navy. In order to save the State from being the victim of a monopolist ring, he proposes that the Admiralty shall establish its own independent supply.

One of the minor benefits conferred by the discovery of wireless telegraphy is the bringing nearer of the inhabitants of the outcast island of St. Kilda to civilisation. In the past the inhabitants, owing to the barren character of their islet, might run short of food or be suffering from an epidemic without the rest of the world being aware of the fact. Now, owing to the " wireless " installation on the island, the poor folk there will be able to communicate as to their necessities.

It may be a question whether the achievement of Woman Suffrage will have been brought appreciably nearer by the pilgrimage of the " law-abiding Suffragists," but it is certain that the country was greatly impressed with the difference between their methods and demeanour and those of the harum-scarum militants whose every effort appears to disgust the average elector—even the friends of Woman Suffrage.

George Lansbury has been sent to prison for refusing to give securities for keeping the peace which he had never broken. Mr. McKenna has made himself very ridiculous over this case—by his selection of the very old and obsolete Act of Edward III. under which the police took action, and also by his promise of a pardon for an offence which Lansbury said he had not committed and had no intention of committing.

Two matters of importance occurred in the British Socialist movement during the month. The first was an informal Conference of the three Socialist bodies—I.L.P., B.S.P. and Fabian Society—under the auspices of the International Bureau, with Huysmans and Vandervelde present—to consider the question of Socialist unity. The dictum of the International Bureau—that unity can only be obtained through joining the Labour Party—has aroused a keen discussion in the ranks of the British Socialist Party.

The other event was the reception and testimonial to H. W. Lee on his retirement from the position of general secretary to the British Socialist Party, after having held that office in the Party and its predecessors, the Social-Democratic Federation and the Social-Democratic Party, for 27 years. Our comrade Lee was the recipient of many expressions of goodwill, of admiration for his devotion to the cause, and of hope for his services in the future through the Twentieth Century Press.

The vacancy caused at Chesterfield by the death of Mr. James Haslam has shown once more how little real political independence there now is in the Parliamentary Labour Party. Whatever independence it originally possessed has dwindled almost to nothing since the Miners' Federation became affiliated to it. True that affiliation considerably increased the number of "Labour" members in Parliament, but inasmuch as most of the miners' representatives were Liberals in opinions and outlook what the Labour Party in Parliament gained in numbers it more than lost in independence.

Some time ago Mr. Haslam intimated that he would retire at the next election. It was then that Mr. Barnet Kenyon, treasurer of the Derbyshire Miners' Association, was put forward as the Labour candidate, but he let it be known that he looked for Liberal support and was prepared to be adopted as the Liberal-Labour candidate. Considerable dissatisfaction was expressed at his attitude by the more advanced of the Labour Party in the Chesterfield division, but nothing was done by the Executive of the Labour Party until at the last moment it was decided to withhold its endorsement of Mr. Kenyon's candidature. This decision will have no effect whatever on the result. Mr. Kenyon will be returned, the Liberal Party will gain a seat, and the Labour Party in Parliament will be reduced by one.

The work of the British Socialist Party in striving to rouse public feeling about the infamous raising of the Load Line on British ships is at last beginning to bear fruit. Mr. Sydney Buxton has appointed a Committee to inquire into the results of the raising of the Plimsoll mark. It is certain that if H. M. Hyndman had not delivered his address at the Memorial Hall last April, and if the B.S.P. had not circulated the verbatim report

of the speech all over the country and held meetings and written to the Press and members of Parliament about the question, no such Committee would have been called into existence. But much must not be expected from the Committee: not a single representative of the seafaring profession—not even an officer—is upon it! The agitation about the Load Line has stirred public feeling, though the B.S.P. has got scarcely any credit for it, so the Board of Trade Committee of Inquiry is appointed to show that "something" is being done.

The outbreak on the Rand has called attention to the terrible conditions under which the gold production of South Africa is carried on. There has been plenty of publicity given to the money earnings of the gold miners, but little to the terrible phthisis which renders it impossible for them to keep at work beyond an average of five years. This disease has increased since the two-drill system was introduced in 1907 on account of the greater quantity of dust which gets into the lungs of those who are working. As to the wages of the miners, the prices of commodities are such that the sum of £25 a month has a purchasing-power equal to about £2 10s. a week in this country.

For some weeks previous to the scenes which took place at Johannesburg on July 4 and 5 a dispute had been dragging on at the Kleinfontein mines with regard to the Saturday half-holiday, which the mine management were trying to filch from some of the underground workers, and other miners began to come out in sympathy. The prohibition of the great demonstration in the Market Square at Johannesburg almost at the last moment led to the rioting which followed, in which some twenty men were killed and about two hundred and fifty wounded. A few days later a "settlement" of the dispute was arrived at of so unsatisfactory a character that a general strike was threatened. The overwhelming force of soldiers and police drafted into Johannesburg, and the manifest intention of the South African Government to use them at the slightest provocation, crushed the attempt. The attitude of General Botha may be judged from his speech at Johannesburg. He said: "The labourer was a valuable asset in the development of industries that depended upon muscle, but the labourer must learn that there would be no room for labour if there were no capital."

The Three Years' Service Bill has at last passed the French Chamber of Deputies by 358 votes to 205. The Bill now goes to the Senate, where it is certain to be carried through. The minority in the Chamber against the Bill was made up of 135 Radicals of various groups and 71 Socialists of the "Unified" Party. For months past our comrades have been carrying on a most vigorous campaign against the increase in the period which the conscripts are called upon to serve with the colours. Demonstrations and meetings have been held and petitions circulated. The attempts of the Barthou Government to set back the tide of public opinion by suppression of meetings, prosecution of Socialists and trade unionists, and courts-martial of conscripts accused of insubordination have completely failed. Even when the Bill passes the Senate its fate will not be certain by any means. The raising of the money has still to be faced, and the consideration of the Budget will present all kinds of difficulties for the French Government.

There is peace at last in the Balkans, peace imposed upon Bulgaria by force, with Sofia threatened by Servia, Greece and Roumania. It looks as if the "peace" will last about as long as Bulgaria will require to resume her former military strength, or until the other "Allies" think they will have a quarrel of their own. While the "Allies" have been entertaining the world with an exhibition of their fraternal regard for each other, Turkey has re-occupied Adrianople, and respectfully declines to clear out. The Great Powers of Europe have managed up to the present to prevent themselves warring with one another, but their mutual distrust has rendered them powerless to stop the fearful carnage which will leave its mark on the Balkan States for many years to come. In the later stages of the peace negotiations France and Germany appear to have worked together, and Austria has been forced to act in conjunction with Russia. Is the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente becoming strained? While Sir Edward Grey is at the Foreign Office he can be relied upon to see to it that this country does anything that Russia requires.

Early last month the King and Queen paid a hurried journey to Lancashire and visited a number of the manufacturing towns. They looked in at some of the mills where men, women and children are exploited for the benefit of the mill owners. We have not seen it mentioned that mills were stopped during the time that their

Majesties remained, but it is scarcely conceivable that the ear-breaking noise of the mill was allowed to continue. Then they visited some of the workers in their homes, and no doubt the event will be talked over for years by those who received the King and Queen with a certain amount of nervous anxiety. We may take it that everything was arranged to give the King and Queen the best possible impression of an industrial part of the country from which the upper class naturally keep away. The object of the visit was unquestionably to popularise the monarchy. George lacks the traditions of his grandmother and the personality of his father. Hence, something must be done by ceremony on the one hand and an appearance of kindly personal interest on the other to enhance the monarchy in the minds of the people.

THE EVENTS OF JULY.

AT HOME.

1—Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Rufus Isaacs, at the National Liberal Club, defended their Marconi dealings.
Funeral of Mrs. H. M. Hyndman.

2—House of Commons: Discussion on the Cadeby Colliery disaster last year.
Final sitting of the Marconi Committee.
£50,000 damages agreed upon by Marquis of Northampton for breach of promise.

4—Death of Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, M.P., ex-Colonial Secretary.

7—King and Queen started on their Lancashire tour.
House of Commons: Home Rule Bill, third reading.

9—King and Queen visited Burnley: the inhabitants not at home.

10—Black Country strike marchers arrived in London.

12—Majority of Boilermakers voted in favour of settlement of wages dispute.
Norfolk coast passenger express partly wrecked: three railwaymen killed.
Black Country dispute settled.
"Times" secured £90,000 for the saving of the Crystal Palace.

15—The Lords again rejected the Home Rule Bill.

16—House of Commons discussed the Load Line.

17—Dock strike at Hull: 10,000 idle.
Mr. Churchill proposed State supply of oil for the Navy.

18—Six gunboats sent to Leith to cow dock strikers.
Informal Conference in London on Socialist Unity.

20—Tramway strike in Edinburgh.

21—British Medical Association refused to form a doctors' trade union.

22—House of Lords again rejected Welsh Church Bill.

24—Lords rejected Plural Voting Bill.

26—Socialist Reception and Testimonial to H. W. Lee, at Anderton's Hotel.

27—Two suffrage demonstrations in London: the "law abiding" in Hyde Park, the "militants" in Trafalgar Square—the latter resulting in riot.

29—Four lost letters of Charlotte Brontë published by the "Times."

Wireless station established on St. Kilda.

30—George Lansbury sent to prison for refusing to find sureties for keeping the peace.

31—House of Commons discussed the Rand murders.

Death of James Haslam, "Labour" M.P. for Chesterfield.

ABROAD.

1—Number of French trade unionists arrested for their anti-militarist propaganda.

Capture of Ishtip by the Serbs; Greeks attacked the Bulgars.

Death announced (on June 30) of Henri Rochefort.

4 & 5—Strike, riots and martial law on the Rand; many killed.

7—Bulgars invaded Servia.

10—Roumania and Montenegro declared war upon Bulgaria.

Dr. Bos (Radical) commanded by the Queen of the Netherlands to form a Ministry.

11—German Socialists won another seat in the Potsdam district.

15—Shipping strike at Hamburg; 18,000 men idle.

16—Turks invaded Thrace.

19—French Chamber adopted Three Years' Service Bill.

20—Turks re-occupied Adrianople and the "Allies" advanced on Sofia.

21—Dr. Bos's offer of three portfolios to the Socialists in new Dutch Cabinet declined.

Strikes at Stettin and Bremen.

23—Martial law in Peking. Defeat of the Revolutionaries.

Trouble in the Pope's Swiss Guard.

International Miners' Congress opened at Karlsbad.

24—Death of Mr. Sauer, South African Minister of Justice and Native Affairs.

27—Johannesburg Trades Federation threatened a general strike.

29—Peace Conference started preliminaries at Bukharest.

30—Armistice concluded at Bukharest.

31—Johannesburg Trades Federation decided by 65 votes to 18 against general strike.

CAPITALIST CONCENTRATION IN FRANCE.

Not only do our opponents deny capitalist concentration, but they go still further, and maintain obstinately that, on the contrary, a process of distribution and breaking-up of property and riches is taking place, which will end in making the immense majority of French citizens property-owners.

France, where economic development has of late years moved at a much slower rate than in Germany, the United States, or England, for instance, seems able to offer a particularly favourable example for such contentions. On that account it will be of special interest to examine the process of concentration in France.

If anyone hesitates to draw general conclusions, in spite of the striking and telling proofs that can be seen every day of the process of capitalist concentration, we have as an illustration the figures supplied by the Ministry of Labour and the Social Assistance authorities.

I.—CONCENTRATION IN INDUSTRY.

These statistics give the following results: There are engaged in industry in France 11,760,471 wage-workers and employees, 2,080,000 independent persons who employ no assistants, and 6,286,507 employers.

Let us now see, according to the last three census, what is the number of employees and workers engaged in undertakings where from 1 to 100 persons are employed:—

Undertakings.	Number of employees and workers.			Percentage of employees and workers.		
	1896.	1901	1906	1896	1901	1906
With from 1 to 10 employees and workers (small undertakings)	1,134,703	1,130,851	1,187,619	36	32	32
With from 11 to 100 employees and workers (medium undertakings) ...	853,000	999,150	1,026,720	28	28	27
With over 100 employees and workers (large undertakings)	1,124,000	1,396,815	1,542,863	36	40	41
Total ...	3,111,703	3,526,816	3,757,202	100	100	100

Thus, according to these figures, more than 40 per cent. of the "personnel" of industry work in undertakings which employ over 100 workers, and the proportion has been continually on the upgrade since 1896. The relative number of employees and workers in the undertakings employing 1 to 10, and 11 to 100 persons, has, on the other hand, diminished.

We will now go on to examine in detail how the undertakings may be classified according to the number of employees and workers, comparing the results of the years 1896, 1901, and 1906. They are as follows :—

Number of employees and workers per undertaking.	Number of undertakings.		
	1896	1901	1906
With 1 ...	290,748	318,304	317,933
„ 2 ...	128,931	125,494	129,813
„ 3 ...	54,500	52,172	54,669
„ 4 ...	29,609	28,789	30,873
„ 5 ...	16,939	16,077	17,316
„ 6 ...	11,749	11,302	12,883
„ 7 ...	7,109	6,851	7,445
„ 8 ...	6,431	6,246	7,096
„ 9 ...	4,095	3,760	4,154
„ 10 ...	5,056	4,994	5,581
„ 11 to 20 ...	17,999	20,307	19,933
„ 21 „ 50 ...	11,600	12,973	13,215
„ 51 „ 100 ...	3,946	4,491	4,650
„ 101 „ 200 ...	2,041	2,350	2,555
„ 201 „ 500 ...	1,152	1,330	1,467
„ 501 „ 1,000 ...	299	338	412
„ 1,001 „ 2,000 ...	109	144	146
„ 2,001 „ 5,000 ...	35	46	33
„ more than 5,000 ...	13	18	16
Total ...	592,361	615,986	630,190

By the aid of these figures it will be seen that the increase in the number of capitalist undertakings is proceeding steadily.

While the undertakings which employ one, two, or at the most three workers, are scarcely increasing, and, particularly, did not increase greatly between 1901 and 1906, those with a large staff are becoming more and more numerous.

The number of undertakings which employ more than 500 wage-earners has increased by more than 40 per cent., those with 50 to 500 employees by 20 per cent., and those with 6 to 50 workers

by 3 per cent., while relatively the number of undertakings with 1 to 5 wage-earners has, on the contrary, diminished.

The result of the classification of the industrial works into small, medium and large concerns, according to the number of workers employed, is thus as follows: Out of 100 wage-earners 24.6 per cent are employed in the small, 7.2 per cent. in the medium, and 68.2 per cent. in the large undertakings.

In 1901 the percentage in the small undertakings amounted to 24.6, in the medium 6.7, and in the large undertakings 68.7, while in 1896 it was 27.7 in the first category, 7.8 in the second, and 64.5 in the third.

In the year 1906 41,092 undertakings with more than 10 workers each employed 2,569,583 workers, while 568,111 undertakings (ten times the number) with less than 10 workers employed only 1,187,699 workers—that is, half the amount!

We find further proofs of capitalist concentration in the statistical reports on motor power, brought out by the Ministry of Labour in 1906.

In 1899 the number of undertakings worked by steam engines amounted to 47,388; in 1906 it reached the height of 49,973. The expenditure of force in these 47,388 undertakings of 1899 amounted to 1,435,982 horse-power, while the force in the 49,973 undertakings in 1906, on the other hand, reached the height of 2,605,000 horse-power! The following table gives a good idea:—

Expenditure of force, expressed in horse-power.	Number of undertakings with steam-motors.		Out of 1,000 undertakings with steam motors, there came under each group—	
	1899	1906	1899	1906
At least 10... ...	32,136	30,498	676.7	610.2
11 to 20... ...	7,297	8,354	153.7	167.2
21 „ 50... ...	4,514	7,884	91.1	117.7
51 „ 100... ...	1,602	2,090	33.7	41.8
101 „ 200... ...	958	1,459	20.2	29.2
201 „ 500... ...	621	997	13.1	20.0
501 „ 1,000... ...	214	354	4.5	7.1
1,001 „ 2,000... ...	89	194	2.0	3.9
2,001 and over... ...	56	143	1.0	2.9

The above table shows that the small family undertakings have diminished in number, while those of medium size have a tendency to remain stationary. But the large ones have increased almost to double the number, and, further, the total horse-power of each

category of factories shows that if the number of capitalist factories has doubled, their force, expressed in terms of horse-power, has even trebled.

Factories with a force (in horse-power) of	Total force in horse-power		Out of 1,000 horse-power there came under each category—	
	1899	1906	1899	1906
At least 10... ...	173,033	170,000	121	65
11 to 50... ...	261,795	330,000	126	182
51 „ 200... ...	263,272	380,000	146	183
201 „ 1,000... ...	350,064	580,000	223	244
1,001 and over... ...	387,818	1,145,000	270	440

In order to judge correctly the astonishing increase of the large capitalist factories, we must compare their number in the year 1906 with the number of those of the same kind in 1899.

Horse-power.	Number of factories in the year.	
	1899	1906
2,001 to 5,000	39	90
5,001 „ 10,000	12	30
10,001 „ 15,000	4	15
15,001 „ 20,000	1	3
20,000 and over	—	5*
Total	56	143

* These consisted of one factory with 22,000 horse-power, two with 27,000, one with 39,000, and one with 43,000.

The number of factories running with more than 2,000 horse-power has thus increased in seven years from 56 to 143, or nearly treble the former number.

Is not this a highly interesting phenomenon on which we should concentrate our attention? Can we speak any longer of the possibility of the extension of small ownership, of the brilliant future of the producers who, as owners of their means of production, are masters of their own destiny? The question answers itself. It is superfluous to say much about it.

Now let us see how it stands in the case of trade.

II.—CONCENTRATION IN COMMERCE.

In all the branches of trade: provision, furniture, clothing, shoe, and jewellery, as well as fancy and bazaar articles, the large shops have overwhelmed and most seriously injured the small businesses managed by the owners themselves.

Besides Felix Potin—whose annual return amounts to more than one hundred million francs—besides Dalmoy and Courtés, who work in the capital, the great houses, with their numerous "filiales," are drawing the money from the country. Thirty-four of them own more than 10,000 shops, which are distributed all over France. The old firm "Planteur de Caiffa," which has become a joint-stock company with a capital of fifty million francs, under the name of Anglo-Continental Supply Company, the last annual returns of which showed a profit of 4,260,000 francs (£170,400), employs 15,000 persons, who travel about the provinces and do business to the extent of one million francs per day. The firm of Debray, which competes against it, has 250 branches and 1,000 carts.

The Bon Marché, which formerly had a return of one hundred and sixty million francs (£6,400,000) has now, with its 6,000 employees, increased this return to two hundred million (£8,000,000). The Louvre has increased its return, which in 1875 amounted to forty million francs, to more than one hundred and fifty millions in 1910. The Belle Jardinière, which has its own factories in Lille and Paris, and employs nearly 1,500 male and female workers, not counting 500 home workers, has risen from thirty-four millions in 1895 to nearly forty-five millions at the present time. The Samaritaine has now nearly reached one hundred and ten millions, as against seventy-five millions in 1900. The Printemps has risen from forty-three millions in 1905 to one hundred millions. The Galéries Lafayette, which in 1895 had a return of only 500,000 francs, now employ more than 3,000 persons, and dispose annually of goods to the value of more than one hundred millions.

The Nouvelles Galéries, the capital of which increased from 7,500,000 francs in 1897 to fifty millions in 1906, Paris-France, the Magasins Reunis, the Société des Grands Magazins Modernes, Thiéry et Sigrand, Esders, the shoe emporium Raoul—all these shops, which have hundreds of branches in the Arrondissements and principal towns of the Departments, possess real estate to the value of one hundred million francs, and each of the three first-mentioned makes an annual profit of nearly five millions. Then there is in addition Dufayel with its thirty branches and its palace on the Boulevard Barbès, and the Classes Laborieuses, the Ville de St. Denis, etc. I will further mention the firm of Bernot, which supplies Paris and its suburbs in a single year with 561,438,190 kilogrammes of wood, coal and coke for the sum of 25,734,218 francs 65 centimes! But capitalistic concentration in trade is not only proved by the above figures, but, as in industry, by official statistics.

The number of businesses with at least one worker or employee has increased considerably since 1896. It rose from 233,124 in that year to 277,566 in 1906—that is, 44,442 new undertakings in ten years. At the same time, the number of workers and employees rose from 657,457 in the year 1896 to 785,837 in 1906—that is, an increase of 128,380, and the average number of the staffs rose from 2.6 in 1896 to 2.8 in 1906.

If we now classify the undertakings according to the number of employees, we shall see which categories have grown the most:

Number of employees and workers per undertaking.	Number of undertakings.		
	1896	1901	1906
With 1 ...	126,909	139,068	156,626
„ 2 ...	50,922	51,813	57,391
„ 3 ...	21,065	21,423	23,867
„ 4 ...	10,895	11,443	12,229
„ 5 ...	6,018	6,212	7,038
„ 6 ...	3,873	4,194	4,163
„ 7 ...	2,442	2,770	2,717
„ 8 ...	1,939	2,176	2,263
„ 9 ...	1,344	1,393	1,506
„ 10 ...	1,302	1,457	1,488
„ 11 to 20 ...	4,316	4,604	5,309
„ 21 „ 50 ...	1,650	1,928	2,214
„ 51 „ 100 ...	303	351	482
„ 101 „ 200 ...	92	122	175
„ 201 „ 500 ...	36	54	72
„ 501 „ 1,000 ...	5	6	13
„ 1,001 „ 2,000 ...	7	4	6
„ 2,001 „ 5,000 ...	3	5	6
„ more than 5,000 ...	3	1	1
Total ...	233,124	249,024	277,566

Thus the various categories of commercial undertakings have not increased in the same proportion. The undertakings with one employee show, indeed, a remarkable increase, their number having risen by 30,000 in ten years. But, after all, this growth only represents a fifth of the total number in this category, while the number of businesses with 100 to 1,000 employees has nearly doubled, having increased from 143 to 273 in the period between 1896 and 1906.

The following must also be taken into consideration: there are a number of businesses with only one employee which in reality

belong to brewers, liqueur-makers, and large provision firms. They are supplied with money by these big concerns, so that the nominal owner of the business is in reality nothing but a "straw man," and his position merely that of a manager, selling for the profit of others.

We can best form an idea of the growth of the different categories by dividing their staffs in the years 1896 and 1906, and seeing where an increase or diminution in their percentage has taken place.

For this purpose we will first see how the number of workers is distributed among the businesses of different sizes.

Undertakings.	Number of Employees.	
	1896	1906
With 1 to 5 employees	365,627	427,115
„ 6 „ 10 „	80,960	90,535
„ more than 10 „	210,870	268,187
Total ...	657,457	785,837

With the help of these figures it is easy to determine that during the period from 1896 to 1906 the percentage of employees and workers in those undertakings which employ 1 to 5 persons has fallen from 55.6 to 54.4 per cent. of the total number of persons employed, and in the case of the undertakings employing 6 to 10 persons has fallen from 12.3 to 11.5, while in the case of the firms with more than 10 employees it has risen from 32.1 to 34.4. And if the statisticians of the general census on March 4 had given us the exact number of employees and workers in the businesses with a staff of 100 to 5,000 during the period between 1896 and 1906, instead of merely publishing the total number of employees in the undertakings which employ more than 10 persons, we should be surprised at the percentage increase in the number of workers in the above-mentioned category. The absence of these returns does not, however, prevent our drawing conclusions regarding capitalist concentration, and with regard to our opponents—well, there are none so blind as those who won't see!

COMPÈRE-MOREL

(From "Die Neue Zeit.")

THE INDOMITABLE SPIRIT OF MOTHER JONES.

Out of the riot and confusion of the last few months in West Virginia emerges the figure of an old woman of eighty-one, with white hair, benevolent features, a caustic tongue, a martial spirit and a philosophical mind. She has emerged from similar scenes before. Wherever the miners have had trouble with the mine-owners in any part of the country during the last thirty years her white hair has been pretty sure to wave like an oriflamme of war equal to that famous white plume of Henry of Navarre about which we used to declaim in our school days. Five hundred thousand miners call her "Mother" Jones. Trouble of an industrial sort has an irresistible attraction for her, and she will pack up her belongings at an hour's notice and chase from Montana to West Virginia to get into it, if she has to walk a hundred miles or so to reach it. She is in large measure responsible for whatever comes of the investigation Congress has decided to make into the West Virginia troubles. She went from West Virginia to Washington last month to lay the case of the miners before the Senate Committee, and had hardly turned her back on the committee when it decided to recommend the inquiry. "The most remarkable woman in America," is the way a writer in the Conservative Brooklyn "Eagle" speaks of her.

"An old woman arrived in Charleston, W. Va."—so runs the account M. Michelson gives us in "Everybody's" of the West Virginia conflict:—

"She was very old, past eighty, in fact. Her hair was snow-white. She was dressed in black and she wore a nice little bonnet becoming to one of her age. The passenger who saw her get off the train in the early morning may have wondered why such a very old lady was travelling alone. She picked up her belongings, which were tied together in a black shawl, and, after shooing away various taxi-drivers and cabmen, started for her destination on foot at a pace which, if not rapid, at least showed an ability to cover the ground that ought to have set at rest the mind of the uneasy passenger. If it did not, a searching glance from a pair of shrewd gray eyes would have convinced him that his fears were groundless."

This, of course, was Mother Jones. The conflict between the striking miners and the armed guards hired by the operators was flagging. Mother Jones put new life in it. She tramped from one cabin to another, preaching resistance to tyranny. The miners armed themselves and pitched battles ensued. The militia were called out to restore order. Martial law was declared. Mother Jones was "detained," charged with inciting to murder. She was not "arrested" or "imprisoned," say the authorities; she was simply "detained" for several weeks as a prisoner of war, in a cabin guarded by soldiers, being released when the Senate Committee at Washington became interested and asked for her testimony.

This old woman, whose militancy has for years thrown in the shade that of the whole Pankhurst family, was born in Ireland eighty-one years ago, the daughter of an Irish agitator. The details of her life are not very fully known. She was taken to Canada as a little girl of seven and educated in Toronto. After going through the public school there, including the high school, she went to a convent institution to finish her education. Being interested in sociological matters, she went into the Southern States to investigate the conditions in the cotton mills, engaging as an operative in mill after mill. This was many years ago, and the conditions then, she says, appalled her, especially the company store system, by which wage-earners were kept in debt and virtual peonage. "Those horrors," she exclaims, "of the toiling infants and the weary mothers struggling for mere bread to keep the life within their bellies!" The advance in conditions since then has been, as she sees them, extraordinary, and has made her very confident of what the future holds in store. She is, in fact, no female Jeremiah. She is an optimist. The world, to her mind, is growing better all the time; all it needs is education. Strikes are going to come to an end because intelligence will grow among employers and employed and make them needless.

While in the South, she wrote extensively, talked much, developing quite a gift for speaking, and wrought in other ways. She tells of one helpless family, consisting of a mother and three daughters, whom she actually abducted and carried off with her at night to get them away from the thralldom of debt they had contracted to the company store. In the course of her career in the South she was married, and in about five years gave birth to four children. None of them are living. Her entire family were carried off in a yellow fever epidemic. After recovering from the shock she became more active than ever in the labour movement, devoting herself especially to organising women's auxiliaries. She later allied herself with the United Mine Workers, and for years has been one of the regular organisers of that body. But, it is said, the organisation ceased long ago to give her orders. She is a free lance, going where she pleases and doing about as she likes. When asked recently where her home is, she answered:

"Where the battle for human liberty rages." All her "impedimenta," when on a campaign, are carried in a hand-bag. One writer speaks of seeing a powder puff and another says something about "silk stockings and neat pumps." But that was when they saw her in a New York hotel.

Mother Jones is not swept off her feet by beautiful theories and Utopian schemes. The Socialists claim her, but she doesn't claim them. She calls them sentimentalists. Their cry of "universal brotherhood," she says, has alienated many who might be of use to the cause of liberty. It is mostly sentiment, and "what we want is not sentiment but sense." Nevertheless, although she don't seem to believe much in Socialists, she believes Socialism itself inevitable. As for the Industrial Workers of the World, that movement, she thinks, is spasmodic, and some of its leaders talk like fanatics, as when several weeks ago they spoke about wiping Paterson, N. J., off the map. "Strikes," she observes, "cannot be won without funds. To bring on a strike and go back licked by hunger is not progress for labour." Therefore she is loyal to the Federation of Labour, which is "systematised and static." All of which shows that, however far Mother Jones may wander here on earth, she is not at all inclined to wander off in the clouds.

When she talks to the newspaper men, Mother Jones gives them the impression of a very grandmotherly sort of person. Here are some of the adjectives the N. Y. "Times" reporter bestows upon her: "Handsome, well dressed, carefully spoken, hospitable, smiling, sympathetic." "After two visits to her," he goes on to say, "aggregating quite ten hours, I should as much expect her to be violent as to see a matron at a charity ball spring into anarchistic action." Yet this same writer admits that her name has held a State in terror and that the mineowners regard her as their strongest foe. She talked to him like an official of a peace society. "I hate the Anarchist," she observed, "be he in the mine-breast with his pick against the coal, or in the national bank with his hands upon the combination of the vault." Violence she denounces as silly. "It brutalises both sides and this effect will last through generations." The reporter of the Brooklyn "Eagle" received about the same sort of impressions of her. He writes: "She is unique. Short of stature, with a slight limp in her walk, and with curly white hair and 'specs,' she resembles almost any grandmother who has lived a peaceful life in the bosom of a happy family. When she talks you forget the happy grandmother smile. You think that grandmother is cross. Mother is very cross at the 'pirates,' as she calls the people in West Virginia. But through it all there is a wonderful tolerance and moderation. Her voice is a high falsetto, but not harsh. There is also a touch of the Irish, in brogue and oratorical flourish."

Here is another of her declarations in favour of industrial peace: "I feel this: If labour would eliminate its violence and

capital would eliminate injunctions, the battle would be practically over. We could then go sanely at arranging peace. Common sense, uninflamed, productive, could step in. But labour will be violent as long as capital swears out injunctions. Also, the first step toward peace must come from capital. It has more advantages. It must lead. The capitalist and striker—both men are all right, only they are sick; they need a remedy; they have been mosquito bitten. Let's kill the virulent mosquito and then find and drain the swamp in which he breeds."

But Mother Jones talking to her "boys" engaged in a strike seems to strike a more belligerent note than when she talks to the reporters of the metropolitan press. To the West Virginia miners she said: "The Governor wants your guns. Don't you dare give up any of them. If you are forced to use them, you use them." In a letter from West Virginia to a Socialist "comrade," published in "The Social War" of New York, May 3, she speaks of the "bloodhounds of the ruling class," and the "uniformed murderers of the ruling class," assails the "Socialist sentimentalists," because they have been "too busy eulogising their political dictators" to hear "the screams and groans and heartaches of women and children as the military tear their loved ones from them, throw them into prison cells and tell them they must submit or perish there."

—"Current Opinion" (New York).

THE REVIEWS.

GREAT BRITAIN'S POVERTY AND ITS CAUSES.

In the August "Fortnightly Review" Mr. J. Ellis Barker has a very interesting and useful article under the above title. After asserting the poverty of the people of England and giving extracts and figures to prove this, the author argues that our poverty is due to low wages and that the low wages are in turn due to the small production per worker—that if the worker produced more he would get higher wages and would not be so poor. The article is, so far as it touches Socialism, anti-Socialistic, in the sense that the author holds that poverty is due to the cause just stated and not to the unequal distribution of wealth. But his extracts and statistics are valuable. He writes:—

"Is the British nation a wealthy nation? It is frequently stated that Great Britain is the richest country in the world. Mr. Lloyd George asserted not long ago that this country was "rolling in wealth." I venture to maintain, and I shall endeavour to prove in these pages, that Great Britain is a relatively poor nation, and I shall endeavour to analyse the causes of her poverty.

. . . . . .

A number of rich men do not constitute a nation. Whether a nation is prosperous or poor may be seen not by the conditions of the wealthy few, but by the conditions of the masses of the people. If we apply this test we find that the British nation is not the richest nation in the world; but a very poor nation, for the British masses are very poor. The late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman stated: "There are about 30 per cent. of our population underpaid on the verge of hunger." The Right Honourable Sir Charles Booth, a most eminent sociologist, who investigated during many years the labour conditions of London, found that 30.7 per cent of its inhabitants were living in poverty.

Then follow the familiar extracts from Mr. Rowntree's book "Poverty," from Lady Bell's "At the Works," and from Messrs. Cadbury and Shann's "Sweating," but the two following are not so well-known:—

Mr. Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labour, writes in his recently published book, "Labour in Europe and America":—

"My arrival in Liverpool, being on Sunday, afforded me an

opportunity of seeing numbers of gatherings of men in the public squares. A deep degree of poverty was written upon many faces in the throngs which I saw. Men with whom I discussed this matter, and whose statements, no doubt, were authentic, informed me that a large proportion of the workers are in a chronic state of unemployment—that poverty and misery are everywhere in England, and that the reason for wan faces, tattered clothing, and unshod feet, even on the Sabbath, is to be found in the number of the constantly unemployed. The deepest impression that England made upon me came from its poverty. Everywhere are thrust before the traveller's eyes scenes of deplorable misery. Poverty is on view in all parts of London; slum back-streets border on fashionable thoroughfares; figures in dirt and rags slouch along amid the gay and well-attired promenaders of the parks."

On May 13, 1911, the great negro educationalist, Mr. Booker T. Washington, laid down in the "Tuskagee Student" his impressions as to labour conditions in England as follows:—

"It is generally said the negro represents in America the man furthest down. In going to Europe I had in mind to compare the masses of the negro people of the South with the masses in Europe. I know no class among the negroes in America, however, with whom I could compare the men at the bottom in England. My own people in the South do not fully appreciate the advantages which they have in living in a country where there is a constant demand for labour of all kinds. If I were asked what I believe would be the greatest boon that could be conferred upon the English labourer, I should say that it would be for him to have the same opportunities for constant and steady work that the negro now has in the South."

. . . . . .

According to the "Report of an Inquiry by the Board of Trade into the Earnings and Hours of Labour," which was published in eight folio volumes between 1909 and 1913, the following wages were paid to 6,334,627 workers, male and female, including boys and girls engaged in the staple trades:—

AVERAGE WAGES PAID IN 1906-7 DURING A WEEK IN FULL EMPLOYMENT.

		Per week. s. d.
1,171,216	workers in the textile trades earn...	17 6
1,509,876	workers in the clothing trades earn	15 1
1,250,000	workers in the building and woodworking trades earn...	26 7
268,438	workers in the public utilities (gas, water, tramway, electricity works, etc.) earn	27 3
621,341	railway workers earn	25 0
956,185	agricultural labourers earn, including all allowances in kind	9/3 to 20/9
557,571	workers in paper, printing, brick, glass, chemical, food, drink and tobacco, and miscellaneous trades earn...	21 7
6,334,627	workers earn from	9/3 to 27/3

The author says : " The foregoing table shows that the average wages paid to all British workers are extremely low."

A table follows giving the wages of working men, exclusive of lads and boys, which shows that 4,656,915 men earn wages varying from 9s. 3d. to 34s. 4d. per week. The author continues :—

It will be noticed that the 4,656,915 grown-up men enumerated receive on an average about 30s. per week. Unfortunately a very large number of grown-up men earn less than 20s. per week, and a very large number of adult women earn less than 10s. per week. For instance, in our most important industry, the textile trade, the percentage of men who earn less than 20s. per week, and the percentage of women who earn less than 10s. per week, was found by the Board of Trade to be as follows :—

LAST PAY WEEK IN SEPTEMBER, 1906.

	Percentage of men earning less than 20s. per week.	Percentage of women earning less than 10s. per week.
In the cotton trade	16.0	3.0
In the woollen and worsted trade	15.2	10.7
In the linen trade	44.4	41.7
In the jute trade...	49.1	6.2
In the silk trade...	19.4	38.9
In the hosiery trade	11.5	14.5
In the lace trade...	6.2	18.1
In the carpet trade	19.4	15.3
In the hemp trade	22.3	47.1
In smallwares	16.8	32.2
In the flock and shoddy trade...	15.8	10.9
In the elastic web trade	7.9	21.8
In the hair trade...	51.2	51.9
In other textiles	22.7	18.3
In fustian and cordcutting	23.7	47.1
In bleaching, printing, etc.	16.8	27.0

It will be noticed that the proportion of grown men who earn less than 20s. per week and of adult women who earn less than 10s. per week is very large indeed in the textile trade. It follows that in that trade alone the number of men and women who earn considerably less than a living wage is enormous. . . . .

. . . . . .

Since the time when the Board of Trade investigations were made British wages have advanced to some extent, but so has the cost of living.

The foregoing tables show that a vast army of men and women engaged in our most successful and our most prosperous industries receive wages which can only be described as starvation wages. It should not be forgotten that the industries investigated by the Board of Trade occupy relatively well-paid workers. Outside the trades enumerated there are hundreds of thousands, perhaps a milllon, of unskilled and casual workers, such as dockers, carters,

general labourers, and odd and handy men of every kind, whose earnings are extremely irregular and are far below those obtainable in the staple industies. . . .

. . . . . .

A few weeks ago the British Board of Trade issued in a bulky form the Final Report of the First Census of Production. That volume gives, after great delay, an industrial survey of Great Britain relating to the year 1907. Almost simultaneously the United States have published their Census of Production for the year 1909. Through the publication of the British Census of Production we are for the first time able to compare analytically the manufacturing industries of these two countries. Such analytical comparison shows that the poverty of the British workers is not caused by a vicious distribution of wealth, but by insufficient production.

Production determines wages. It is clear that a worker who produces 10s. worth of goods per day cannot earn as much as a worker who produces 30s. worth of similar goods per day. It is also clear that a man who produces only 10s. worth of goods per day cannot possibly earn 12s. per day in wages. In the inefficiency of production in the Far East, not in the low standard of living, lies the reason that wages are very low in China and Japan, while in the efficiency of production lies the reason that wages are very high in the United States. According to the Socialists, the standard of living determines wages. That is, of course, nonsensical. Very efficient production makes possible very high wages, and very high wages create a high standard of living. If workers who produce only 10s. worth of goods per day insist on champagne intead of beer they would not be able to obtain 12s. in wages.

The United States industries produce from three to five times as much as the corresponding British industries, although the number of their workers is only slightly larger, and is sometimes smaller, than the number of workers employed in this country. For instance, in the United Kingdom 3,865 workers produce £862,000 worth of matches, while in the United States 3,621 workers produce £2,270,600 worth of matches.

The wage-earners in the boot and shoe trade produce on an average £171 worth per year in Great Britain, and £516 worth in the United States. In cardboard boxes the output per worker is £106 in Great Britain and £275 in the United States, etc. The production per worker, measured by wholesale value, is, as a rule, from two to three times as great in the United States as it is in Great Britain. . . .

How is it that the average worker in the United States produces from two to three times as much as does his British colleague? American factories produce considerably more than the corresponding British factories not because men work harder in

America, but because there are more machines in the United States, and these do more work. . . .

The author proceeds to deduce that the lowness of British wages and the consequent poverty of the people can clearly be traced to the inefficiency of the British industries; that poverty among British workers springs evidently from insufficient production and not from an inequitable distribution of the produce of labour; and that Great Britain is a relatively poor country because her machinery is inefficient and out-of-date.

THE SLAV PERIL.

Two writers discuss the "Slav Peril" in the current number of the "Nineteenth Century." The first, Dr. Angelo S. Rappoport contrasts Pan-Germanism with Pan-Slavism:—

Imperialism—the tendency to possess vast territories—is one of the chief ambitions of modern nations. Thus Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism are the expression of national pride, the aim of a race believing in her own supremacy, and desirous of imposing this supremacy upon others. Both are anxious to unite the scattered members of the race in one powerful organisation—political, social, and economic. Officially the Courts of the Emperor and the Czar, of William-Cæsar the Second and of Nicholas-Cæsar the Second, have nothing to do with either Pan-Germanism or Pan-Slavism; but there is no doubt that both the scions of the House of Hohenzollern and of the House of Romanov think seriously of the dream dreamt by the Pan-Germanic and Pan-Slavonic Josephs!

The question occupies the Imperial Government more seriously than one is inclined to imagine. Both in Europe and in the Colonies, on the shores of the Baltic and the Adriatic, Pan-Germanism is making its influence felt. It has its eye on Austria, holding the Damocles sword over the House of Hapsburg and waiting for the moment of the general crisis. That a general crisis and a day of liquidation will come immediately after the demise of the Emperor Joseph seems to be generally admitted.

German appetite is colossal; German powers of expansion and apparent adaptation are simply marvellous. In the course of ten years, from 1893 to 1903, her maritime commerce shows a rise from a turnover of 81 to 210 million marks, an increase of 160 per cent., as compared with that of Great Britain of 152 per cent., and France of 23 per cent.

In 1815, when the storm of the wars of liberation swept over Germany and roused the Teutons to shake off the Napoleonic yoke, the foundations of German unity and Pan-Germanism were

laid. Waterloo revenged Germany for Jena, Wagram and Austerlitz. The Corsican giant was relegated to his island. Germany triumphed—but her hour had not yet come. Metternich had the prosperity of Austria at his heart, and so he persuaded the German sovereigns that nationalism meant political consciousness of the people—democracy and revolution. But the growing power of Prussia and the ambition of the Hohenzollern fanned into flame the national sentiment, and were instrumental in bringing about German unity, the stepping-stone to Pan-Germanism. What Metternich had been working against came to pass in 1848. Austria triumphed over Prussia in 1850, when Prussia was ordered to evacuate Hessen in twenty-four hours ; but the hour of revenge came for Prussia in 1866, and on the battlefield of Sadowa Austria's hopes were shattered. At Magdeburg and Mayence Pan-Germanism openly declared that it was the duty of every German in the empire of the Kaiser to help his brethren in Austria in their struggle against the Slavs. When German diplomacy decides openly to unfurl the banner of Pan-Germanism and to declare war in its favour, the entire German nation will gather enthusiastically round this banner.

Opposed to the Pan-German idea is the Pan-Slavonic movement. Its aim is the establishment of a vast Russian Empire, extending from St. Petersburg to Constantinople, and from the East to the very heart of Europe. Pan-Slavonic agitators are travelling from place to place preaching the gospel of Pan-Slavonic unity. Its great apostle was the late Procurator of the Holy Synod, Pobiedonoszeff. He had two aims in view to further the Pan-Slavonic agitation : to convert the Catholic Slavs to the Orthodox Church ; to make them adopt the Cyrillic Russian instead of the Latin tongue ; and to help the Russian language to become the international means of communication between all the Slavs.

Like Pan-Germanism, Pan-Slavism received its stimulus from the national tendencies of the nineteenth century. What was the attitude of the autocratic Government of Russia? At first sceptical, if not indifferent. Pan-Slavism is a national movement, and a national movement in Russia is synonymous with revolution, as it may at any moment turn its weapons against Czardom itself. It is no exaggeration to say that Pan-Slavism and Nihilsm both issued from the intellectuals. The Russian Government soon perceived the advantages it derived from the national movement. Czardom is only a power grafted on a vast conglomeration of collectivist republics. The *Mir* has existed, and still exists, allowing revolutions to pass over their heads without taking any notice of them. In order to exist an autocratic Government must look for its mainstay in atrocities at home or in foreign wars.

Such briefly is the history of Pan-Germanism and Slavism. There is no European Power which can afford to overlook the danger. On the one hand the realisation of the Pan-Germanic

dream would simply mean the supremacy of Hohenzollern and of Prussia, the triumphant march of its armies over Europe. Germany, or rather Prussia, would become mistress of Europe, mistress of the world. The triumph of Pan-Slavism means the spread of autocracy, the destruction of everything European, of Germano-Celtic civilisation; which would be replaced by that of Byzantium.

Which movement is fraught with the greater danger to Europe? I do not hesitate to say that Pan-Slavism is far more powerful, therefore far more dangerous, than Pan-Germanism!

Will England play into the hands of Pan-Slavism and of Russia? Turkey is to be coerced to evacuate Adrianople because Russia wills it. This will not be the first time that the Liberal Government of this country has failed to distinguish between the Russian people and the autocratic Government of the Czar, and by helping to strengthen the latter has weakened and crushed the hopes of the former.

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AUGUST BEBEL.

By CLARA ZETKIN.

"Many are brave whose sword
Is not stained with their enemies' blood."

August Bebel! The name is in itself a portion of history; the name bears witness of the man. For, when we turn the leaves of the story of Bebel's life, is not the history of the militant German proletariat itself, and especially of the Social-Democracy, opened out to us?—a history whose waves, describing circles, have reached over also into the Labour movement of other countries. There is not an important chapter of this history, not a decided turning-point, not a milestone of irrevocable progress in the historic life of the German proletariat, which does not bear the firm and ineradicable mark of Bebel's creating and directing hand. That has been the case for nearly half a century—from the time of its first confused and halting steps, when the German proletariat began to realise its historic existence and the task that was allotted to it; when it

started, politically and economically, on its forward march as an independent class, till to-day, when it is advancing from all directions to storm the citadels of bourgeois society. As Bebel was one of the first to sound the call-to-arms, so, after decades of unresting labour and manifold experiences, he still was numbered among the most indefatigable of the advanced guard of the proletarian army.

We find him at the front among the stalwarts to whom the German Social-Democracy owes its firm organisation and who found themselves faced by an extremely difficult task. An organisation had to be created which took into consideration the historic formation of each of the Federated States, which had to deal with varying political situations and tactics on the part of the authorities, and which would combine the necessary unity and cohesion with the equally necessary freedom of action. Other considerations, too, claimed attention. In view of the spreading and deepening activity of the Social-Democracy, it was necessary to provide for the possibility of incorporating new elements into the organism and to insure that it should be able at any time rapidly to develop its utmost impetus. And no one has done more than Bebel to fill the Party organisation with the fullest conception of proletarian life and to make it serviceable to the purposes of the working class.

A clear-sighted steersman, he guided the ship of Social-Democracy through storms and heavy seas, between the cliffs and reefs of the Anti-Socialist Law; guided it into the calms that precede great storms, and past the shallows of bourgeois Parliamentarism. With the unerring instinct of the born fighter, and the clear vision of the responsible leader, from conceptions and principles firmly anchored in science he drew the right conclusions regarding the often apparently insoluble confusion of daily events. Thus at all times he recognised how necessary is mobility of tactics in the political struggle, the variability and renewal of methods and weapons. At a time when the

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importance of the suffrage was still unrecognised by distinguished leaders of Germany's young Labour movement, when it was denounced by whole brother-parties abroad as a means of cheating the masses, it was Bebel who, with strong arms, bore among the "obtuse," "unripe," "unorganised" masses the banner raised by Lassalle, led by the sure insight that history is its own instructor, and that the masses themselves would learn by practice to decide in questions of mass action. And he was at the front likewise when it was a case of proclaiming—with cool consideration of the actual circumstances, leaving calmly on one side all judicial formulas—the same historic justification for the illegal as for the legal means of warfare. He remained equally free on the one hand from will-o'-the-wisp revolutionary romanticism, which loses the solid earth beneath its feet, and on the other from an easily-satisfied "statesmanism," which slips on the smooth parquet floor of Parliamentarism. Therefore, he knew how to make use of Parliamentary action for all the everyday needs of the suffering and struggling proletariat, thus attracting the masses, while using it none the less for that inexorable criticism, based on principle, of the capitalist order, which welds the masses together and schools them for the struggle towards the Socialist goal. Finally, it was Bebel's influence which weighed heavily in the scale when the German Social-Democracy adopted the mass strike as one of the weapons which may—indeed, must—be used in certain circumstances.

The development of Social-Democratic tactics rests in the last instance upon the theory which is applied to and verified by practical experience. Consequently, we find Bebel each time in the thick of the fight of opinions, whether regarding theoretical generalisations or the kernel of Socialist conception and principle. Since the Nürnberg Conference of the Workers' Associations, where the bold avowal of the principles of the International Working Men's Association was made, up to the Dresden Conference, which emphasised the

principles of revolutionary Socialism, Bebel took the most active part possible in all phases of the theoretical ripening of Social-Democracy. They faithfully reflected his own step-by-step development; for Bebel has developed and grown with the Party and with the proletarian class struggle. But he did not face the problems raised by this struggle in the spirit of an academician, whose desk is stuffed full of finished solutions; he faced them as a man of action who would move the masses, who, working and fighting, wrestles hotly for new insight, at the same time having to understand that frequently "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." Thus he was able to march at the head of the masses without the cold reflection falling upon him that he was dogmatic or tried to play the pedagogue; thus he was able to be a pioneer without losing touch with them or isolating himself. We have only to think in this respect of his incomparable work for the liberation of women, especially in his book, "Women and Socialism," from which streams of life poured forth; thus it was that his great firmness in principles and tactics did not appear as dry, rigid dogmatism, but seemed, on the contrary, to breathe forth the natural freshness of life itself.

Indeed, Bebel's life and activity are more than a mere reflection of the contemporary history of the proletarian fight for freedom. They are the incarnation of proletarian class-life, the irrepressible expression of whose being forms that history. Therefore Bebel became more than a pillar of history; he helped to make it. Thus it was that he was able to be the agitator as well as the finest type of Parliamentarian, the fiery leader of mass-action throughout the country, and the clever, cool tactician in the Reichstag. So, too, it was that he always found the right relations between the indispensable, dull, every-day political work, and the elevating struggle towards the final goal of Socialism—the end in view which elevates workaday action, by never losing sight of that goal, and looking upon all action only in its relation thereto; and he had

the courage to seek even the smallest alleviation of the proletariat's present-day conditions with as much eagerness as though the great historic day of freedom were itself at stake; and to bear aloft this sublime goal of the masses as though it were to be reached immediately. Bebel was the personal incarnation of the highest historic existence of the contemporary working class; he was the living expression of the realisation, the will, the action of those nameless, numberless ones who fight the decisive battles of the proletarian struggle for emancipation. This oneness with the historic life of the masses was the last and deepest root of his power over them, and made him at the same time their most influential and their best-beloved leader; it was from this source that Bebel's eloquence drew its burning force, and his conviction its inflexible firmness and its youthful fire. "The breath of humanity, which pants ceaselessly for freedom," wafted from his being and his actions. It therefore necessarily followed that Bebel's being and actions were animated to the full by the spirit of Socialism.

But the manner in which this historic necessity was carried out in person made manifest the inexhaustible treasury of valuable forces which slumber in the still untilled and uncultivated soil of the masses. These personal forces did their part in raising Bebel, personally and politically, to the highest standard of humanity. In the closest touch with the "herd" of nameless ones, he himself forged the fulness and weight of his life. That which æsthetic dwarfs, despisers of the masses, seek to acquire by the unnatural means of withdrawing themselves, as superior persons, from the common life—the originality of a strong, historic personality—came to him through life with and for the masses.

A man and a work stand before us in Bebel; a man who is quite embodied in his work, and a work which possesses the man. In earlier times, the historic conditions forced the masses to erect thrones for those who led them in the conquest of new lands. The prole-

tarian masses of our day, whose function it is to overthrow the last tyrannies by which human beings are enslaved, give their leaders their gratitude and love. No one received a richer or warmer share of these than Bebel. In him the masses loved and honoured a great man who, without bargaining and haggling for personal happiness, consecrated himself, with burning enthusiasm and selfless devotion, entirely to their great cause—the Moses, who, on the march through the wilderness of capitalist order, ever refreshed anew the parched souls with the vision of the promised land of freedom—the bold assailant, who, with revolutionary defiance, shook the foundations of bourgeois society. With him one of the most prominent warriors of the first heroic age of the German Socialist proletariat has fallen just at the moment when the rapid, remorseless steps of development are forcing that proletariat to concentrate all its forces to overcome, during a second and more potent heroic age, the barbarism that is being unchained by capitalism. But this time the masses themselves will be the hero and the leader. To have given his strength till his last breath to unite and make ready the masses for this historic moment is alike Bebel's happiness and his immortality.

"DOWN WITH THE FADDIST!"

(A REPLY TO C. H. LE BOSQUET.)

By Florence Baldwin.

It is rather depressing to find a Socialist comrade including Anti-Vivisection in the list of "fads." He would hardly do so if he himself—or, indeed, any human beings—were among the victims of the vivisector's knife (by the way, it is not so very certain that they are not sometimes). Moreover, on reading his article, the thought involuntarily crosses one's mind—if all these things be fads, by what course of logic might not Socialism itself be put down as a fad also?

Our friend does not make it absolutely clear what he would have us do. If he means we should not mix these things with Socialism, then it is possible he may have a good case. It depends upon whether we mean by Socialism an economic system or an ideal of life. If the former, he may be right; if the latter, it necessarily leads us to take up some position towards numerous other questions, which must also be measured by the standard of justice.

But it depends also on what we mean by "mixing up." It is obviously wrong for a speaker at a Socialist meeting to devote the greater part of his lecture to a subject other than Socialism, as I have recently heard two speakers do. To touch upon it, if it is in any way connected with Socialism, is, however, of course, permissible. There is no doubt that it is also "out of order" for a Socialist branch to devote its energies primarily to any other "ism." To place any item other than economic Socialism pure and simple on the

Party programme should only be done, and *could* only be done, with the consent of the overwhelming majority of the members. Even then extreme caution would have to be exercised in determining whether that particular subject was not only desirable in itself but also so inseparably connected with Socialism as to warrant its inclusion.

But Le Bosquet says: "The Socialist . . . . can indulge in any fad he pleases: he has a right to a fraction of insanity, it is a gift of Nature, the Clemensite endowment. But, for the sake of humanity, *let him go off and do it in a corner where no one can hear him.*" From this it would appear that our friend would wish Socialists who are also, for instance, Anti-Vivisectionists not only to refrain from mixing up the latter question with Socialism, but to refrain from propagating it altogether. This, however, seems to be contradicted in a former sentence. But, assuming that this *is* what he means, it is a most outrageous proposition. For of what earthly use would it be to hold opinions of this sort without seeking to propagate them?

It is perfectly true that the Social Revolution is "no light charge." But neither is the abolition of Vivisection. The Anti-Vivisectionist might, therefore, retaliate that his comrades should not waste their time on the "fad" of Socialism! It will readily be seen where arguments of that kind land us. Personally (I say it in all seriousness and after due consideration) I regard the question of abolishing Vivisection as of equal importance with that of abolishing capitalism. I know this will shock many of my comrades, but nevertheless so it is. The agony involved in Vivisection is, generally speaking, more acute, and the animals are moreover entirely dependent on us for its abolition, inasmuch as they are unable to fight for themselves. It is true they are of a different race from us, but why should we narrow our sympathies so far as to deny them, on that account, protection from torture? The range of human sympathy has gradually become extended, in the past, from the individual to the gens,

from the gens to the tribe, from the tribe to the nation; and we are now in process of extending it beyond national and racial boundaries to all humanity. The next step will doubtless be to include the sub-human races—those who are so completely in our power that the instinct of common chivalry ought to lead us to protect them. Much of this applies also to the other "fad" of Vegetarianism, in any case while the horrors of slaughter-houses continue to be what they are now. The whole question of our relation to the lower animals demands the serious attention of all thinking people, including Socialists. Moreover, we must never forget, in considering Vivisection, that experiments on animals tend to lead to experiments on human beings —namely, members of the working class in hospitals.

I do not propose here to enter upon the question of the "usefulness" or otherwise of Vivisection (though even on that point medical opinion is divided), but only to urge the extreme importance of the so-called fads. The other "faddists" will no doubt speak for themselves. If they consider these matters of supreme importance they will not be able to help insisting upon them. Which of our fads (or shall we call them ideals?) we do the most work for will depend largely on circumstances and environment, and possibly vary at different periods; but while actively engaged upon one—say, Socialism—it is often possible here and there to do a good turn to another without thereby neglecting our work for the former. For instance, at the Trafalgar Square demonstration on the occasion of the International Anti-Vivisection Congress held in London a few years ago, our comrades H. Quelch, J. F. Green, and Conrad Noel were among the speakers. Who will say that their work for Socialism suffered in consequence?

I admit it is better not to have *too* many irons in the fire; the words:

"Art is long, life is short,"

apply with equal truth to the making of revolutions; there are so many things one longs to abolish:

advertisements in fields, gramophones (at least the sort that are to be heard in the neighbourhood I inhabit), piano-organs, fried fish smells, vulgar decorations on houses, vulgar comic songs—to name a few. I refrain from the attempt because other things are more urgent, and because I trust to Socialism to improve some of these things off the face of the earth. After all, some of them are even, for the moment, necessary. The thing is to weigh carefully what one feels to be really important, and get to work at it. What that is, one will have to decide for oneself. But Le Bosquet wants to limit us in a quite inhuman manner—that is, providing he really means what I assume. But if not, then what on earth *does* he mean ?

I am glad to be able to agree most heartily with Le Bosquet's concluding proposition—namely, that Socialists should draw up a Bill for the cumulative taxation of incomes. It is to be hoped that his admirable suggestion will be carried out. He will probably find that the "faddists" will work as well for it as the other comrades.

THE EDUCATIONAL MIX-UP.

By SAMUEL WILLIAMSBURGH.

II.

"Parents," say the denominationalists, "have the right to say what religion their children shall be taught." And with honesty and courage they might add: "But it must be our religion." They do not, however, seem over-anxious to give the parents much opportunity of saying anything at all on the matter. Besides, if the parents concern themselves about the religious training of their children as much as these denominationalists imagine, surely it is they themselves who are most qualified for the task. Again, seeing that the clerics, who are the leading spirits of denominationalism, do not usually send *their* children to elementary schools, it is pertinent for us to inquire their reasons for interfering with the elementary training of the children of other people.

Diverging, for the nonce, from the subject in hand, it is interesting to note that the very people who discount the secular position also disapprove of the free feeding of necessitous school children because, forsooth, "it would undermine parental responsibility." They are marvellously eloquent concerning "parental responsibility" when it is a question of *feeding* the youngsters at the public expense; they are singularly quiescent on that subject when arriving at the question of imparting to the children their particular religious squint *at the public expense!* Parental responsibility, you see, can only be undermined by *feeding* the youngsters; to inoculate them with somebody's super-

natural prejudices at the public expense is a steed of an entirely different hue. One is prone to wonder if the denominationalists are afflicted with a burning desire to hurry the kiddies into their particular heaven.

Another of their pleas is for "religious" instruction to be given in Council schools, in addition to which they also desire it to be imparted during ordinary school-hours, and that the teachers be saddled with the task. Yet it is these mentally myopic philosophers who have the hardihood to reproach the secularists for their irreligious tendencies. Now, if religion means anything at all, it means toleration and perfect justice, which is just what these Pharisees have little sympathy with. See what this plea amounts to! If this instruction is to be imparted during ordinary school-hours it means that the children whose parents *do not desire it* will be compelled to receive it. Non-Christian parents, it appears, are not to be consulted. Furthermore, it is a gross injustice to the teachers, *who are not paid to impart religious principles.* That is what clergymen are paid for. Moreover, it is the very essence of bigotry. I had almost said "religious bigotry," but there is no such thing, for when bigotry enters the front door religion goes out at the back. (Will Orangemen and Wise-ites please note?)

I call it bigotry because no pupil teacher can hope to get or retain a situation under such conditions unless she or he professes belief in popularly conceived "Christianity." It means that any unemployed teacher who happens to be a freethinker will have to stoop to lies and hypocrisy in order to secure and retain a post. To show that I am not stretching the imagination I need only point to the denominationalist demand for "religious" tests for pupil teachers.

But there is a very good reason for the enthusiastic support rendered by the clergy to the cause of "religious" instruction. They know perfectly well that this instruction is a hindrance to the more

necessary part of the curriculum. Also, if the children did not receive this "religious" teaching, they might lose the awe and respect for the parsons they now exhibit, and upon which the clerics feed their paltry souls. They wish—with the usual exceptions—to be looked up to in the light of miniature Popes. The material and moral welfare of their dupes concerns them little—if at all.

Clericalism and Priestcraft have throughout history been a menace to the liberties of the common people, and the present attitude of the great bulk of the clergy is in keeping with tradition. One has an instinctive feeling, somehow, that these modern Pharisees are neither men nor women, but a sort of third sex—a hybrid breed! Of what use are they save to fling the dust of "religious" prejudice into the eyes of the people; to chloroform their mental faculties with the childish doctrine of contentment, so that the latter may not perceive how they are robbed and swindled of health and wealth by the clergy's paymasters, the propertied classes?

These denominationalists cannot even arrive at a common understanding amongst themselves as to the particular form the "religious" instruction shall take: they squabble eternally amongst themselves. "Ours is the true religion," says the haughty Anglican. "Oh, no," says the Roman Catholic, "the truth is on our side"; and the greasy Nonconformist disagrees with both; what time the advocate of Secular Education looks on with a tired smile, and wonders when these alleged religions will begin to appreciate the rudiments of common sense and Christian toleration. The one thing these ultra-religious people *are* agreed upon is to damn the only solution of the "puzzle" their lilliputian intellects are engaged upon.

Inasmuch as they are more tolerant, the secularists are more religious than their opponents and traducers. They do not, as their opponents claim, suggest that "religious" teaching shall be done away with

altogether. What they *do* propose is that such instruction, if necessary, should be given either before or after the usual school-hours. Further, that each teacher shall be individually free to choose whether she or he shall impart it, and if so, shall be remunerated (by the Churches) over and above their ordinary salaries.

If the children of to-day are to become good citizens in the future, it is absolutely essential that they receive an intelligent upbringing, for intelligence and good citizenship are interchangeable terms. But if their present training is to be interfered with in order to impart to them something they can well acquire later, their future citizenship will be at a discount. The secularists further propose that the nation shall be wholly responsible for the education of the children. That is, the whole cost of their training shall be furnished by the State, because well-trained children are assets to the State.

"It is unjust," says the employer of labour, "to compel me to contribute towards the cost of educating the children of my workpeople," and the workpeople could with equal justice retort: "Neither is it right to compel us to toil for scanty wages so that you and your children may live in luxury."

Let me put it to you, Mr. Employer: are not your best, your most efficient, and, therefore, most profitable workpeople the more intelligent ones? Do you, as a rule, find intelligent workers shirking or scamping their work? Is not intelligence resultant from sound education? Are not some of the expenses of the Universities (whereat your progeny are trained) borne by the State? Why should you consider it a hardship to have to pay towards the expense of turning out intelligent and profitable workers for the future?

And *you*, Mr. Landlord: by what process of reasoning do you come to the conclusion that it is immoral to rate you for working-class education, when Mr. John Smith, of Oldham, while owning not a

single square inch of land, is taxed for the maintenance of an army and a navy for the protection of *your property*?

We claim that it is right and proper that the whole cost of education should be borne by the State. It is also right and proper that *all* children, whether rich or poor, should receive a thorough grounding in the elements of knowledge to fit them to take up the duties and responsibilities of citizenship when the present generation has gone the way of all flesh. And now a word on denominational schools. It will be contended, doubtless, that any particular denomination has a perfect right to say whether any or no religious instruction shall be given in its own schools. We need not dispute this contention. What we must point out, however, is that the State subsidises those schools, and, therefore, the State is entitled to demand that the purely secular side of the children's training shall not be interfered with; and that religious instruction must be given outside ordinary school-hours. As for religious difficulties—bah! there can be no such thing. The term is anomalous. Religion spells broadmindedness, toleration, justice, and perfect understanding. Otherwise it is not religion.

Yet oftentimes, on a clear moonless night, when I gaze up into the translucent firmament and behold the spangled magnificence above me, while contemplating the phosphorescent glory of the Milky Way, I wonder if there are any "religious" difficulties up there!

(*Conclusion.*)

THE MONTH

The holiday season which is just ending has been remarkable for serious railway collisions. And the inquiries which have been, or are being, held appear to have for their object the suppression of the dominating factor in the business. The public are to be given the idea that their lives hang on the chance of a signalman or an engine driver being ever on the alert or getting just a moment's mental aberration. The fact is that our great railway trusts will not spend the necessary money wherewith to provide for automatic stopping where the signal is against the train, nor so long as they depend upon the human agency will they pay that human agency sufficient for the purpose or let it have safe hours of working.

We notice that in the case of the Colchester collision the Board of Trade inspector's report puts the blame first of all on the signalman, who forgot that the light engine was on the line, and then on the driver of the light engine. No one would suggest that any blame was attached to the driver of the express, but it must not be forgotten that he had an inspector on his footplate to see that he made good speed. No one at the inquiry asked the very pertinent question whether, if the inspector had not been present, he would have stopped the train a second or so earlier. From the fact stated in the express driver's evidence, that on his shutting off steam he turned and looked at the inspector, such a question might easily have suggested itself.

The later catastrophe, on the Midland, was undoubtedly caused by the using of an inferior quality of coal on the first engine, and to the driver of the second express having been too busy with a faulty engine to notice the signals at all. On the top of this comes the impudent attempt of the traffic manager Paget to keep the inquiry private and to shut out the union officials from it. It is lamentable that the persons whose methods are being inquired into should appear to

have any voice at all in directing the method of the inquiry or restricting its scope. Equally improper was it that the drivers and firemen should have been allowed to be interviewed and influenced by the railway management. Our Board of Trade again.

It is to be regretted that the International Congress of Medicine held last month at Albert Hall has received little, if any, attention from the Socialist Press in this country. We recognise, of course, that it is difficult for the average Socialist writer to deal with such an important Congress, and we can only, therefore, hope that one of our medical comrades will shortly be able to deal with it from the Socialist standpoint. Among the questions before the Congress which are of special interest to Socialists were those of the world-wide increase of lunacy, introduced by Sir James Crichton-Browne, medical influence in social reform, the care of the children, eugenics, sanitation, and the dread disease of syphilis, the last being discussed with an absence of puritanical restraint. All these are matters to which we should pay particular attention. General speaking, too, the Congress seemed to indicate that medicine is about to take a step forward in this country. Whereas surgery has been progressing steadily during the past generation, medicine has practically stood still.

Chesterfield bye-election made history in the Labour movement. The swing Liberalwards of the Labour Party in the Leicester contest was too sharp for the general body of the Party, so it was quite natural that at Chesterfield, where Mr. Barnet Kenyon was an even more unblushing Liberal than his predecessor, the late Mr. Haslam, the Labour Party should suddenly assert its independence, treat Mr. Kenyon's return as the loss of a seat, and brag that they are quite prepared to lose some more of the same sort. Mr. Scurr's candidature, even though supported by the local B.S.P. branch, cut no ice.

Whether the Derbyshire miners, who have always been Liberals, and who did not want to join the Labour Party, will break away remains to be seen. Their other two M.P.'s, Mr. Harvey and Mr. Hancock, are both Liberals, and the latter, we may be sure, approved of his own union, the Notts Miners, securing the services of that astute enemy of trade unionism, Mr. Lloyd George, as the chief speaker at their annual demonstration—along with Robert Smillie. Mr. Lloyd George surrounded by "Daily Citizen" posters looked very much like a Liberal-Labour alliance.

Parliament has been prorogued after an inglorious Session. Next to nothing done, excepting a couple of mischievous measures which, directed against the mentally deficient, can, in the hands of our unscrupulous ruling class, be used to suppress any propaganda to which they may object. A reactionary Government, a weak and foolish Opposition, a quiescent Irishry, an invertebrate Labour Party—that is the sorry story of the House of Commons in 1913. There seems a possibility that between now and next Session Asquith and Birrell may sell the Irish.

The International Co-operative Congress at Glasgow is an important event in the history of the Co-operative movement. The progress of the International Co-operative Alliance during the last few years has been extremely encouraging, and cannot fail to have its effect upon the capitalistically-inclined-desire-for-dividends co-operator who, we fear, is still in the majority in this country. The Co-operative movement, developing much earlier here than on the Continent, years ago lost the spirit of its founders, and, preceding as it did the Socialist movement of the 'eighties, it was not influenced by Socialist ideas as was the case with the Co-operative movements abroad. Consequently, although the millions of trade and distribution to which our co-operators can proudly appeal are all very well in their way, they are figures and nothing more. Just, however, as the bringing of old English trade unionists thirty years ago in touch with their fellows abroad undoubtedly had a stimulating effect upon them, so increasing international communication between co-operators is bound to incline the spirit of the British Co-operative movement in the direction of Social-Democracy.

Among the many international gatherings of the past month little has been said of the International Transport Workers' Federation. The Germans sent a goodly contingent, as did also the French, while the Swedes, Dutch and Americans were also well represented. Very good work was done during the week they were in London in regard to the minutiæ of business between the various national unions of waterside workers, and, above all, the spirit of international solidarity between a million of workers of different languages was promoted.

During the month there have been outbreaks of police brutality both in Ireland and Cornwall. In Dublin, James Larkin, the organiser of the Irish Transport Workers' Union, had managed

a strike so successfully against the tramway company and other carrying contractors that the latter brought the Government into the picture. The Government promptly arrested Larkin and other leaders on a charge of sedition and conspiracy, and also "proclaimed" a meeting which the strikers attempted to hold in O'Connell Street. Disturbances followed, which the police suppressed with merciless brutality, extending the war to innocent sightseers, and also invading houses and bludgeoning people by their own firesides and in bed. An inquiry was immediately demanded by the British Trades Union Congress, which sent a deputation over to Dublin to maintain the right of free speech by holding a peaceful meeting in O'Connell Street, and also to try and bring about a settlement. But neither Lord Aberdeen nor the employers show any desire for inquiry or settlement.

In Cornwall similar brutality, on a smaller scale, was exhibited in connection with the clay workers' strike by riotous police from Glamorganshire and Cornwall. It stands to the credit of the Labour Members on the Bristol City Council that they objected to this misuse of their police, and they quite rightly argued that if Bristol had police to send away Bristol could dispense with some of them altogether. The capitalists think otherwise, and Bristol employers may be looking forward to borrowing a few hundred constables for strike-breaking purposes.

Bebel's funeral at Zürich was an imposing affair, if only for the enormous crowds who assembled to do the dead hero reverence. Scores of special trains were run from South Germany and Switzerland, and all over Germany and in many other countries memorial meetings were held at which hundreds of thousands were in attendance. The meeting in Trafalgar Square a week later was representative of all parts of the English Socialist movement. All over the civilised world friend and foe alike proclaimed the passing of a great leader of men.

The peaceful President Wilson and the still more peaceful William Jennings Bryan have been very near to war. On the surface of it, if they were justified in saying anything at all about it, they took the right line in objecting to General Huerta's bloody rule, though it is somewhat humorous to find that, while they were objecting to Huerta being a Presidential candidate, he knew that according to Mexican law (if there be such a thing) he is prohibited

from standing. Still, Wilson and Bryan and the other rulers of the North American Union must not play on their professions of humanity too much. Their own doorstep wants cleansing. Besides, "the richest stores of Mexico" are still very tempting.

Last month has furnished two exhibitions of sporadic striking that seem to have brought little or nothing to the workers engaged in them, and will probably serve only to weaken the trade unions never remarkable in Latin countries for their power of organisation. The strike of metal workers in Milan concerned 35,000 men, and as the masters refused to give way a general strike was declared. Now, it is one thing to declare a general strike, and it is another thing altogether to secure it in its complete form. It was only when the Italian Government declined to intervene that the strike area in Milan increased till about 90,000 men were affected, and some days after it extended to Rome, Pisa, Modena, Bologna, and a few other industrial towns. The strike ultimately collapsed, and there are now many thousands out of work in Milan. A similar state of affairs seems to exist in Barcelona, where about 50,000 workers of various trades have been on strike.

The "Palace of Peace" was officially opened at The Hague on August 28. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, of Homestead notoriety, has devoted £300,000 of the millions he has filched from the workers in America to the building and maintenance of this wonderful Palace. The building, by all accounts, is a fine one, in a good situation, and nearly every important country has sent objects of art and decoration to adorn its interior. It is, indeed, a beautiful cage for the Dove of Peace, where it can be carefully and tenderly imprisoned while war may threaten in every direction. The irony of the whole thing is that every nation which has sent costly gifts for the Shrine of Peace is hastily preparing for fight.

The actual fighting having ceased in the Balkans, the Near East is not receiving much attention just now. Direct negotiations are now proceeding between Turkey and Bulgaria, principally concerning the possession of towns in and near Adrianople. But the outlook is anything but promising. The militant spirits at Constantinople and Sofia are not likely to make the task of the Turkish and Bulgarian delegates an easy one; and, in addition, each side knows that it will be difficult for the other to fight—Bulgaria because she is exhausted and Turkey because, though her Army is

now in better condition for an advance, she lacks the wherewithal to maintain hostilities. The Balkan business is not settled by any means.

Before leaving Posen, the capital of Prussian Poland, the Kaiser delivered a speech which is termed "conciliatory." He hoped that the "loyal labour and care which the Kings of Prussia have devoted to the Province of Posen through a long course of years may be crowned with success." The Polish nobility attended the State functions in honour of the Emperor and Empress, but it is admitted that the attitude of the "lower classes" was not "encouraging." Some of the windows of Polish houses that were decorated for the occasion were smashed, and some of the Polish nobles attending the functions were jeered at in the streets. The Prussian policy of ruthlessly expropriating the Poles is not to be assuaged by a lavish distribution of decorations among the German officials.

THE EVENTS OF AUGUST.

AT HOME.

3—Colliery fire near Cadder (Lanarkshire); 22 lives lost.
4—Conferences at Westminster on Infantile Mortality and Consumption.
6—International Congress of Medicine opened at the Albert Hall.
7—Colonel Cody (aviator) killed with passenger on Laffan's Plain.
8—Suffrage deputation to the Prime Minister.
House of Commons approved Marconi contract.
Great Western excursion train in collision at Yeovil: two killed.
9—Mr. Lloyd George the chief speaker at the Notts Miners' Demonstration.
10—Free Speech demonstration in Trafalgar Square, followed by Militant Suffragist disturbances in Whitehall.
12—Board of Trade report issued on the increased cost of living.
"Relief of Derry" celebrated with riots.
Labour Party Executive refused to endorse miners' Liberal candidate for Chesterfield bye-election.
14—Leith dockers, after seven weeks' strike, agreed to return to work.
15—Parliament prorogued.
17—Railwaymen's meetings demanded minimum wage and an eight hours day.
20—Chesterfield bye-election (result declared next day): Kenyon (Liberal), 7,725; Christie (Unionist), 5,539; Scurr, 583. No change.
21—Conference of Scottish miners at Edinburgh.
23—London painters struck for higher wages.
24—Bebel memorial meeting in Trafalgar Square.
25—Ninth Congress of the International Co-operative Alliance opened at Glasgow.
26—International Transport Workers' Congress (representing a million workers) opened at Westminster.
28—James Larkin and four other Labour leaders arrested in Dublin on charge of seditious libel and conspiracy.

30—Police attacked crowds of strikers and sightseers in Dublin: hundreds injured, two died.

31—More police rioting in connection with proclaimed meeting in O'Connell Street, Dublin.
Police outrages in Cornwall.

ABROAD.

3—Chinese civil war declared to be at an end.
Rioting at Cawnpore: 100 arrests.
General Huerta declined to resign Mexican Presidency.
U.S.A. Ambassador to Mexico resigned.
French elections to Councils-General resulted in Republican-Socialist victories.

4—South African crisis ended.

5—End of Krupp trial.
Syndicalist riots at Milan.

6—Terms of peace settled between Bulgaria, the Balkan Allies and Roumania.

8—Textile strike at Barcelona assumed serious aspect: 50,000 workers affected.

9—Five hundred arrests in Milan.
Controversy between U.S.A. and Mexico on Mr. Lind's mission.

10—Peace signed at Bukharest.
Dutch Socialist Party Congress refused to co-operate with Liberals in forming a Cabinet.
More trouble in Somaliland.

12—End of the Barcelona textile strike.
End of Milan fiasco.

13—New York State Legislature decided to impeach Governor Sulzer on charges of felony and misdemeanour.
Death of August Bebel, at Passugg, Switzerland.

17—Bebel's funeral at Zürich. Memorial meetings in all parts of Germany.
Escape of the notorious Harry Thaw from Matteawan Asylum.
Anti-militarist disturbances in Paris.

20—Death of Emile Ollivier, last Prime Minister but one of Napoleon III.

23—The Hague Peace Conference ended.
Serious anti-militarist riot in Paris.

24—Ninth Univeral Esperantist Congress opened at Berne.

27—German Kaiser delivered a speech at Posen, in Prussian Poland.

28—Andrew Carnegie's new "Palace of Peace" opened at The Hague.
General Huerta made partial concessions to U.S.A. demands.

29—New Dutch Cabinet officially appointed.

CAPITALIST CONCENTRATION IN FRANCE.

III.—CONCENTRATION IN AGRICULTURE.

The statistical results of the census of March 4, 1906, which did such good service in enabling us to judge of the industrial and commercial development in France, as well as of the number of undertakings and their classification according to the number of employees and workers, are useless when we come to agriculture.

Had the counting of the agricultural population and of the agricultural undertakings been carried out in the same manner as in 1896 and 1901, the statistical examples which we used before might have been of assistance in tracing the development of agricultural property, and enabled us to arrive at conclusions. But the explanations in the first volume of the report render that impossible.

"In agriculture and cattle-breeding," says the above-mentioned passage, "8,715,000 persons were counted on March 4, 1906, as against 8,109,000 on March 4, 1901—that is, an increase of about 600,000 persons in five years. This increase is, however, more apparent than real, and is based upon a more than usually comprehensive conception of a small family undertaking—that is to say, an undertaking with no employees, mostly worked by a man and his wife. A number of women, who five years before were classified as not carrying on any profession, in 1906 were classified as manageresses of agricultural undertakings! In this way the number of women reckoned as belonging to different branches connected with agriculture has increased by 667,000, having risen from 2,654,000 in 1901 to 3,321,000 in 1906. On the other hand, a diminution of the male staff to the extent of 62,000 is to be recorded: 5,393,000 in 1906 as against 5,455,000 in 1901." (Pages 65 and 56 of the statistical results of the general census of March 4, 1906.)

The report continues: "Altogether the number of undertakings enumerated in the year 1906 rises to 3,720,000, from 3,184,000 in 1901 and 2,983,000 in 1896. This increase is only an apparent one and is based upon the fact that in 1906 a larger number of households have been reckoned as agricultural undertakings than was the case in 1901 and 1896. The number of agricultural undertakings without paid assistants actually increased from 756,000 in 1901 to 1,223,000 in 1906, that is by 467,000, while during

the same period the total number of undertakings only increased by 53,600. If we deduct the undertakings with no workers or employees, the total number of undertakings in 1906 sinks to 2,314,000, thus standing between the numbers 2,256,000 in 1901 and 2,390,000 in 1896. On the other hand, the recorded decrease from 1896 to 1901 is again due to the manner in which the counting of agricultural undertakings is carried on. In 1896 a large number of agriculturists' children in the real family undertakings were reckoned as assistants, but in 1906 only a small number. This change in the figures for the agricultural workers is caused by the absence of an exact criterion which would enable one to see to what extent the wives and children of agriculturists take part in their work. The information given by those concerned, the statements of those who draw up the lists, are almost always based upon a pre-conceived opinion, and do not tally with the real conditions in the various undertakings. Thus, the agriculturists' wives are put down in one district as manageresses or stewardesses, and in another as housewives, although the manner of working the undertaking in both districts is the same." (Pages 117 and 118.)

We can appreciate the full importance of these details from the following:—

"As an undertaking consists of a group of two or more persons working in a particular place, one person working alone is not reckoned as an undertaking; on the other hand, two partners, or a man and wife who work together, constitute an undertaking without paid assistance." (Page 117.)

In order to demonstrate capitalist concentration in agriculture we will make use of official reports of a more recent date and with more detailed contents, but I consider it, nevertheless, necessary to publish here the table which classifies the undertakings comprehensively according to the number of employees:—

Undertakings with employees and workers	1896	1901	1906
From 1 to 5	1,410,232	1,278,478	1,278,878
„ 6 „ 50	64,490	51,227	45,182
„ 51 „ 500	233	226	201
Together ...	1,474,955	1,329,931	1,324,261

Thus the undertakings classified according to the number of their staff would seem to have decreased between 1896 and 1901 by 145,024, and between 1901 and 1906 by 5,670, and if the category of those with only one assistant appears to have increased by 25,276 in ten years (from 683,596 to 708,872), the reason is

to be sought in the fact that in 1906 the number of agricultural undertakings in which one of the children is reckoned as taking part in the business was greater than in 1896 and 1901. That is all.

In undertakings employing from 1 to 10, and over 10 persons, the number of workers and employees was as follows: From 1 to 10 employees, 3,072,592 in 1896; 2,612,201 in 1901; 2,498,404 in 1906; over 10 employees, 187,033 in 1896; 274,444 in 1901; 162,686 in 1906. Added together, that makes 3,259,625 in 1896, 2,888,645 in 1901, and 2,661,090 in 1906. A decrease in ten years of 598,538.

These figures are no use in judging of capitalist concentration; we will therefore now turn to the statistics collected by the Ministries of Finance and Agriculture. Let us compare the results of the inquiry made by the Ministry of Finance in 1908 with the agricultural report of the year 1892:—

	1892.	1908.
Very small properties of less than 1 hectare	2,235,405	2,087,851
Small properties of 1 to 10 hectares ...	2,617,558	2,523,713
Medium properties of 10 to 40 hectares...	711,118	745,862
Large properties of 40 to 100 hectares ...	105,391	118,497
Very large properties of 100 hectares or over	33,280	29,541

If the properties be divided into two categories of under and over 10 hectares we get the following figures:—

Properties	1892	1908
Under 10 hectares	4,852,963	4,611,564
Over 10 hectares	849,789	893,900

That means a decrease of 241,399 undertakings in 16 years in the properties of under 10 hectares, which is equal to 15,087 per year; the properties of over 10 hectares, on the other hand, have increased in 16 years by 44,111 undertakings.

Taking the extent of the properties into consideration, it must then be admitted that the very small and the small properties have increased in circumference (1,161,436 hectares), that the medium and large undertakings, on the contrary, have decreased in extent during the same period (430,426 hectares). We do not deny this.

Between 1892 and 1908, then, in 16 years, 241,399 small and very small properties have disappeared, and, approximately, a reing diminished from 14,045,615 in 1892 to 13,533,026 in 1905 (the duction in the number of land-registers has taken place, these hav-

figures for 1908 are not yet to hand), which makes 512,589 less land-register numbers in 13 years.

When we add that a mortgage debt of more than fifteen milliards weighs upon the small and very small properties, which forces them to work out seven hundred millions per annum of interest, and when we add, further, that the industrialisation of agricultural production forces the producing peasants to accept the hardest conditions on the part of the middlemen who possess the capital, and on whom they are becoming more and more dependent, every thinking man will see that capitalist concentration is going on in the domain of agriculture just as in trade and industry, though the process is perhaps slower and assumes a different form.

As habits, customs and morals, philosophical ideas and political conceptions change and become modified according to the distribution of property and the mode of working, we are not surprised that with our peasants' conditions of life their manner of thinking has, too, for the most part, fundamentally altered.

IV.—THE FRENCH NATIONAL INCOME.

Although it is very difficult to estimate the French income, numerous national economists and statisticians have attempted this task.

The Vicomte d'Avenel writes in one of his last works*: "The acquired income is distributed very differently among the citizens of our Republic. The total possessions of the French amount to something like two hundred and thirty-five milliards of francs; of this seventy milliards come under landed property, fifty-five milliards under urban immovables, and one hundred and ten milliards under movable values. It may be remarked in parentheses that the French income has grown tremendously in a short time—in 75 years it has nearly quadrupled itself. According to authentic figures, drawn from official sources, the income amounted in 1826 to forty-six milliards. In 1850 it amounted to seventy milliards, in 1869 to one hundred and thirty-five milliards, and in 1900 to two hundred and four milliards."

The figures of MM. de Lavergne and Henri de Seailles agree within five milliards with those of Avenel, but the estimate of Edmund Thery, which is founded on the careful use of the direct method, gives the sum of two hundred and eighty-seven milliards.

The reason for these divergencies is to be found simply in the methods applied. Emil Chatelain, in the journal of the Paris Statistical Society, proves that the indirect method cannot be carried through without errors. This method consists of taking the total sum inherited annually in order to estimate the total amount of the national income. People frequently take refuge with it on account

* "Découvertes d'Histoire Sociale," 216 pages. Ernest Flammarion, Paris.

of the enormous difficulties of the direct method, which consists of adding together all the elements of which the income consists.

Nevertheless, almost all statisticians continue to make use of the total amount of the inheritances, multiplied by a number equivalent to the average duration of the time by which the heir outlives the testator.

But all those who have carried on the investigations, whatever methods they employ, admit the gross inequality in the distribution of the French income. Leroy Beaulieu may, indeed, use mild language to qualify this unequal distribution, and say that "it does not correspond to what a sage would dream of," and that "we are not in Sparta."

Emile Chatelain, after giving the division-curve of the inheritances in France for 1903 and 1907, comes to the following result: If we have the table of figures and the division-curve before our eyes, we see that half of the national income is concentrated in the hands of quite a small number of owners, whose portions rise from 200,000 francs up to several hundred millions.

We can best convince ourselves on this point by turning to the "Bulletin de Statistique et de Legislation Comparé," published by the Ministry of Finance in December, 1911. This contains on page 671 a report of the inheritances declared in 1910, from which we can get a fairly correct idea of the division of the income :—

	Number	Francs
Small owners (1 to 10,000 francs) ...	298,960	678,591,803
Medium owners (10,000 to 100,000 francs)	53,180	1,498,700,213
Large owners (100,000 to 1,000,000 francs)	7,132	1,854,331,337
Very large owners (1,000,000 to 10,000,000 francs)	564	1,288,359,027
Together ...	359,836	5,319,982,380

Thus, the small owners, who constituted 83.08 per cent. of all the property owners who died in 1910, only possessed 12.8 per cent. of the total property left during that year; the medium owners, who constituted 14.77 per cent., possessed only 28.2 per cent.; while the large owners, who hardly represented 2 per cent., owned 34.8 per cent.; and the very large owners, whose percentage only amounted to 0.15, possessed 24.2 per cent. of the 5,319,982,380 francs!

If we reckon the deceased small and medium property owners together on the one side, and on the other the large and very large owners, the result is that the former, who constituted 97.85 per cent. of the deaths, possessed only 41 per cent. of the total property

left; while to the latter, which represents only 2.15 per cent. of the deceased persons, falls 59 per cent. of the five and one-third milliards.

If, therefore, we reduce the number of estates of deceased persons in 1910 to 100, and the total sum of money left behind to one hundred millions, the result would be that 98 estates amounted to forty-one millions, and the two remaining estates, on the other hand, to fifty-nine millions.

Let us now try to get an idea of the number and size of the fortunes existing in France by assuming that the heir outlives the testator by 40 years, which is probably not far from the truth. We must then multiply the amount of the inheritances during a year by 40, in order to find out the approximate amount of property existing in France.

If for this purpose we take as a basis the 359,836 inheritances and the 5,319,982,380 francs of the year 1910 we get the following results:—

Categories	Number	Francs
Small owners (1 to 10,000 francs)	12,058,400	27,143,672,120
Medium owners (10,000 to 100,000 francs)	2,127,200	59,948,008,520
Large owners (100,000 to one million francs)	285,080	74,173,253,480
Very large owners (one to fifty million francs)	21,200	51,534,361,080
	14,491,880	212,799,295,200

Thus in France, that "Paradise" of peasant proprietors, the "Holy Land" of small owners, more than a hundred and twenty-five milliards (125,707,614,560) are in the hands of 306,280 persons, while millions and millions of proletarians, slaves of the soil and of industry, possess nothing but their misery, have not a brass farthing of property, and are forced to live in a manner unworthy of human beings, and to do without the most urgent necessities, if, indeed, through exhaustion by labour, they are not cut off by death in their prime, after bringing into the world tuberculous, anæmic, rickety and scrofulous descendants!

There are, indeed, between the millionaires and these penniless proletarians 12,058,400 small owners, whose capital hardly amounts to 700 francs (invested in 3 per cent. Consols, bringing in about 21 francs per annum), and 2,127,200 medium owners, with properties of between 10,000 and 100,000 francs.

In the face of these facts it requires great temerity to deny that capitalist concentration is going on. On the one side stand the

medium, large and very large owners, numbering 2,433,480, possessing a total capital of 185,655,623,080 francs—that is, 88 hundredths of the national property; on the other hand, 12,058,400 small owners, whose possessions amount only to 27,143,672,120, or hardly 12 hundredths of that national property.

Yet, in the face of this, not a day passes but what we hear the remark that France is the land of saving-stockings, not that of money safes. Poor saving-stockings!

But my statements fall far short of the truth, for an indirect mode of estimating is not only unreliable, but it cannot take account of the minor declarations—that is, the inherited sums which are not stated, and which, especially in the case of large inheritances, must be considerable. If the results of my calculations are compared with those of E. Thery, M. Seailles, or d'Avenel (the two hundred and twelve milliards that I obtain as against the two hundred and thirty-five or two hundred and eighty-seven milliards estimated by them) and the minor declarations, which often occur in the case of large inheritances, are taken into account, it is easy to come to the conclusion that the difference may unquestionably be reckoned to the numerous milliards of the large owners.

As we are now sufficiently informed as to the unequal distribution of wealth, it would be interesting to know if this inequality, as asserted by Leroy Beaulieu, and with him the Académie des Sciences Morales, and a number of more or less important writers, is about to diminish, or whether, on the contrary, it has a decided and indisputable tendency to grow still greater.

The medium and large inheritances of 1903 to 1910 do not allow any doubt to arise: the inequality in the distribution has increased considerably during the seven years. We now possess an aristocracy of parvenus in the industrial, commercial and financial world, whose wealth, ostentation and luxury were formerly unheard of.

How ridiculously small seem the fortunes of the mediæval feudal lords and of the high nobility of the last centuries in comparison with the treasures of our present-day plutocrats, who are enabled by their enormous annual income to indulge in the most costly and incredible fancies, so that "the laws which were passed in France in former centuries to set a boundary to exaggerated luxury and to tax waste in food, clothing, house utensils, servants, and amusements might with far greater justification be used against the exaggerated expenditure of our contemporaries" (d'Avenel).

It is, then, an incontrovertible fact that in France the means of production, exchange and transport, and the wealth created by the whole labouring world, more and more belong to an idle minority who dispose of them entirely at their will and pleasure.

On the other hand, the class of citizens who cultivate the land that does not belong to them, who make and guide machinery

which they do not and never will possess, who make capital fruitful which their labour has brought forth, but which has been stolen from them, find themselves more and more exploited and plundered of their property. This class is politically the ruler of its destiny. It has won, by means of numerous revolutions, the right of self-government; it is able to make laws, to annul them, and to pass them afresh; it binds its representatives to report on their activity on public bodies if they would be re-elected; and in spite of all this, that class is still enslaved and oppressed.

It is beginning to see and to understand this. It is beginning to feel it and to express it, and is thereby causing anxiety to its masters; for the power, strength, and authority of those masters are only the outcome of weakness, timidity, and lack of self-confidence on the part of the oppressed class.

But the bourgeoisie, too, are beginning to realise that the world of labour is revolting against their rule. They hear the murmurs of anger from the ranks of the workers; they see how the latter are organising to conquer the State which for them has been converted into an instrument of oppression and compulsion; they see that the successes attained by the workers, both politically and industrially, in the election campaign and on the battlefield of the strike, are encouraging them to carry on the struggle more passionately, and to improve the form of their organisations; therefore the bourgeoisie are risking one last attempt to retain the upper hand over the creators of their wealth, happiness, and glory.

They are gathering together their intellectual following: the men of the pen and the men of law must persuade the poor oppressed people that, if everything is not arranged for the best of all possible worlds, that is no reason to upset the present foundations of property, but that it will suffice to realise a number of well-thought-out social reforms in order to give the poor people the welfare and happiness which they have a right to claim.

But for that it is now too late. The workers know sufficiently well that their complete liberation will only come when the victorious social revolution shall expropriate the expropriators and convert capitalist collective property into Socialist collective property.

The working class want reforms, and demand them; but they only accept them or conquer them in order to obtain a little more freedom and strength for the ceaseless struggle which they carry on with an eye constantly on the final goal.

COMPÈRE MOREL

(From "Die Neue Zeit").

THE UNITED STATES IN THE PHILIPPINES.

After fifteen years of American occupation of the Philippines, the startling fact has been unearthed that a most crude and primitive form of slavery still exists in the islands, and that under the existing laws its prevention seems impossible. It is a common practice, it seems, to kidnap the female children of the wild tribes of the islands or purchase them at a nominal price from the untutored parents. The Secretary of the Interior states in a report to Washington that "the stealing or purchase of children of the members of non-Christian tribes is lamentably common." He relates a story of one little 11-year-old girl who was sold to a Christian native by her starving parents for one "cavan of palay," which means about 60 cents' worth of unhusked rice. After the girl had served her Christian master for two years and a half, the Governor, learning of the facts, took her away from him on the ground that the service she had given had repaid him for her cost. The alleged object of this traffic is said to be the "Christianising" of the natives, and it is carried on under that pretext.

Other cases are cited in which girls were kidnapped after being made drunk, and one Christian, a Thomas Cabanag, more liberal than his fellows, bought an Igorrote girl for three pigs, twenty-five hens, two measures of rice, and a cloak worth two more pigs. He sold her afterwards in the open market for 100 pesos, and, though tried for the offence, it was found that there was no law to hold him, and he was acquitted. Hundreds of similar cases are reported.

Now, this is certainly discouraging after fifteen years of benevolent assimilation. Of course, they cannot be expected to develop a white slave traffic such as exists in our own Christian land, but it might be reasonably expected that the brown slave traffic would have reached a higher stage of development.

In this country the volume of traffic of this kind runs into the millions yearly, while the Filipinos under our tutelage for the past fifteen years have not been able to develop the traffic beyond the crude methods of primitive barter, and so we hear of girls with a definite cash value being exchanged for pigs, hens, measures of rice, and such like.

Years ago Mr. Taft directed attention to the deplorable state of this industry in the Philippines, and declared ponderously that "the law should be strictly enforced." But it so happens that there isn't any law to stimulate the industry, and it therefore languishes and is not developed to the one-thousandth part of its possibilities.

What the Philippines really need in this matter is efficiency experts from this country to teach them how to utilise their resources in this particular industry in the most profitable manner. There are thousands of clever and enterprising young men, of genteel appearance and persuasive manner, now hanging around the East Side clubs, bar-rooms, dance halls and "joints" in our city waiting for a strike or a lock-out among the girl sweatshop employees to give business a boost. Why not send a selected contingent of them to the Philippines to instruct the natives in up-to-date business methods and bring the industry to the level it now occupies in this blessed land? What is needed is organisation and organised effort, such as we have here. When we undertook the responsibility for the Filipinos, we also undertook to instruct them in the ways of civilisation, and it would seem that we are shirking our responsibilities in this respect.

It is to be hoped that this great nation will no longer remain derelict in its plain duty in this matter. If it is longer neglected, we shall be shamed in the eyes of the business world and the finger of scorn will naturally be pointed at us. We have to do our duty to the Filipinos in this matter, and our duty is perfectly obvious, and the sooner we realise it, the sooner the Filipino will be lifted to the plane of our own blessed civilisation, to say nothing of the beneficent effect upon business generally.—"New York Call."

COSSACK INSOLENCE.

To what depths must the French Republic have fallen, under our so-called influential Government, for the Cossack Press to dare to speak as it has been doing for the last fortnight.

"Traitors! Unreliable persons! If you wish to retain our alliance you must walk straight!" Such are the words used to us by the Russian Press for the last fortnight. One paper, the "Novoye Vremya," says: "Kill them!" and the "Riecht," the organ of the cadets and of Milioukof—poor cadets, poor Milioukof—calls out: "Knock them down!"

All these insults, all these threats, are used because the French Government has not exercised pressure at Bukharest in order that Kavalla may be given to the friends of the Czar, to his dear sons, to the Panslavists, to the Bulgarians. When there were Republicans in France the Czar would have been answered in other words. He would have been told that France was willing to be the friend and ally of Russia, but not her lackey or footman. He would have been told of the crimes of the Bulgarians. He would have been told that France has good reasons for being friendly to Greece and to Turkey, even against the Bulgarians. And the Russian journalists would have been asked politely to polish the Czar's boots, an occupation which is befitting to their independence and to their political intelligence. Instead of that, we crawl before them. The "Matin" apologises, and Clemenceau begs that the Bulgarians may have Adrianople. If, after all, we were sure that the Russian alliance would prevent out country being attacked, I would put up with it. But France is the only country where people still have illusions of the value of the Russian Army.

The Russian Army, which is now being shown to General Joffre, seems to be very imposing, but it is a sham which would crumble as soon as the Prussians fired at it. Every Russian knows that the Russian arsenals are empty, that the generals, the grand dukes, the commissariat swindle right and left, and that there is as much corruption as there was in Turkey in the time of Abdul Hamid. The Russian strategical railways are in a bad state, and the day war was declared Russian Poland would rise like one man, under the protection of the Austrian Army.

And who knows if even that corrupt Army would help us in our trouble! It is a fine subject to think about, especially as we know that our Government feels bound to go to war if ever the Cossack

Government of St. Petersburg rushed into a mad adventure in Europe.

I say again, there is only one way for us to get rid of the outrages and the danger of the Russian alliance.

It would be to form a party composed of Radicals and Socialists, having as a programme the Franco-German entente on the basis of an agreement between France and Germany of the recognition of a Republican autonomy for Alsace-Lorraine.

This would be honourable for France, because Alsace-Lorraine is in favour of this scheme, and it would be, in any case, far more honourable for the patriotic French Republicans than to allow the Cossacks to spit in their faces and to receive these insults without saying a word.

GUSTAVE HERVÉ (in "La Guerre Sociale").

THE REVIEWS.

THE CASE FOR MONARCHY.

An editorial in this month's "World's Work" makes a valiant defence of the institution of monarchy. We extract the following:—

The American view of monarchy does not invite prolonged investigation. It is exceedingly simple, and is no more than an immense deduction from a single experience of the Whig Government under George III. It is in vain that statute upon statute, and custom within custom, have limited the personal authority of English monarchs; it is in vain that tourists in our country find themselves at least more free from official control than in Republican France; it is in vain that we groan or rejoice under a Gladstone or a Lloyd George—the American view persists that the personal liberty of English people is curtailed by the will of a robed figure on the throne.

We who preserved for several hundred years the awful bogey of the Pope, the Scarlet Woman, and the fires of Smithfield, cannot lift ourselves very high above the American misconception. A prejudice, though ignorant, does not make all fools who hold it; still, the conservative opinion of the less cultured Americans upon monarchy remains sufficiently remote from the facts to be interesting only as an oddity. Republicanism in America, like Protestantism in a certain street in Belfast, is too securely orthodox to be of interest. On the Continent of Europe, however, it is quite otherwise.

The Continental Republican may, like the American, have a horror of kingship as such, but it is not in this that his importance lies. He is, in his best manifestations and in a great majority of cases, a baulked Radical who wears the Republican opinions as a badge to display his views on other subjects. Sometimes, but not always, he sincerely regards monarchy as an obstacle to be removed before his political aspirations can be fulfilled. In other cases, admitting that monarchy is no logical bar to his desires, he is nevertheless Republican because it is the fashion among his school.

Similarly, the word Socialist in Germany does not signify the acceptance of Socialist ideas in Germany so much as an opposition to the Government. In England, too, there is a chance of Socialism coming to imply a mere dissatisfaction with both parties. Certainly the badge of Republicanism in Italy, Spain, Portugal, and several of the northern countries is in this curious position: it is not so much a positive opinion as an accepted accompaniment of positive opinions on other subjects.

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The British Theory of Monarchy.

This theory is that the Crown officially represents the nation in respect of all matters upon which the nation is substantially agreed. It establishes a person, and indeed a family, as spokesman of the voice of the people whenever and wherever the people is united. It isolates all the functions of government which are unquestionably popular, and national, and unassailed, and hands those over to be performed by an individual who is eminently conspicuous and enabled by a thousand associations to excite the interest and touch the sentiment of the entire nation.

For instance, the nation is at one in liking to see the outward forms of government preserved in a seemly and dignified manner. The King, therefore, opens and closes Parliament in person. He receives the resignation of a Minister at his palace and "sends for" the Minister who is to succeed. He expresses thus the impartial desire of the nation to have these matters decent and in order.

Foreign policy, again, has fallen into the sphere of things agreed among reasonable people. The King, therefore, visits the foreign capitals and receives the heads of States in London. He never visits the Treasury to receive the taxes collected by Lloyd George, but he visits Berlin to receive the welcome prepared by Sir Edward Grey. Where the popularity of a function of government is questionable he is eliminated, where it is certain he is brought forward.

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Real Rulers Disliked.

In England the monarchy plays the gracious part. Our real repository of power, as in other lands, is always to some extent disliked. Many of its duties, such as taxation and policing and the introduction of new laws, are inherently unpopular. It consists, also, of a partisan majority in Parliament and a Prime Minister who hardly ever opens his lips without offending half the nation. Many of his utterances, indeed, are as studiously exasperating as ever he can make them. A party gave him his power, and to a party he is responsible, and the irritation of the other party is a piece of his daily work.

The Headship of a State.

It seems that the tendency to elevate individuals is inherent in mankind, and will express itself whenever there is no strong reason added to the contrary. Modern journalism, aided by the cinematograph and all the rest, is certainly not lessening the inclination. France and the United States are Republican for special reasons obvious in their history. France shows, at times, an almost pathetic consciousness of the need of more picturesque institutions. But the peculiar difficulty of framing a science of monarchy is, of course, in the monarch. The English theory, which is so successful and so full of advantages, is simply the outcome of the faithful performance of duty by individual monarchs. So must it always be . . . .

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Nor can there be any doubt of the value of a family trained and bred to the performance of the important task of the personification of a nation, the Headship of a State. Such a person, as we know him, does not govern his subjects any more than religion regulates private conduct. But, like religion, his existence mitigates many evils and facilitates much good.

THE SEXES AGAIN.

In the "English Review" for September C. Gasquoine Hartley (Mrs. Walter M. Gallichan) goes to the roots of the eternal sex question. We make the following excerpts:—

There is a deep-lying dissatisfaction with the ignominious conditions of our amatory life. The conflict, broadly speaking, lies in this: that sentiment, aided by property considerations, has so far preserved the Christian idea as to the sin of the sexual relationship except in marriage, while yet the conditions making marriage more and more difficult prevent the acceptance in practice of an asceticism upheld by dogma. It is not pleasant to find oneself out as a moral hypocrite. Our very idea of sex has become tainted with this secret knowledge of our own falseness. We can hardly speak of the subject without an apology. We are afraid others may find out what we know about ourselves. Thus we have made love unto a thing to be denied and of which we are ashamed. The web of hypocrisy that has been woven by men and guarded by women around this question of our sexual conduct beggars all description.

But this system of lies is being broken down. Traditional morality is giving place to practical morality. We are beginning to acknowledge the immense importance of sex in our lives. Let

me say at once—I think this is because women are being allowed to speak some of the truths that for long they have known. Woman is more elemental than man, she is nearer to Nature, and for this reason her vision is clearer than his vision. She has a directness of emotion that makes her the instinctive moral anarchist, which almost always she is. I believe that woman will go a step farther towards freedom than men have dared to go.

Under present economic conditions and the prejudice of social opinion, the penalties that women have to pay for any sexual relationship outside of marriage are too heavy. This is manifest. Indeed, when we consider the difficulties faced in these unions, that so many woman do take the risks is another proof, if one were needed, of the elemental strength of the sex impulse in woman. But mark this—it is only the woman whose social conscience is awakened that can enter these irregular relationships until our moral code is changed. She may even be willing to take the risk for herself, but she knows that the payment may fall also on the child of her love. You may say there need be no children. This is true; it makes the conditions of such love much easier. It is not, however, a solution, and can never be accepted as such by woman. The woman who loves a man wants to be the mother of a child by him. I shall be told there are women of whom this is not true. I know this. We have degraded motherhood; little wonder that women are turning away from its joys. We talk a great deal about the honour and sanctity of motherhood—how do we treat the mother? Look at our sweated women workers! Think of the unmarried mother, driven to the murder of her child, which she can only support by prostitution! Consider the iniquity of our bastardy laws. Not till these things are altered may we dare to say that we honour motherhood.

We come, then, to this: how can the way be made easier for women, and through them also for men?

I believe if there were some open recognition of these partnerships outside of marriage, not necessarily permanent, with proper provision for the woman and her children, should there be any—a provision not dependent on the generosity of the man and made after the love which sanctioned the union had waned, but decided upon by the man and the woman in the form of a contract before the relationship was entered upon—there would be many women ready to undertake such unions gladly; there would even be some women, as well as men, who, I believe, would prefer them to the present marriage system, that binds them permanently to one partner for life. It is also possible that such contracts might be made, by those who were unsuitably mated and yet did not wish entirely to sever the bond between them, with some other partner they could love. Such contracts would open up possibilities of happy partnerships to many who are suffering from enforced

sexual abstinence . . . . At least, I can see no other possible remedy. Moreover, prostitution would be greatly lessened, though I do not think this social evil would cease. There will always be for a very long time men and women who will be attracted to wild love. This we have to recognise. Men would not, however, be driven to buy sexual relief. Women will not hold back from giving love to the men who need them when once the conditions are made possible for them to do this.

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It would, of course, be easy to raise objections against these contract partnerships, some of which might well prove true. It may be said, for instance, that the economic difficulties that now prevent marriage would not be lessened but increased by these extra-conjugal relationships. . . . I can only say that I have in my mind some scheme of insurance, which might easily be contributed to by both partners of the contract, but which would go to the woman for her own provision, and that of any child of the union, in the case of a separation. If this once became established as a custom, necessary between all entering into such partnerships, the practice would gain the support of public opinion. It would then be possible to take another step in the form of State endowment for parenthood; this would only be an extension of endowment for motherhood. And by doing this would follow another, and, perhaps, even greater gain. The recognition of these contract-partnerships would prevent the ostracism which at present falls on the discarded mistress. There are many women who dread this much more than poverty. A woman is hounded out of decent life, if the facts of her history become known; marriage is closed to her; too often she is driven on the streets to provide for her children. Is there any wonder, I ask, that women do not give love to men?

THE INFLUENCE OF TRADE UNIONS ON WAGES.

The "Edinburgh Review" for July contains a very interesting editorial article on the above much-debated question. From the various aspects covered, we extract the following:—

On behalf of trade unions it is argued that combination is necessary to put the workman on an equal footing in bargaining. This is like the argument that a Free Trade country is at a disadvantage in competing with a protected country. Just as that argument assumes the point in dispute, that Protection is a help, so does the trade union argument assume the point in dispute, that combination is a help.

Assuming, however, that combination ipso facto improves the position of one party to the labour contract, that advantage, if it be an advantage, the workman in the nature of the case cannot monopolise, and, in point of fact, combinations of workmen are met by combinations of employers. The advantage is thus neutralised, and the two parties both combined are in the same relative positions as if both were uncombined.

Again, it is argued that under competition and without trade unionism, or some similar bulwark, there is a downward limit to wages, save the least that will keep the workman and his family in life. This statement, which constitutes part of the stock-in-trade of Socialist orators, is completely disproved by facts. Wages rates have differed and do differ enormously in the same country at different times, and at different countries at the same time. No meaning can be attached to the statement that the wages of Indian coolies and American artisans, of British workmen of to-day and British workmen of a hundred years ago, are all subsistence wages. In spite of Marxian predictions to the contrary, money wages and also real wages, so far from tending to a minimun of mere subsistence, have shown a tendency to increase indefinitely. Part of that increase, no doubt, will be claimed as the result of trade unionism, but the increase is often greatest in those occupations where trade unionism is weak or non-existent: for example, among domestic servants throughout the kingdom, and among agricultural labourers in the north of England and in Scotland. Mr. and Mrs. Webb say it is "discreditable" in economists to cite domestic service in this connection. But why is the housewife, who is supposed to cheapen everything to starvation point, supposed at the same time to be indifferent to the wage she pays her servant? And why is she supposed to be more vulnerable in respect of what is a pure luxury than the ordinary employer dependent for his livelihood on getting labour? Or why is the domestic servant more independent of her employer than are other workers?

The subsistence theory, so far as derived from Ricardo, is based strictly on Malthusian principles. All that it says is that if any advantage is gained it will, according to the principles of human nature assumed to exist, be followed by an increase of population, and so lost. Suppose trade unionism caused all wages to be doubled. By the time population had doubled—which the law assumes would speedily be the case as the result of increased wages—the wage would be down to its original level, and therefore Ricardo's law tells as much against as for trade unionism.

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Further, it is argued that, under competition, it is the subsistence level of the lowest workman that fixes the rate for the whole; the exact opposite is the case. It is the strongest workman

economically who fixes the rate for his weaker brethen. In big works (as, indeed, Mr. and Mrs Webb admit, or, rather, contend) there must be a uniform rate, for it is no more possible for the employer of a thousand workmen to fix for each man singly the lowest wage for which that particular worker could be got than it was for the countryman in the story to make a special bargain for his railway ticket. But the uniform rate must be sufficient to attract the economically strongest man who is wanted.

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As opposed to a competitive, or demand and supply, wage we have the ideal of a universal minimum wage, or, as it is sometimes called, a living or standard wage—that is, a wage fixed according to an assumed standard of what is required for a healthy life. However attractive that ideal may be, it is hopelessly unscientific. First, wages are a payment for a service rendered, and it is neither just nor practicable to make employers pay, not according to the value of the service, which may be infinitely small, but according to a quite irrelevant standard, the workman's needs. Secondly, if the amount available for wages is in any way limited, then justice itself, as in the case of a beleaguered garrison or a shipwrecked crew, would prescribe, not a minimum, but an equal distribution.

"SLAKING LIME."

By William Henry Caudle.

The Editor of "The Socialist News" sat smoking beside the fire in his flat overlooking the Green facing Bedford Park. The room was full of smoke, rank and strong. Anyone looking in from the door would have been struck with the glamour of the tobacco smoke, and would have noted the pipe, a charred briar, a worn-out furnace. From the pipe to the man, and the young, thin face, the grey eyes full of latent fire resting behind gold-rimmed eye-glasses, the long straight nose, the small mouth and lips, and, lastly, the square chin like a narrow cigarette-case would be noted as the red-glow of the fire threw these characteristics into warm relief.

On the rug in front of the hearth a few letters were scattered, one lay on his knee. The room was furnished plainly, in oak, and pictures, six of them, in passe-partout frames, hung on the walls. They were all reproductions of Walter Crane's works.

Dane Fennimore gathered up the scattered letters, slipped on a rubber band, and threw them, with a sigh of relief, on the table. The one on his knee he read again:

"To the Editor, 'Socialist News,'

"'Gardenia,' Merstham Avenue, Stonham.

"Dear Sir,—As a Radical and a Nonconformist I have read your paper for some while. My first introduction to you was by way of your articles some years ago on 'Socialism and Local Government'—I believe that was the title.

"Being a Chairman of a Brotherhood and a Town Councillor, the articles, which were brought to my notice by a Socialist friend, interested me, especially where in each case you showed that there was enough law on the Statute Books to remedy many of the social evils of to-day. Also, your point that the general public have no knowledge of these laws.

"Whilst I am not prepared to accept all your conclusions, and certainly not the wild-cat schemes of the street-corner Socialist, I have done what I could to help on the movement for social amelioration.

"I have read your leaders with interest, though I do not appreciate your venom against the Liberal Government, and have quoted you at our Brotherhood when possible.

"My object in writing is to ask the advice of a man more in touch with the social problem than I am. I am owner of a large works here, and had occasion to dismiss a girl for a breach of discipline, with the result that the whole of the 200 employed have come out on strike, refusing to go back until I reinstate the girl and dismiss the foreman. To make matters worse, the Women's Trade Union officials have enrolled the girls under their banner, and the street-corner Socialists are calling me 'a Capitalist Tapeworm.'

"Now, Sir, I am a Radical, and have the interests of the workers at heart. What am I to do? Give way and lose all discipline, and have the fear of another strike before me, or fight the matter out?

"If I was a tyrannical master I should feel you would tell me to give way—in fact, I should never dream of writing to you. I feel in this case that the people are fighting one who, in his humble opinion, is their friend.—Yours faithfully,

"(Signed) JOHN MORRISON."

He then wrote to Miss Ella Marshall, his secretary, sealed the envelope and had his supper, after which he took train to the City, posting the letter at the station.

Next morning, Ella Marshall read Morrison's letter with a short note from Fennimore asking her to go to Stonham and "get at the innards of this matter." The day following, armed with a letter of introduction from Fennimore, she arrived at Stonham.

"Gardenia" was a square, substantial house, fronted by laurels, and a narrow path, edged with carnations and rose trees, led up from the gate to the portentous door.

"Mr. Morrison is in. Will you come this way, please," said the trim maid, leading the way through a spacious hall to a little sanctum.

Mr. Morrison was seated at a large old-fashioned bureau surmounted by a heavy bookcase and flanked by an iron safe on one side and a Chippendale chair on the other.

He was well over fifty-five, being nearly bald, and had an unkempt beard of a rich mahogany, shading off to white at the ends. Spectacles rested on his nose, which had a square surface at the tip, and his eyebrows were heavy and brown-grey. His head was by far the most striking part about him, for he had no physique. A sufferer from neuralgia, Morrison's temper was a source of trouble to him, but, seeing that it sometimes drove him to his knees, he considered it a "means of grace."

They shook hands warmly.

"I am glad to see you, Miss Marshall, and am grateful to the Editor for sending you. Will you take something? You have been travelling."

"No, thank you. I merely wanted to arrange an interview!"

"Ah! yes. Will to-morrow morning do—eleven o'clock?"

"Yes; here?"

"Oh! Yes! I'd much rather here than at my office."

* * * * *

Morrison was greatly pleased with the success of his letter. After he had posted it he had had misgivings as to the impulsive act of writing, but now he saw visions of a short editorial in the "News" condemning the action of the strikers. He was, therefore, in a particularly happy mood when Miss Marshall was ushered into the sanctum the following morning.

He plunged straightway into the subject.

"Now, Miss Marshall, ask what questions you like and I'll do my best to answer them."

"Thank you, Mr. Morrison, I have none to ask!"

The manufacturer looked fiercely at her through his glasses.

"None to ask," he repeatedly slowly, "but I thought you were sent here to find out the facts about this strike?"

"So I have, but I have no questions. I gathered all the information I required at the hotel."

"Oh!"—he paused; "and what was that, may I ask?"

"How long the works have been open, your income and the wages you pay."

"May I verify your information?"

"They tell me the works started with you and your father in one room in '49."

"Yes," chimed in Mr. Morrison, "and that cottage and two on either side of it have been pulled down and the works stand in their place. But I interrupted you."

"Your income, they tell me, is about £1,500 a year."

"Not quite! You see, there is my widowed mother!"

"Well, jointly, is it that figure?"

"Yes, quite fifteen hundred!"

"You pay trade union rates of wages, so I am informed."

"I have always paid trade union rates to the men. There is no union rate for women, but my wages sheet is above many of my competitors."

"Yes, I was told that also. By-the-way, I understand that you give them a week's holiday and a sum of money as well. Is that right?"

"A week's holiday for all who have been with me a year—10s. for each man, 7s. 6d. for each woman; no fines; eight hours a day. There! what employer does more than that?"

"I am afraid very few. May I ask a favour, Mr. Morrison?"

"Anything, but don't ask me to meet the women!" and the manufacturer put out his hand as if to ward off something.

She ignored his irritability.

"Gertrude Bonner is outside. Don't you think we might have a chat together? Perhaps we can settle the whole matter."

"I fail to see the advantage of the interview, Miss Marshall," he said, wearily, "but if it will help you——"

"Thank you."

The door opened and Mrs. Morrison, a dumpling little woman with a soft, pale face and grey hair, blue eyes and sunken mouth, came into the room, nearly colliding with Miss Marshall. Morrison had risen from his chair.

"This is Miss Marshall. She is just going to fetch Miss Bonner to me." To Miss Marshall—"My wife."

"And you have persuaded him to give way?" Her eyes were full of tears.

"Oh! Mr. Morrison hasn't given way. In fact, we haven't discussed that at all!"

"No, mother, Miss Marshall hasn't attempted to persuade. Here, come and sit down. Yes, go and fetch her"—this last to Miss Marshall.

Mrs. Morrison pulled her chair up to the fire and warmed her hands.

"Miss Marshall is very sympathetic," said Morrison.

"With you?"

"Yes, I think I shall win through."

"I expect you to be firm. If a girl can't give you half-an-hour when work is heavy then she has no claim for consideration."

"Yes, my dear, but we won't go over that again. I am going to be firm, quite firm. Now, please don't worry."

"I shall stay here and see the matter out." Mrs. Morrison's thin lips pursed up. She continued to warm her hands. Morrison lolled in his chair. One loop of his spectacle hanging on his finger so that the left lense of the glasses rested on the third button of his waistcoat. His face was suffused with red, which continued over his forehead. Neither spoke until the knock at the door announced Miss Marshall's return.

"Come in," called Morrison, rising from his chair with a start. His wife ceased to warm her hands, and put on her spectacles. Miss Marshall came in followed by the girl.

Gertrude Bonner was of the factory. The curlers showing below the black straw hat with the shabby violet velveteen proclaimed her as the descendant of early factory-workers. The long, shapeless coat of imitation astrachan, the draggled violet skirt, the dirty shoes with turned-over heels, the cheap brooch on her flat chest told their tale of mean and shabby streets. They cried aloud a story of boisterous music-hall songs, loud guffaws, greasy newspapers filled with evil-smelling fish and fried chips soused in bad vinegar. An anæmic face, a bloodless pair of lips, the nose spotted with black-heads, and a narrow forehead told of little education and no desire for it.

The girl was a typical product of our cities. There was, however, the woman in her eyes. Those brown eyes were the only part of her which the factories and the mean streets had not spoilt. The last unconquered fort, they seemed defiant and uncertain as to where to hurl their defiance; as ready to hurl it at Miss Mar-

shall as at Morrison. She would never have dreamt of being defiant at the mean streets wherein she lived and moved; nor would her anger have been vented on the shabby rubbish which clothed her. She loved pretty things, sometimes yearned for them, but never got angry with the well-dressed of Stonham. During the last few days, being the "martyr," she had been sullen. Filled with vague ideas about being robbed, and that she was just as good as the well-nurtured and comfortable people, her anger lay pent up, ready to pour itself, not on the spoilers who had held her people for generations in the bondage of factories and mean streets, but on the first person, innocent or otherwise, who might upset her. Ella Marshall discerned this, and Hilaire Belloc's words flashed through her mind: "When a mob would rule England, it breaks windows." It was the rebellious mother-eyes of the girl which would have vengeance for wrongs which she could not define. There was in those eyes the puissance to spread destruction and misery, but no power to set to right the wrongs of her people. It would burn, pillage, and slay because of the outrages which had been inflicted, and would hang those who had showed it the wrongs. Yes, from an ignorance born of mortification it would hang its saviours, who would have set it to build a happy, healthy England instead of ravaging the country. Hang them for sheer disappointment. Such was the power behind the rebellious eyes. The light in those eyes was the camp fire of the wronged outlaw.

Mr. Morrison motioned the girl to a seat. She, however, remained standing.

"Miss Marshall wants us three to have a chat together," began Mr. Morrison.

"Yes, sir!"

"Before you begin I want to say something," broke in Mrs. Morrison.

They all turned to listen, Morrison very much irritated.

"You, my girl, don't know when you're well off. You have a good master, good money, good hours. You are well treated, and it is wicked of you to refuse to help in the work with your master. If the works shut up, where will you be?"

"I've got the push, so what's the odds where I be?" said the girl angrily.

"Yes, and if you had considered your master and had been willing to stay a little to help the work, it wouldn't have hurt you. He has considered you."

Before the girl could answer, Miss Marshall broke in.

"Now, Gertie, just sit down and listen to me."

"I didn't come here for you to nag at me!" she snapped.

"I'm not going to nag at you. We are going to settle this matter. We want your help. Now, answer this, will you?"

"All right, then! Fire away, Miss!"

"You have always objected to work after five, even for half-an-hour?"

"Well, not always. It's getting too often though, so I kicked."

"You don't like staying?"

"No, nor anyone. My time's eight to five, and an hour for dinner!"

"Quite so," interposed Mr. Morrison, "and it used to be seven-thirty to six, with an extra half-an-hour for tea."

"Well, we didn't ask for the shorter hours. You gave them. Made a pretty speech about it. Said as 'ow you wanted us to have more time to ourselves."

"Exactly," went on Mr. Morrison. "You didn't ask for it. I wasn't bound to give it, but I did. I also said that I expected that, in return, you would work late to help the work when necessary. I had hoped that the extra help would have been gladly given when occasionally required. I hoped in vain. It has either been refused or given grudgingly."

"Well, why should you pick on me?" asked the girl, angrily.

"Because *you* have been most grudging in your help."

The girl muttered something about "eight to five," and sat sullen.

"It is you who must do something, Mr. Morrison," said Miss Marshall.

"What do you mean?"

"Either the trouble must go on until both are exhausted, or until one of you gives way. One side must offer new terms."

"It is for the workpeople to modify, not my husband," snapped Mrs. Morrison.

"I'm not going to stick out just on a point of pride. All I want is an undertaking that this antagonism shall cease."

"You are wavering, John."

"No, I'm not. I'm quite firm. All I'm anxious for is that the workpeople shall be as keen on the welfare of the factory as I am. It is their livelihood. They must be as ready to help me as I am ready to see that they are well-treated. As a believer in Christ and Brotherhood, I must be just and considerate, and I'm ready to stretch a point in order to have justice and consideration for them. They must be prepared to give me the extra time when I want it."

"In return for that undertaking, will you take the girl back?" asked Miss Marshall.

"Yes."

"You are giving away everything and getting nothing in return. You are a fool, John." Mrs. Morrison had jumped to her feet. She was deeply moved.

"Not at all, my dear. I cannot let my pride rule. If I can get proper sympathy from them and the guarantee, I feel it my duty to reinstate Miss Bonner."

(To be continued.)

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THE
BRITISH SOCIALIST.

Vol. II., No. 10. OCTOBER 15, 1913.

H. QUELCH AND THE WORKING CLASS.

By A. S. HEADINGLEY.

Thinking over the loss the Socialist cause has experienced in the death of our eminent colleague and comrade Harry Quelch, I would like to lay special emphasis on the confusion that exists in many minds when they talk of the working class. We have been told many times, especially in fevered street-corner oratory, that Quelch was a magnificent example of the working-class leader. To my mind, on the contrary, the great merit of our lost comrade is that, though born a member of the working class, he had the extraordinary industry and ability to raise himself right away and above the working class.

The sort of fetish worship that is growing up for the working class finds a stern rebuke in the life and career of Harry Quelch. It must be at once recognised, however, that the new idol was not raised by the working class themselves. They may be ever so ignorant, as a class, but they are at least wise enough

not to have much confidence in their shopmates. It is the middle and upper classes, who, in their ignorance of the working class, have imagined that working men as a class are capable of regenerating mankind. Karl Marx is translated, I believe erroneously, into English as having said, "The emancipation of the working classes must be the work of the working classes themselves."

Had the word worker been substituted for working class we should all agree. None can deny that Quelch was a worker, and hard worker, to the very last. Indeed, he worked so hard that he not only learnt to speak and write his own language with great force, eloquence, humour, logic and correctness, but he even acquired a good working knowledge of Latin, French and German. Do the working classes understand all these languages? They cannot even speak correctly their own language.

What our comrade Quelch did was to raise himself out of the working class; he became one of the managers, or administrators, of the Twentieth Century Press. This was a task that was more difficult than that accomplished by most "Captains of Industry," because, unlike the administrators who serve the capitalist class, he never had sufficient capital to carry forward the business properly; but it was a business, and Quelch was a business man managing a printing and publishing concern. This, surely, is bourgeois of the bourgeoisie, having no connection whatsoever with the usual occupations that go to frame the mind and develop the character of the working man.

Quelch, however, did very much more. He gradually acquired such ability as an author and journalist, and also as a public speaker and orator, that he was well able to take a prominent place among the members of the liberal professions. This, in the English social hierarchy, represents a very high rank indeed, and opens the doors of the best and most select society. Occupying the same rank myself, I have been received at half the Courts of Europe, and there are very few drawing-

rooms I could not penetrate, if I gave myself the trouble to do so and had the necessary amount of money to squander for such a purpose. So to talk of Quelch as a glorious example of what the working classes can do is, to my mind, a mischievous misrepresentation. The moral is just the very contrary. Quelch's life shows us that a working man has to possess or acquire the necessary ability to leave the working class before he can render any very effective service. Even those working men who acquire influence, become organisers, and are nevertheless obliged, for their daily bread, to continue working at the bench, in the mill or factory, are not doing working-class work when they assist the movement. If they become speakers, or write a little, they are employing their leisure time to qualify as members of the liberal professions. If they help the cause by organising, collecting subscriptions, keeping accounts, they are doing the work of clerks or accountants, but not of working men. If they distribute handbills and whip up an audience, prepare for whist drives, concerts, dances, and other attractions, then they are doing the work of publicity agents, or "impressarios." Except it be in scrubbing the floors, painting the walls, repairing damaged furniture or the building where the Socialist Society meets, there is very little working-class work the Socialist working-class man or woman can do to bring about the emancipation of his own class. Those who have sunk in the mud or fallen in a pond have got to clamber up the embankment, have to get out themselves first. Then and then only can they turn round and stretch a hand out to help others to emerge from the mire. Thus the Revolution will come from above and not from below, as is too readily imagined. The mischief of such a conception is that those who are on the lower ruts imagine it is all right and they need make no effort to raise themselves. This is a most fatal mistake. They should all endeavour to follow the brilliantly successful example given them by comrade Quelch, who, commencing life as a common

working man, raised himself out of the working class to become, as the manager of a printing and publishing business, a member of the middle class; and as a scholar, an author and an orator also to become a member of the upper class.

Those are the men the working class of this country are disposed to follow, and not the men who are content to remain wallowing amid working-class mud and misery. The best leaders are those who raise themselves to a position of utility and distinction. This Quelch did, and in so doing he rendered the greatest possible service to the cause of Socialism, which is the cause of all workers and not of the working class only. If many more members of the working class could do the same there would indeed be hope and rapid progress. We shall not have a new and better order of society till we get a better developed community. The Revolution must begin at home in each man and woman's brain and character. Where can we find a more complete, thorough, magnificent revolution than that which Quelch accomplished within his own brain, developing his intellectual faculties far above his own immediate surroundings, and giving, in his own person, the inspiring spectacle of a revolution which so raised a working-class man as to render him fit to take a place among the distinguished members of the aristocracy of intellect?

HARRY QUELCH. SEPTEMBER 17, 1913.

IN EVER GRATEFUL MEMORY.

Comrade and chum, "a last good-bye"! this *last*,
Trusted, tried, true, *best* friend beloved, is hard:
Words are too weak to voice the real regard
Of one who knew thy worth, yet fain would cast
This wreath of poesy amid the vast
Array of tributes that will bless thy name;
For thou hast spurred my early hopes of fame,
And trained and taught me truly in the past.

Class-conscious Socialist, and guiding Light
Of "Justice"—thinker, writer, orator—
The Movement mourns thy loss, the whole world o'er.
Workers will miss their leader, and unite
By *works*, more than by *words*, to make it plain
Thy strenuous life has not been lived in vain.

ELIANA TWYNAM.

September 19, 1913.

A SOLDIER OF HUMANITY—HARRY QUELCH.

By Ben Tillett.

I often wonder whether I should like to go over the old ground of battle again. There have been so many good and bad, stupid and clever, people in the fighting line, or skulking behind for the fleshpots. Some of them have run howling in their cowardice and explanations to the master class. Then there have been men who have sneaked into good offices, betraying the confidence of those who expected the braver and better part to be played.

Then there has been the variety in the change of thought and mind on the part of some who spluttered a brief hour, and then decamped to the enemy. Some have changed in theories, but not in love or convictions; they are loyal to the "bottom-dog."

We have seen our clumsiest efforts succeed and our cleverest schemes "gang aft agley." We have seen impossible situations turned to triumph without skill; just a faith, just a hope, winning, where keen brains would have failed, even with heart and soul true and brave. At other times, we have planned easy, sure victories; we have caught sight of harvests of wages, food, clothes—greater and nobler manhood, happier homes, well-fed children, happy mothers—all for the asking, all ready to fall like manna on the workers; and they have turned blind eyes and coward backs to the brief fight. They have endured without a struggle, they have surrendered without a struggle, the ripe fruits of organised demand. All of us have to keep our souls in strength and purpose, and sometimes our rebel hearts rebel against us, the rebels. But there is always some law of association in operation.

There are examples, living, grand examples, in men and women; our truant hearts obey some instinct of loyalty and purpose; we see the law of service to be a religion; and there are men who stand out to us the greater saints that even their apparent commonplace manner and appearance could not hide from the inner meaning of our life.

No history of the last generation can ever be written unless it figures Harry Quelch. An analytic mind, ready resource and command of argument, precision in utterance, exact in statement; a logical extremist, his grip of historic detail, of economic change, almost bewildered even the keenest of his opponents.

That he mastered fairly two other languages, that he read in several languages, that he spoke in the master-spirit the real language of humanity, are all to his credit, and are wonderful evidence of his courage and patience as well as brilliance. But not of these things do I count of as much value and importance as I do the persistent work of drudgery he undertook, and the unfailing urbanity and assurance of his convictions. Trade movements in all conceptions and expression of growth and meaning for the last thirty years have commanded his interest and help.

Trades Union Congress and the discussion of full-blooded demands have always found him ready to back the greatest demand. He has stood against compromise and "half-loaves"; and possibly the finest satire ever expressed has been wasted upon dull brains in the forlorn hope that he might be understood as representing the great claim of the larger humanity. He just stood robustly against sectarian and narrow political views, against that peevish and cowardly paucity in demands which the moderates take to be statesmanship. At the Labour Party Conferences, he has stood with the best and the bravest against the betrayals and surrenders of the people's rights by the weak-kneed and poltroon politician. In the London Trades Council he has always backed up the trade union and industrial movement, with a faithfulness

unexampled by most men. As editor of "Justice," his office was the Mecca of the forlorn and beaten in the battle for bread. He sacrificed and served: that was his penance for living; his penance for the poor whom he loved and served with unmurmuring drudgery and devotion. He has been with me in strikes, has been arrested, tried, policed, bullied and badgered by eminent counsel and brutal stipendiary; hooted by the slaves for whom he sacrificed himself; charged in the midst of his hunger and poverty with "battening on the workers."

Strikes, fights against police-suppressed meetings, agitations against Governments, Continental comradeships nursed and championed; the world none too big for the great soul, the greater man, and the greater manhood.

The New Unionism, the new sense of more direct action, the political fights for better legislation, the protecting of lives in preference to property, the feeding of children on a national scale, school clinics, education, franchise; in the printers' and transport workers', coal and cotton, engineering strikes at home and on the Continent, his energies, quietly enforcing the real demand, made education-capital out of every incident, victory or defeat.

Harry is the biggest memory of the men of his generation in the Social-Democratic movement, and some of his contemporaries have been and are giants.

In the raging, tearing animosities, in the tumults of passions and sordidness of the years I have known him, I have looked upon the amazing patience of this man with wonder. "Justice," the Twentieth Century Press, the sacrifice of home and leisure, and family; his own body, energy and hopes, he allowed to be swallowed in the vortex of revolutionary movements. The great and the little was neither too herculean nor too mean. And so his manhood towers as an example and a memory of the dogged, the heroic, the strenuous, and the good man.

THE OLD GUARD DIES, BUT NEVER SURRENDERS.

By A. W. Arnold.

"The Old Guard dies, but never surrenders." It was natural for the hackneyed old phrase to come to mind when we heard Hyndman, Burrows, and Jack Williams speaking by the grave of Quelch, and recognised in the crowd the faces of others who have been in the movement twenty, twenty-five, or thirty years. The Old Guard dies. We must all die. Early or late to each one the summons comes at last. But the Old Guard never surrenders.

Why should it surrender? Why abate one jot or tittle of the demands formulated in the early days of the modern Socialist movement in this country? It is not as if those demands expressed the caprice of some idle hour, or the hasty resolve of a rash man who sees now that it would have been wiser to have thought before he spoke and acted. Those demands were long debated at conferences and public assemblies, discussed in private conversation and in branch meetings, until every point had been weighed and considered over and over again. In the result there gradually formed that body of principles on which the S.D.F. stood firmly, which is the foundation of the B.S.P. to-day—principles differentiated from Fabianism on the one side and Anarchism on the other. Syndicalism and the impossibilism of our friends of the S.L.P. and the S.P.G.B. had not then been evolved. But these ideas also, as our readers know, have been adequately discussed before being rejected.

To-day it would be absurd to say that the hopes, or even the reasonable expectations, of thirty years ago have been realised; but it can at any rate be said that, in spite of appearances, the S.D.F. has been justified by a greater measure of real success than has attended its rivals. In politics Fabian permeation has enabled a few men to get upon the Liberal benches in the House of Commons; but the very terms on which they get and hold their seats requires them to sit silent while one opportunity after another to champion the working class or to further the cause of Socialism goes by. For they must conform to the party discipline, else out they will go at the next election. The Labour Party, again, is the realisation of the ideal for which the I.L.P. was founded—a working-class party in Parliament unbound by any definite principles, Socialist or otherwise. And we see now that the S.D.F. attitude was right. A very small party of men who really understood the position of the working class in capitalist society, and who could rely on the support of their constituencies, would be worth far more than this large party of men who themselves have no definite Socialist objective, and whose constituencies would unseat them if they threw out a Liberal Government.

Of Anarchism it is unnecessary to speak. Those whose memories carry them back far enough will remember that it was destroyed by its own "propaganda by deed." The younger generation of Socialists usually know no more about Anarchism than its name. The impossibilism of our friends of the S.L.P. and the S.P.G.B. may be described as a further crystallisation of a rock already sufficiently hard. There never was any real reason founded on principle why they should set up their own little shops to supply the world with Simon Pure's Genuine Brand of Superfine Labour Politics. They have not had much success, and we understand a group has now arisen inside the S.L.P. which advocates a palliative programme.

Due to various causes—the rise in food prices is one, and the fact that we have had thirty years of

Socialist propaganda is another—there is a different spirit in the workers to-day from what there was when the S.D.F. was founded. It is this fact which makes it impossible yet to say what measure of success is likely to attend the Syndicalist propaganda. Syndicalism, like Socialism, depends upon this spirit and at the same time encourages it, and it is yet too early to say how far things may go. It can, however, be said that it would be a great mistake for the workers to drop political methods altogether; they ought to keep them, if only for the sake of maintaining greater freedom of action in the non-political sphere. The right to strike had been in effect abolished when the Labour Party in Parliament restored it by forcing the passing of the Trade Disputes Act. And unless the workers have an active and vigilant party in Parliament to champion their interests, they will some day find a scheme of compulsory arbitration in trade disputes being forced upon them. When that is done Syndicalism's chief weapon is broken in its hand.

Even apart from this consideration, it is not to be supposed that Syndicalist methods are certain to be victorious. Some recent strikes have been successful, others have not. There are thousands of dock labourers in East London now who were in fairly regular employment previous to the last dock strike, but whose places are now filled by blacklegs, so that they are only getting one or two days' work a week. On the whole, while we do not associate ourselves with those who oppose the whole idea of the strike, the S.D.F. has again been justified in its doctrine that the workers would be wise to spend on judicious political action the time and energy expended upon strikes.

But it is little satisfaction to write thus. For thirty years there has been a growing spirit of revolt against present-day conditions, a steady growth in the number of those who hold the Socialist idea, and a continuous extension of working-class power in Parliament and on local authorities. But in none of these respects has the progress made equalled our desire.

Especially are we dissatisfied with the numbers of those who clearly understand and accept the Socialist position. Why is it that a man will starve himself and his family for weeks to get another penny an hour on his wages, but will not take the trouble to seriously study the movement which proposes to do away with wage-slavery altogether? Why is it that even when the worker has reached the point where he prefers a man of his own class to represent him in Parliament, or on a local authority, he still prefers that man to have no definite Socialist principles? These are old questions. They have been asked many times before. Perhaps they do not admit of any simple answer. Apparently the movement of thought is going on, but goes sluggishly as compared with the rate at which it moved through some of the more active brains of earlier days. The average man cannot conceive a state of society where the people will hold and control their means of life. Nor can he imagine any steps by which such a change is to be brought about. So he decides that the people who talk of such things must be dreamers. He declines to associate himself to their movement and in elections he will not vote for their candidate. Plainly there is no remedy but patience and steady propaganda.

It may be, too, that our methods of propaganda are somewhat at fault at times. We are dull, perhaps, and fail to attract people. At other times we drive our hearers away by injudicious attacks on non-essentials. It is, for example, natural that a man, himself a free-thinker, should wish to make propaganda for the free-thought idea; but the effect of his doing so from the Socialist platform is sometimes to set people against the other things he has to say to them.

Connected with this is the fact that incidentally to becoming a Socialist so many old prejudices and notions have to be cleared away. Clearly a man cannot be at the same time a Socialist and an upholder of the monarchy. Nor can he be a patriot and imperialist as those words are commonly understood. Nor

can he accept conventional ideas as to the rights of property. If he is to be clear and consistent in his Socialism all these cobwebs must be cleared out of his brain.

One last word. Any great idea that is to move mankind must be a religious idea in the sense that it lifts its adherent out of his ordinary self and makes him forget mere self-interest, personal comfort and convenience. He must become willing to give time and trouble, to make efforts and sacrifices, for the sake of his idea. Judged by this standard Socialism stands high among the religions of the world. Many men and many women have both lived and died for it. When Socialism is thus elevated to become a religion, the inspiration which it gives its devotees comes from the thought of the immense benefit Socialism will bring to mankind. It is the thought of the horror and squalor of our time, and of the joy and beauty which might replace it, which spurs the Socialist on; the feeling that he can play a part in bringing to birth a new and happier world; the consciousness of himself as one individual helping the whole race in its upward march. But these considerations leave the average man cold. If he wants a religion at all it is one which tells him that in another life the wrongs and privations he has suffered in this life will be in some way requited; that the friend who has passed away is only gone before, and that he shall some day again take him by the hand. He wants to believe in a power personally interested in himself, guiding and helping him through the toilsome journey of life. These are all natural desires of the human heart, and Socialism has nothing to say about them one way or the other. That is undoubtedly why in many cases it fails of its appeal.

The Old Guard of the Socialist movement consists of men, and a few women, some of whom may cherish such hopes in addition to those which their Socialism gives them. But most have cast all such ideas definitely behind them. Be that as it may, they find in their Socialism the inspiration that enables them to go

steadily on. They see the unthinking and emotional crowd swaying between a foolish non-political Syndicalism and an almost colourless Labourism. But sooner or later the principles they stand for will be accepted and vindicated. They feel they can do no better than continue to uphold those principles even though they may never be realised in the lifetime of themselves.

So the Old Guard dies.

But it never surrenders.

A FEW REMINISCENCES OF AUGUST BEBEL.

By E. Belfort Bax.

It was in the autumn of the year 1887 that I first met August Bebel in the flesh. The occasion was the German Party Congress of that year. The Coercion Act of Bismarck was still in force throughout Germany, so the Congress had to be held in Switzerland. The place selected was St. Gallen. The delegates, as I well remember, arriving by train from various parts of Germany, were met at the railway station by stewards of the Party, and conducted to the "Gasthaus," some two miles from the town Zum schönen Weg. One of the chief features of this Congress was a discussion of the action of certain members of the Party in the Reichstag in voting the money for a Government job in the Baltic. It was called the Baltic subvention. There were one or two other acts of opportunism in the Reichstag in which the Party had been guilty which also came in for severe criticism from the Radical wing, of which Bebel made himself the spokesman. I well remember the energy of his attack on the moderates and trimmers of the party, prominent among whom was the late Hasenclever. Bebel at this time was at the height of his powers, overflowing with life and vigour.

After this occasion I saw a good deal of Bebel at different times, especially in Zürich, where his daughter Frieda was studying, and where she subsequently settled down as the wife of Dr. Simon, whose tragic death in his physiological laboratory occurred some two

years ago. Bebel himself, shortly after the marriage of his daughter, bought a house called the Villa Julia, after his wife, at Küssnacht, about three miles from Zürich on the lake. Here I often visited him and had many a discussion with him on principles and tactics. A few years before his death, he sold his house at Küssnacht and returned to Zürich, where in the intervals of the Reichstag sessions he resided with his daughter. It was here that I saw him for the last time, shortly before the death of Dr. Simon. He was then already weak and uncertain in his health, and expressed great anxiety that he might be able to bring his Autobiography to a close before his death. He came in from his bedroom, where he had been indulging in an afternoon sleep which, he told me, was now a necessity with him every day. Notwithstanding the increasing signs of physical weakness one noticed in him, his conversation seemed as brisk and his interest in Party matters as keen as ever. As already said, this was the last time I saw him, although I heard from him subsequently by letter. The death of Dr. Simon brought to an end the old ménage in the Gessnerallee in Zürich. Moreover, within the last two years I have not had occasion to visit Zürich for any length of time, and the few days, once or twice a year, when I have been in the town happened to coincide with the session of the Reichstag when Bebel was in Berlin.

Bebel was a man who held decided views, not only on questions of general principles or tactics in the larger sense, but he was also at times a somewhat severe critic of personal conduct from a Party point of view. Thus I well remember one evening crossing the lake from the other side to Küssnacht with a small party of mutual friends, and boarding a Zürich steamer where we unexpectedly met Bebel accompanied by several comrades. I should premise that among my own party was a comrade, a barrister from the Rhine district, who had fled from a threatened prosecution in Germany under the Anti-Socialist Coercion Law which was then operative. It is true that he did not make

himself a burden on the Party in any way, but lived on his own means. Nevertheless, Bebel held strongly that, under the circumstances, he ought to have remained in Germany and stood the racket of a prosecution. This view of the matter he thought to impress upon the fugitive Rhinelander in his usual well-set terms. I still have the picture before me of Bebel standing in the middle of a circle of his friends, recruited by a few of the ship's other passengers, admonishing this unfortunate man, who was standing there with bent head like a poor sinner, of his defection from the true path of Party duty. The object of Bebel's pastoral admonitions was so hurt by the proceeding that he refused to come to a dinner party given a few days later by a mutual friend at which Bebel was present. I thought myself the time and place were not, perhaps, quite suited to exhortation of the nature described, and I often used to chaff Bebel afterwards on the rôle he played on this occasion as the good shepherd admonishing an erring member of his flock. Bebel always excused himself by pleading his anxiety lest the comrade in question, who was a young man, should become demoralised by idling away his time in the Swiss town when there was so much to be done in Germany.

It may be interesting to mention as an item of Bebel reminiscences that he, together with Liebknecht, during a visit to London in the nineties, was present at a full-dress debate of the Hardwick Society held in the Middle Temple on the subject of Woman Suffrage. For Bebel, of course, not knowing English, the proceedings were, more or less, dumb show. He was interested, nevertheless, in studying the ways and the manners of the British barrister in his native haunts.

The somewhat chauvinistic—or, shall we say, German patriotic?—utterances which were occasionally to be found in Bebel's speeches of later years have been much commented on. As regards the first of these, his speech in the Reichstag in February, 1907, it may be interesting to state that his wife, who died a year or

two later, regarded it as regrettable and told me that she had remonstrated with him afterwards about it, pointing out, she said, how liable his words were to a jingoistic interpretation which he had never intended. Subsequently to this, however, notably the discussion on the Moroccan question at the German Party Congress in 1911 at Jena, he gave utterance to sentiments which, as our dear comrade Quelch, who was present, remarked at the time, seemed hardly compatible with Socialist principle. My friend Hermann Greulich, of Zürich, expressed to me the opinion that August Bebel always had a strain of the German patriot in him. Be this as it may, it is scarcely discernible in his earlier writings and speeches.

But, however much we may regret any ill-judged expressions, or even any slight defections now and again from principle, in his old age, these weigh but as a feather in the scale as against the general consistency and unswerving devotion of a lifetime to the cause of Social-Democracy. The last occasion on which Bebel came out as the uncompromising champion of the principles and tactics of undiluted Socialism was at the Dresden Party Congress of 1903, when he took the field against the Revisionists, and helped to formulate the famous Dresden resolution, which was adopted in substance by the International Congress in Amsterdam of 1904. Bebel was present at the Stuttgart International Congress in 1907, but took no very important part in the discussions. He was absent from the Congress at Copenhagen in 1910, owing to the state of his health. Although his direct influence was necessarily weakened within the last few years, there can be no two opinions but that the German Social-Democratic Party and International Socialism have alike sustained a momentous loss in the death of that old field-marshal of the Cause, August Bebel.

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THE MONTH.

The hand of death fell heavily last month upon the Socialist movement in this country. It removed from us one who has for more than thirty years devoted himself almost wholly to the Socialist and Labour movement in these islands—our comade, friend and fellow worker, Harry Quelch. Among those in the movement who mourn his loss none can feel it more personally than those of us connected with "Justice" and the "British Socialist."

In the industrial world interest is chiefly centred in the dispute at Dublin, which seems as far removed as ever from a settlement. On Sunday, August 31, considerable rioting took place in the streets, the dramatic incident in the day's proceedings being the appearance of James Larkin in disguise in order to keep his word that he would speak at the meeting on the Sunday despite the warrant out against him. The brutality of the police on this occasion has been attested by independent people who were present. Most of the Dublin police are drawn from the country districts, and during the labour troubles they have been reinforced by members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, none of whom understand or have any sympathy whatever with the town workers. Two men died subsequently from injuries received from the police. Meanwhile the Dublin employers, under Mr. Murphy's guidance, refused to employ anyone belonging to the Irish Transport Workers' Union, and discharged all its members right and left. Mere questions of wages and hours of labour were completely relegated to the background in this bitter demonstration of the class struggle.

The police outrages in Dublin formed the principal topic for discussion at the Trades Union Congress held at Manchester last month. It enlivened what might otherwise have been a tame Congress, though not necessarily less useful on that account.

The Congress appointed three delegates to go to Dublin to uphold the right of free speech and combination, one of whom was Councillor J. Jones, of West Ham, and three members of the Parliamentary Committee were added. With considerable difficulty they ultimately obtained the sanction of Dublin Castle for the proclaimed meeting to be held in O'Connell Street, and further secured the withdrawal of the police from the scene of the meeting, so that a magnificent demonstration of some seventy thousand persons was held in a perfectly orderly and peaceful manner.

After some futile attempts all hope of getting the Dublin employers to a conference had to be abandoned. The delegates returned to England and reported that the only thing to do was to support the men on strike and locked out as fully as possible. The distress in Dublin being exceedingly great, the Trades Union Parliamentary Committee decided to send a ship of food across St. George's Channel at a cost of £5,000, and make a general appeal for funds to cover the expenses. The ship "Hare" was despatched from the Pomona Docks, Manchester, on Friday, September 26, and received a warm welcome on her arrival at Dublin the next day. The appeal of the Trades Union Parliamentary Committee has now brought in over £17,000, and two additional food ships have been sent to Dublin. But the struggle continues fiercely and bitterly, with a loss of profits to the employers and starvation and misery to the workers and their families, relieved only partially by the help that is coming from England.

The annual Trades Union Congress was the biggest on record, but there was no startling departures apart from the strenuous action taken in connection with the Dublin strike. The delegates did not appear to be very much affected, if at all, by the new Anarchism yclept Syndicalism, and once again declared for political action as the other arm to accompany the strike. As the working-class movement evolves in this country, instead of the Trades Union Congress becoming the back number which it has so often been declared to be, it has broadened its outlook, and now less than ever is there any reason for the separate existence of the Labour Party and the General Federation of Trade Unions.

One thing has become apparent from the fresh crop of small strikes alongside the bigger affair in Dublin, and that is the necessity for a stronger bond of union between the organised

workers, and some committee for the purpose of regulating strikes. Many of these spasmodic outbreaks are such utter failures that they only head back the general movement for betterment and emancipation. If it were possible for some central authority to advise and control these movements, and when they are started to secure their success, we should have far surer results to the workers for their heroism and abstinence from food.

More than usual prominence has recently been given to the Home Rule question by the attitude of Ulster, and there are, no doubt, numbers of Liberals who would heartily welcome something in the nature of Lord Loreburn's suggested conference. There is certain to be trouble in Ulster over Home Rule, and that trouble will probably come quite apart from the drilling, inspecting and reviewing of the Ulster "volunteers" which is now going on. There may be something more theatrical than dramatic in the volunteers being "inspected" by Sir Edward Carson, K.C., but it is not for the Liberals, with their late legal War Minister, now Lord Haldane, to laugh at lawyers as volunteer generals. In our opinion, the drilling, inspecting and the reviewing of the Ulster volunteers is as likely as not to create such bad blood between Ulster Orangemen and Catholics as may cause rioting in the streets of Belfast and other Ulster towns, and the broken heads will be among those who have been neither drilled, inspected nor reviewed. That the Government is in a dilemma over the question is obvious. Between Ulster and Redmond they are in an awkward fix.

The Congress of the German Social-Democratic Party held last month at Jena was looked forward to somewhat expectantly by the capitalist Press outside as well as inside of Germany. Bebel was dead; no longer could his powerful personality be relied upon to keep the divergent views and elements of the German Social-Democratic Party together; a "split" of some sort or other was certain to come. It was the wish being father to the thought, though far away from the fact, for no "split" took place. The important questions of the general strike and "mass action," the attitude of the Social-Democratic members of the Reichstag on the Military Bill and taxation, were debated vigorously, perhaps, at times, almost fiercely; but when once the vote was taken, there was no stampeding on the part of the minority. As a matter of fact, some of the old grouping is disappearing. There does

not now seem to be that marked division between Radicals and Revisionists which has existed for a number of years, and has been in evidence at most of the recent Congresses. One important matter that has to be remembered is that as the Socialist movement gathers strength in each country, so do the responsibilities of those who are to the front in it increase. Greater care has to be exercised than when the Party is small in numbers, and has to force itself constantly forward. That is the mistake of our Labour Party in Parliament. They exercise the "care" that is not necessary in their position, and lose sight of the vigorous action that is.

What a change has taken place in the Balkans since the beginning of the war a little more than a year ago! The overrunning of Thrace by the Bulgarians; the rapid advances of the Servians and Grecians in Macedonia and Epirus; the vigorous attacks on Skutari by the Montenegrins and its equally vigorous defence; the complete collapse of the Turkish Army, especially in Thrace, apart from the defence of Adrianople—all these facts went entirely against the prophecies made before the war began. Certainly no one expected that the Turkish Army would have been so quickly out-generalled and out-manœuvred; but its collapse showed once more how modern armies move on their bellies, and that without proper commissariat and sufficient ammunition the greater the army the more terrible may be its predicament.

But unexpected as was the collapse of the Turkish Army, equally unexpected were the later developments of the Balkan war. That the "Allies" would quarrel over the spoils was not at all an improbable event; but that Bulgaria on the one side and Greece and Servia on the other should have fought with a ferocity far exceeding the regular war against Turkey must indeed have come as a surprise to those well-meaning people here whose hearts are greater than their heads, and who have regarded the "Allies" as liberators of the "Christian" populations of the Balkans from the yoke of the Moslems. Bulgaria humbled to the dust, is forced to negotiate direct with Turkey, and the Ottoman Power regains Adrianople, Kirk Killisse, and best part of Thrace. At the present time the Servians have their hands full with the Albanians, and Greece is preparing for Turkey's next move in the Ægean. What bitter irony is this "war of libera-

tion" when Bulgaria has to send a military expedition to take possession of the territory awarded to her by the Bucharest Conference *against the wishes of the inhabitants!*

Yuan Shih-kai has been elected President of the Chinese Republic for five years, and the Powers have responded by a formal recognition of the Republic. Why the latter ceremony was needed, seeing that from the very moment of the proclamation of the Republic the Powers and their financiers have not ceased transacting with the Peking authorities on quite official terms, is not evident, unless the Powers were anxious to show that they approved of the nation's choice. The "nation," however, on this occasion was a sorry exhibition. After the suppression of the recent rebellion, nothing articulate has remained of the "nation" except a corrupt and bloodthirsty soldiery under equally corrupt and bloodthirsty generals, each a little dictator in his district. Parliament itself has been reduced by bribery and a systematic terrorism—arrests as well as assassinations—to little more than a machine for registering the will of Yuan.

The latest act of terrorism on the part of the dictator is recorded in the last number of the "China Republican" to hand. At the end of August five Senators and three members of the House of Representatives, all leaders of the Opposition, were seized in the streets early in the morning and deported to Shanghai, there to stand their "trial" before a court-martial on the charge of having aided and abetted in the rebellion. Neither House was informed of the occurrence, and, of course, their subsequent protest against this outrage on the representatives of the nation was not heeded. By these and similar means Yuan has secured his election to the Presidency, and the Powers, with more courage than honesty, have recognised the "Republic." But, of course, Yuan is their man. It is for their sake and with their tacit approval that he has taken the bit into his mouth and has initiated an orgy of bloodshed and terror. He will be the dictator, and they will pull the wires from behind his chair. Afterwards, if and when the Chinese people should again rise in vindication of their liberties, the cry will be raised that China is in the throes of anarchy, an international expeditionary corps will be sent to "pacify" it, and the country will be handed over to an international administration. This may happen sooner than most of the public expect.

The passing away of Patrick Ford removes one of the old and inveterate enemies of British domination in Ireland. In the early 'eighties Patrick Ford was a great deal more than a mere Irish political revolutionary. He was as often at loggerheads with the Fenians as he was with the later Home Rulers. He and John Davoy were the two Americans chiefly responsible for the new departure in the Irish politics of his time—that was the linking up of the political Irish movement with the Agrarian movement. While Michael Davitt was bringing the Agrarian side of the Irish question prominently to the front in Ireland through the Land League, Davoy and Ford were throwing all their energies into getting the support of the Irish-Americans for the Agrarian movement—no easy task at all at that time. Patrick Ford was a dynamitard. He believed in the use of explosives to carry on the struggle against what he regarded as a corrupt and tyrannical domination. But he saw further. He was one of those who predicted proletarian upheavals in America when the idea was scouted of anything in the shape of such class antagonism as was showing itself in Europe. It was mainly due to his efforts that the fund was raised for the relatives of those who suffered in connection with the Phœnix Park assassinations. As he grew old he became more reactionary, but, in so far as he saw things, he was undoubtedly sincere in his convictions and vigorous in his actions, and in his hands the "Irish World" was a powerful organ for Irish independence.

THE EVENTS OF SEPTEMBER.

AT HOME.

1—Renewal of Dublin riots.
Police attack Cornish clayworkers.
Trades Union Congress opens at Manchester.

3—400 Dublin employers agree not to employ members of Irish Transport Workers' Union.
Fall of houses in Dublin.

4—Duke of Sutherland's will proved—£1,220,905.

5—Suffragette fire at Dulwich College.

6—Trades Union Congress delegates address meeting in Dublin.

10—British Association opens at Birmingham.
Winding-up order against "Daily Herald"; deficiency, £24,532.
Lord Loreburn urges "Conference" on Home Rule.

12—Co-operative Wholesale Society begins Jubilee Celebration.

14—13,000 or 14,000 unemployed in Dublin; food prices rising.

15—Employees of L. and N.W. and L. and Y. Railways refuse to handle goods from Dublin.

16—Sir Edward Carson visits Ulster to "inspect" Volunteer Force.
Spread of railway strike to Birmingham and Liverpool.
Five men killed and seven injured by fall of chimney at Workington.

17—Suffragettes attempt to burn Penshurst Place.
Death of Harry Quelch.

18—Licensed Vehicle Workers threaten to strike Messrs. Tilling for dismissing men refusing to take off Union badge.

19—Board of Trade intervene in 'bus strike.

20—Railway disputes settled.
Funeral of H. Quelch at Forest Hill Cemetery; great procession and demonstration of 10,000 persons.

21—Renewed striking in Dublin.

22—Omnibus strike settled; men win.
8,000 miners strike in Aberdare Valley.

23—Trades Union Parliamentary Committee agree to send shipload of food to Dublin.
4,000 miners strike at Cambrian collieries.

23—Two more Suffragette fires.
24—Proposal to create United Kingdom Employers' Defence Union with £50,000,000 fund.
25—Meeting of Central Authority of the Ulster "Provisional Government."
26—Court of Inquiry appointed for Dublin Labour disputes with Sir George Askwith as chairman.
27—Parcel workers at Carter Paterson win reduction of hours and increased wages after a day's strike.
29—Church Congress opens at Southampton.
Dublin Court of Inquiry opened.
30—Cotton trade trouble at Bolton.

ABROAD.

3—Three speakers at Johannesburg meeting arrested.
4—Three Japanese shot at Nanking by Chinese troops.
6—"Free Speech" meeting held in Johannesburg.
8—Preliminary meeting of Turkish and Bulgarian delegates at Constantinople.
Karl Liebknecht declines duel over Krupp exposures.
Severe Spanish engagement with Moors at Tetuan.
9—Chinese Government expresses regret for Nanking incident.
11—Japanese Government demands apology from China.
14—German Social-Democratic Party Congress begins at Jena.
17—Italian engagement with Arabs in Merg District of Cyrenaica; General Torelli killed.
German Social-Democratic Congress rejects general strike by 333 votes to 142.
18—Turco-Bulgarian agreement on frontier question signed at Constantinople; Turkey regains Adrianople, Kirk Kilisse and larger portion of Thrace.
19—Servia evacuates Albania.
20—German Social-Democratic Congress closes; no "split."
22—Trouble on Albanian Frontiers.
23—More heavy fighting between Spaniards and Moors around Ceuta and Tetuan.
24—Death of Patrick Ford, editor of "Irish World," in New York.
Servia mobilises against Albania.
25—Albanians attack Servian frontier towns.
26—Japan renews demand for apology from China.
27—China apologises fully to Japan.
Complete agreement between Turkey and Bulgaria on outstanding question.
"Strained" relations between Turkey and Greece.
29—More fighting between Spaniards and Moors.

HARRY QUELCH.

(From the "Leipziger Volkszeitung.")

One of the noblest and the best, a soldier of the Revolution, has died in London. Harry Quelch is no more. He was only 55 years of age. Till a few years ago he was well and strong, but the insidious disease was already in his body, and in eighteen months he was brought down by it.

His heart, his great heart, has had to yield to the sufferings of a tragic life. Involuntarily the thought travels from him to that other great dead, whose ashes lie in the Zürich graveyard, to our August Bebel. What a contrast between the two! Both were born in the deepest proletarian misery, and drank in their young years from the cup of hunger and want down to the dregs. But one lived and worked in Germany, the other in England; the one died in the proud and joyful knowledge that the seed which he had sown had brought forth a glorious harvest, the other's heart was broken under the load of unfulfilled hopes and apparently fruitless endeavours. For what Quelch died of was not a disease that befalls one fortuitously, but the inner pains of a Prometheus, to whom the heavenly fire was given, but whom the hard historic fate had chained fast to the rock. Those who knew him know how he suffered.

Quelch was the most capable and the most firmly grounded in conviction of all the champions of the great proletarian cause in England. He, like Bebel, had worked upward to the highest steps of knowledge and the power to apply it, and, like him, he was exceedingly clear-headed, hitting always on the right thing and solving any tangle, theoretical or practical difficulty, with clear logic. He had besides great oratorical gifts, persuasiveness and humour, which captivated his audience, and journalistic talents that made him one of the best writers for the Party. Add to all this a colossal capacity for work, and it will be conceded that under other circumstances Quelch might have been one of the most brilliant speakers in our great movement. Tragic fate willed it otherwise. For more than thirty years he was in the midst of the English Socialist movement. He was one of the founders of the Social-Democratic Federation and of the Party organ "Justice." With a few short breaks he has been the whole of this time a member of the Executive of the Party and editor of

"Justice," contributing week by week articles, either signed or unsigned, also under different pen names. For the whole time since its start he was also editor of the monthy journal, "Social-Democrat" (now "British Socialist"), each number of which had one of his articles or a number of editorial notes. At the same time he was a prominent member, and later chairman, of the London Trades Council, and took an active part in the business of his trade union. Besides this he was almost continuously doing propaganda work, speaking and lecturing in the country, and stood as a candidate in Parliamentary and other contests. He lived wholly in the movement and for the movement, and spared neither time nor strength for the cause. Many a time he felt afraid that he would not be able to do anything of permanent value in the field of theory. "How I should like," he once remarked to the writer of these lines," to give up for a few years the daily work so as to write a book on Socialist theory!" This longing, well founded in his great capacity and knowledge, was always in his mind, but again and again it was suppressed, because he considered it rather as a piece of egotism. And in spite of this incessant and harassing work Quelch could not in a single moment of his life feel the satisfaction that this work brought forth fruits. Dumb and with cold distrust the English proletariat looked upon his propaganda and followed other gods, who had not half his gifts, his steadfastness and devotion—aye, not half of his truthfulness. That was the terrible tragedy of his life, as it is that of the Socialist movement in England on the whole.

Was it his fault? Was it the fault of his Marxist comrades, who could not adapt their teachings to the actual conditions of English life? No, a thousand times no! There were and there are many in the other camp who have understood admirably how to adapt their teachings and their tactics to the presumed frame of mind of the English proletariat. They have, it is true, gained a great influence upon the masses. But where is their Socialism? In the process of adaptation their Socialism has disappeared, and their influence has only led to a greater confusion in the minds of the working class and made yet more difficult the work of just such men as Quelch. These artists in adaptation are now really, though not formally, in the Liberal camp, and preserve their Socialism only for International gatherings. The peculiarity of English conditions consists precisely in this: that for two generations the working class has been trained in the spirit of Liberalism, so that any "adaptation" to their opinions means an adaptation to Liberalism. Not the clever tactics of a Burns or a MacDonald will lead the masses to Socialism, but the actual development of things as it is now taking place before our eyes, in which Socialist propaganda can play only a helping part.

This does not mean that the leaders of Social-Democracy in England were faultless. How could they be without faults

and defects when the conditions were so unfavourable? Only too often were their faults only the obverse of their virtues. Quelch, in particular, had a fault of this kind. He, who for so long was in the midst of all the fights, who conducted so many fights himself, was so modest, so utterly free from ambition, that he never—not even in his own Party—attained that amount of influence to which, by his capacity and his services, he was entitled. He looked upon himself always as in the fullest sense a servant of the working class, and nowhere and never was he happier than when in direct touch with the masses. For him no work was too low or too small, and though he reached the highest rank in his Party, this happened not *with* but *against* his will. At any moment he would have cheerfully given up his post and withdrawn from public activity, if thereby he could have served the cause of Socialism, and if he did not do so it was only because he and others held it to be imperative that he should remain where he was. His whole activity before the footlights was to him a kind of self-sacrifice, and that was a serious detriment. If he had not been so modest and retiring, one might almost say shy, he might have secured the sole leadership of the Party, and the Party and the whole Socialist movement would have gained much thereby. For nothing is more erroneous than the notion, now again, on the occasion of his death, spread by the English bourgeois Press, that he was an unbending doctrinaire. He held firmly to his convictions, and dauntless and unmistakable were his utterances. But anyone who has watched him at the political day-by-day work knows how strongly he fought against any kind of tactics aiming at impossibilities and, if one may say so, over-leaping tendencies, how conciliatory he was in all his actions. If anybody, it was Quelch who kept up the most intimate relations with the trade union movement, and opposed all tendencies to condemn in the lump the Liberalised trade unionism.

In his private life he was one of the most lovable characters it has been the present writer's fortune to meet. Throughout his whole life he suffered from poverty and made sacrifice after sacrifice. Neither was he very fortunate in his family. He had lost his first wife, and his children had to go through the usual career of the proletarians. He never even had the chance of enjoying the recreation of a holiday journey, and hard work was his lot from the first to the last day. And yet his disposition, until lately, remained cheerful, and no man ever heard him complain. Only during the last few years was he out of sorts. There was a note of bitterness in his speeches, and his whole behaviour showed a feeling of lassitude. In this time falls the contradictory tactics which he pursued in the armaments question. Disease gnawed on his body, and the old good humour gave way to a feeling of disappointment and, perhaps, despair. In his attacks on the Labour Party and the successful gentlemen

at their head he became more and more bitter. In his private intercourse also dejection hardly ever left his countenance. And now he has gone to eternal sleep, the faithful and unselfish champion of the proletarian cause, to whom it was not granted to earn even the smallest reward of his labours. In the heart of the Party, however, and of all those who have known him he will continue to live *a son of the people and a soldier of the Revolution.*

THE ETHICS OF PROPERTY.

Paper read by Rev. Conrad Noel before the Church Congress.

I do not wish to spend the few minutes at my disposal in an academic consideration as to whether or no any private ownership of land or capital which enables the owner to receive income by means of rent or interest is justifiable, but I do wish at the very outset to remind you that the Law and the Prophets, Jesus Christ and the Early Church, the Christian Fathers and the law of Christendom as formulated by the early canonists, and as accepted by most of our English Reformers, do emphatically attempt to establish an order of human society under which the normal condition of men and women should be a condition in which property is the reward and effect of one's own productive work, using that term in its widest sense, and not the effect of any power by means of which one can exploit one's neighbour, whether such exploitation be effected by means of rent or of high or low interest or of any other possible method.

Reduced to its simplest terms, this means that Christ and His Church contemplate an order of society in which no healthy man or woman should live without working productively. I would refer my hearers upon this point to the First Report of the Joint Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury on the Moral Witness of the Church on Economic Subjects, which for some inscrutable reason is published in an unattractive form by the S.P.C.K. at twopence instead of in an attractive form at one halfpenny. That Report practically bears out my contention, and is the result of the most careful and scholarly deliberation of the President of this Congress, the Bishops of Oxford and Hereford, and many other leading clergy and laity.

Property may for practical purposes be divided into the property which liberates yourself and the property which enslaves your neighbour—that is, into the intimate personal property which should be the result of each man's productive labour, such as food, clothing, shelter and the means of reasonable recreation, and such income-producing property as that kind of large estate, that mine, that factory, or share in a factory, which brings you revenue by no productive exertion of your own.

Extreme communists would have us believe that any kind of property is an evil in itself, and several early Christian authorities

calendared for our honouring in our Prayer Book could be quoted in support, but the good sense of the Catholic Church, recorded in this particular case in Artlcle 38, has avoided this extreme communistic conclusion.

Property means simply that which is appropriate to its owner, as you get the word in the term about God's nature and property being to forgive. Now it is obviously not appropriate to any man that he should own so many fields that he has to ask his coachman or his bailiff, "Does such and such a field belong to my estate?" That field of which he is in such ignorance and which he neither works himself nor cares for nor has any knowledge of is evidently not his property as either God or any just society would reckon property, and if you agree with this it will be difficult not to apply the same reasoning to your oil shares in distant Bogata, or your shares in the rubber plantations of Ceylon, or indeed in that mine a little nearer home which possibly you have never been down. Many of you object to absentee landlords. Why should you not also object to absentee sharelords?

As to personal property, it is clear that possessions beyond a certain point are encumbrances and choke and smother the person possessing them, warping and weakening his or her personality and almost inevitably setting up a barrier between themselves and their poorer fellows. For instance, if I am to live in so overdecorated and softly be-carpeted a house that my poorer neighbours do not dare to enter it or feel ill at ease within it, that type of property has cut them off from me and cut me off the pleasure of many possible friendships. And I may come to see that property in friends may be more valuable to me than a multiplication of antimacassars. On the other hand, material things are not in themselves an evil, and it is right that every normal and healthy person should possess enough of material things for his due self-expression. For property of this kind has by somebody been well called a means of extending one's personality. Well-thumbed books, a few pictures which give delight to oneself and one's friends, a few heirlooms in the shape of furniture or jewellery which links one's life with the past, the decoration of one's house, the arrangement of one's garden, these are the legitimate expressions of personality delightful to oneself, and either charming or disgusting to one's neighbour according as the personality is an agreeable or disagreeable one. Father Stanton used to say, "By their furniture ye shall know them." No one can possibly lay down the exact limits of such property, but everyone knows that there are these material things which are appropriate to a person, which help to explain him to his friends, which are part of the language by which he converses with them, while there also exists property swollen so large and out of hand that people lie smothered under it as some decadent lady lies smothered under her expensive furs.

But even this good and legitimate personal property is obviously an evil if it be the result of stealing, that is of transferring the results of other people's labour to one's own pocket whether as highway robber or absentee shareholder, whether one steals according to the law or against it. And the consequence of such power to steal the fruits of other people's labour is that the people from whom one has stolen in greater or lesser degree have to go practically propertyless. It is because I believe in Liberty and Property Defence that I belong to the Church Socialist League, which "desires the industrial re-arrangement of society precisely in order to secure to the majority of mankind the property it has produced and the liberty it has hitherto been denied."

For frankly I see no way in which the Christian Ethic of Property described above can obtain without a root and branch reorganisation of society. The present industrial system is based on private money-lending and private land-holding. It cannot be carried on without rent and interest, and rent and interest perhaps always, and certainly broadly speaking, mean the overworking and the underfeeding of the many and the underworking and overfeeding of the few. They presuppose the legitimacy of a leisured propertied class and produce the leisured propertied class they pre-suppose.

Now, if this be so, what are the "leisured classes," who really want to follow Christ, to do? There is only one way by which the rich man can be a Christian. He must stop robbing the poor.

Where he is a direct employer, he must begin by paying better wages and live more simply himself.

Where he is not a direct employer, but a shareholder, he must begin by using all the power at his command to see that the companies his money is invested in pay better wages and give better conditions of work to the employees.

If he is unable to alter things through circumstances over which he has no control, or in cases where it is inadvisable in the interest of the public good to immediately abandon the taking of profit, rent and interest, and in all cases where it is impossible to return it to the proper persons, the rich man must spend the money in endeavouring to set up a just order of society in place of the present unjust one. There are many ways in which he can do this, and it is at the certain risk of the damnation of his soul that he neglects to do so.

Many people seem to think that the poor can do nothing, but this is not so. In many cases the poor are just as grasping as the rich, only they have not the same opportunities to show it; but when the opportunity comes, and they get out of their class, with some splendid exceptions they are even worse than the rich. The poor must fight down this grasping spirit in themselves just as the rich must fight it down. They must have courage to fight oppression, they must be loyal to one another. The poor man who, to get an advantage for himself, breaks a strike against

"sweaters" is as much an oppressor of his fellows as are the sweaters themselves, although he may have more excuse.

It is often as dangerous for the poor man to fight oppression as it is difficult for the rich man in some cases to cease oppression, but this does not excuse either rich or poor.

I want you to notice carefully the New Testament teaching about the rich and comfortable. Directly Zacchaeus became converted to the Messiah and His Kingdom he resolves to give half of his goods to the poor and to restore fourfold anything that he had taken by false accusation, but this is only a preliminary to devoting the rest of his life to that great and dangerous adventure as soldier under the leadership of Christ, allying himself with that eager and volcanic army in which there was neither Jew nor Gentile, bond nor free, who were to strive to the death to hasten the coming of the International Commonwealth of God upon this earth. Just the same may be said of the rich young man. Christ required of him that he should get rid of those stupefying encumbrances which make it so hard for a rich man to enter into the spirit and ideals of the Kingdom of God. To give back what had never been really his to the poor whom he had robbed was an essential preliminary, but only a preliminary to joining the Messiah in that same dangerous adventure. For the Christian religion does not only teach rich and poor alike to destroy a wrong system of society, but to construct a right system wherein no property shall be used to enslave others, and wherein all will possess that healthy kind of personal property which in the case of able-bodied and able-minded people will be the result of their joyful and pleasant labour in communion one with the other. By proper organisation the earth would bring forth a hundredfold more than it does at present, and even the material property of each would be enormously increased because of this increase of kindliness and wisdom. This is why we are commanded to put the Golden Age before everything else. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His justice, and all these (material) things will be added unto you."

SOCIALISTS ADVOCATE REAL CITIZEN SOLDIERY.

In view of the growth of Socialism the world over, it is of general interest and of importance to the country to know the position of the Socialists as to standing armies and navies.

To begin with, I want to say most emphatically that the Socialists do not want our people to be defenceless or to be dependent upon the goodwill of any other nation at any time. We want the people of our country to be in a position to take care of themselves at all times. We know that treaties and written instruments are of very little account if they are not backed up by sufficient force and power.

Furthermore, we know that no nation in history that was totally disarmed ever remained a free nation. We know that whenever a nation was conquered the first measure taken by the victors was to disarm the conquered. We know all that.

Therefore I believe in an armed nation—armed, however, for defence only. I believe in a people invincible for defence, but slow, awkward, and of no use for conquest or aggression.

A standing army means a standing preparation for war. There are better things to prepare for than war.

We are spending nearly 400,000,000 dols. annually in preparation for war, or as the result of former wars. The figures which I have given do not include the expenditures for the militia of the various States.

It is useless for certain very well-meaning men to cry "Peace, peace, peace," when they are voting millions and millions of dollars every year for war. We shall finally get what we are preparing for.

Why should the United States prepare for war? Who is going to attack us? Are the Canadians going to attack us? Will the Mexicans attack us?

We are separated from the rest of the world by two great oceans. In other words, we are in a better position to dispense with standing armies than any other nation in the world's history ever was. There is no question about that.

A standing army always brings before my vision the danger of the man on horseback. No Republic in the history of the world

has ever very long survived a standing army. There is the real danger.

Switzerland has no standing army. The initial training of the Swiss militia is carried out in recruiting schools. The schooling period is now 65 days for the infantry, engineers, and foot artillery; 75 days for field artillery; and 90 days for cavalry, of which Switzerland has only about 5,000.

The subsequent training, called the "repetition course," is 11 days annually. But after going through seven courses, further attendance is excused for all men under the rank of sergeant. The "Landwehr" men are called out only once for training during the entire eight years.

But every Swiss militiaman must serve a rifle course annually during the entire 20 years. There are numerous shooting societies and shooting ranges all over the country for that purpose.

We should have such a system here. Both Washington and Jefferson believed in a citizen soldiery and a mere skeleton of an army. In Washington's time the Regular Army was reduced to about 2,000 men.

We could readily and without any harm to ourselves reduce our regularly employed army to the 25,000 officers and men which constituted its strength from shortly after the Civil War until 1898.

That army was sufficient to quell the Sioux, the Apaches, the Utes and other Indians. That number would be more than sufficient for any present need, since the last Indian war has been fought. Instead of voting 93,000,000 dols. that could be better used in a thousand other ways, this Congress should organise a military system like that of the Swiss, and select a commission of trained military men to carry the measure into effect.

I favour every citizen being trained in military knowledge. I favour every man being made capable of and trained to defend our freedom in case of need. And I am also in favour of every citizen engaging in useful and peaceful pursuits permanently. I am against all standing armies.

VICTOR L. BERGER.

(Milwaukee "Social-Democratic Herald.")

THE REVIEWS.

THE DANGER IN INDIA.

Mr. H. Fielding-Hall contributes an interesting article under the above title in this month's "Nineteenth Century."

Of all the problems that lie before the English people to-day there is none more vital, none more pressing than that of India. For the discontent there does not decrease nor can it do so. It is not sporadic but universal, and though it has its crests and troughs, it has no ebb but flows unceasingly.

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We did not conquer India. She placed herself beneath our rule of her own free will. It was not English troops who won India for us in the Mutiny. They were the nucleus, no doubt, but alone they could have achieved nothing. They were too few in number, too oppressed by the hostile climate, too immobile to achieve a conquest. An English army might march through India, it could not conquer it.

India was won by Sepoy regiments under British leaders, by Sepoy police; it was accepted by the people gladly. India gave herself to us a hundred and fifty years ago, and again ratified her consent but fifty years ago. Yet now she fiercely wishes a divorce, and she is bound to get it unless our relationships change.

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An article appeared in the August number of this Review by Mr. Cookson. What are the causes he has discovered? They seem to be five.

There is an antagonism between the East and the West. The Indian hates the European and vice versa. The English woman will not go down to dinner with the "black man."

We have bad manners.

The Indian does not appreciate the railways and other material improvements we have made. They are disturbing to society and injure morals. English machine-made goods have partly ousted the native hand-made goods, and so created discontent.

We have introduced new ideas into India and forbidden their expression.

India is irreligious.

Let us consider these.

Is the natural antagonism between the European and the Indian a new thing? Have they changed in their natures or have we in the last century? Did English women ever want to be taken into dinner by Indians, and whether they did or not, how would it affect the 300,000,000 under our rule? The answer is, No. Our natures have not changed at all. Whatever natural antagonism—and it is strong—there is now has existed always. India was contented once despite this natural aversion; why is she not so now?

Then, as to manners.

Have our manners deteriorated since a hundred years ago, and, if so, why? Mr. Cookson does not say. It is, of course, the manners of officials and officers that matter, for the non-official Englishman does not count outside a few towns. Have the Services deteriorated? He does not tell us.

The third fact is not peculiar to India but is common to all the world. Everywhere in old countries railways disturbed morals—that is to say, fossilised habits—and set up a new evolution. The objection to them has frequently been strong; it was so in parts of England and France. But they were quickly accepted. Morals adjusted themselves. Nowhere did they cause revolution or irritation against government. Indian humanity does not differ from Western humanity in this matter; and herein is no cause for general disloyalty.

There is throughout the world a continual competition in goods. New kinds, whether imported or indigenous, are always ousting older and worse or more expensive kinds. England, for instance, now lives on imported wheat and meat. Some, of course, suffer, but the majority gain or they would not buy the new goods. The prevention of the entry of new things may drive people to exasperation, as with our English corn laws, but their admission never does so, because the majority gain thereby. So Mr. Cookson's third reason fails.

His fourth reason is that whereas we have introduced free ideas we have forbidden their realisation, which he contradicts later by saying India is technically the freest country in the world, so that it is not clear what he actually does mean. I do not know the difference between technical and real freedom, and my experience is that in India there is little real freedom.

His last reason is the worst of all.

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To begin with, there is no common ground on which Hindu and Christian and Mohammedan can meet. There is the common ground of humanity on which all men can meet if they will discard their creeds and return to the fundamental truths of life, but creeds are what divide and not unite. . . . What afflicts India

is the inhumanity of caste infant marriages, harem and zenana life; the tyranny of priests; the looking back at a dead past instead of forward to a living future; the despair of this life because it is objectless and therefore unhappy, and the consequent desire for some other; the hatred of creed to creed and caste to caste. These are what ruined the free progressive India of several centuries ago and drove it to anarchy and despair. And under our rule they have increased and not decreased. We have extinguished two or three outrageous manifestations of religion, such as suttee and sacrifice, but, as a whole, religious bonds have grown tighter under our rule. India is more religious and not less.

The solvent for such despairs is a common effort towards a common end; in the give and take of free communities such divisions are gradually worn away. But our rule has destroyed the village community and with it the communal life.

We have done more. We have by our system of courts and precedents fossilised all the laws of marriages, of family, and inheritance, which are parts of religion, so that no evolution is possible. Before we ruled there was continual change, but we have stopped all that. Even so enthusiastic a lawyer as Sir Henry Sumner Maine points out the disastrous effect so caused, and it is much worse since his day. India is bound in custom and religion so that she can hardly move, and we have but tightened the bonds and made them rigid.

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Therefore, it will be seen that Mr. Cookson offers no clear diagnosis of the Indian fever. Where he is specific he does not seem to have discovered anything new, and he has no explanation of the vague "Weltschmerz" that he notices.

EUGENICS AND GENIUS.

Mr. Havelock Ellis critically examines this question in the October "Contemporary Review." We extract the following:—

It so happened that, some years ago, with no relation to eugenic considerations, I devoted a considerable amount of attention to the biological characters of British men of genius, considered, so far as possible, on an objective and impartial basis; the selection, that is to say, was made, without regard to personal predilections, in accordance with certain rules, from the "Dictionary of National Biography." In this way one thousand and thirty names were obtained of men and women who represent the flower of British genius during historical times, only excluding those persons who were alive at the end of the last

century. What proportion of these were the offspring of parents who were insane or mentally defective to a serious extent?

If the view of Maudsley, that there is "hardly ever" a man of genius who is not the product of an insane or nervously disordered stock, had a basis of truth, we should expect that in one or other parents of the man of genius actual insanity had occurred in a very large proportion of cases; twenty-five per cent. would be a moderate estimate. But what do we find? In not one per cent. can definite insanity be traced among the parents of British men and women of genius. No doubt this result is below the truth; the insanity of parents must sometimes have escaped the biographer's notice. But even if we double the percentage to escape this source of error the proportion still remains insignificant.

There is more to be said. If the insanity of the parent occurred early in life we should expect it to attract attention more easily than if it occurred late in life. Those parents of men of genius falling into insanity late in life, the critic may argue, escape notice. But it is precisely to this group that all the ascertainably insane parents of British men of genius belong. There is not a single recorded instance, so far as I have been able to ascertain, in which the parent had been definitely and recognisably insane before the birth of the distinguished child; so that any prohibition of the marriage of persons who had previously been insane would have left British genius untouched. In all cases the insanity came on late in life, and it was usually, without doubt, of the kind known as senile dementia. This was so in the case of the mother of Bacon, the most distinguished person in the list of those with an insane parent. Charles Lamb's father, we are told, eventually became imbecile. Turner's mother became insane. The same is recorded of Archbishop Tillotson's mother and of Archbishop Leighton's father. This brief list includes all the parents of British men of genius who are recorded (and not then always very definitely) as having finally died insane. In the description given of others of the parents of our men of genius it is not, however, difficult to detect that, although they were not recognised as insane, their mental condition was so highly abnormal as to be not far removed from insanity. This was the case with Gray's father, and with the mothers of Arthur Young and Andrew Bell. Even when we allow for all doubtful cases, the proportion of persons of genius with an insane parent remains very low, less than two per cent.

Senile dementia, though it is one of the least important and significant of the forms of insanity, and is entirely compatible with a long and useful life, must not, however, be regarded, when present in a marked degree, as the mere result of old age. Entirely normal people of sound heredity do not tend to manifest signs of pronounced mental weakness or abnormality even in extreme old age. We are justified in suspecting a neurotic strain,

though it may not be of severe degree. This is, indeed, illustrated by our records of British genius. Some of the eminent men of genius on my list (at least twelve) suffered before death from insanity, which may probably be described as senile dementia. But several of these were somewhat abnormal during earlier life (like Swift), or had a child who became insane (like Bishop Marsh). In these, and in other cases, there has doubtless been some hereditary neurotic strain.

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Thus we are brought back to the point from which we started. Would eugenics stamp out genius? There is no need to minimise the fact that a certain small proportion of men of genius have displayed highly morbid characters nor to deny that in a large proportion of cases a slightly morbid strain may, with care, be detected in the ancestry of genius. But the influence of eugenic considerations can properly be brought to bear only in the case of grossly degenerate stocks. Here, so far as our knowledge extends, the percentage of genius nearly always escapes. The destruction of genius, and its creation, alike elude the eugenist. If there is a tendency in modern civilisation towards a diminution in the manifestations of genius—which may admit of question—it can scarcely be due to any threatened elimination of corrupt stocks. It may perhaps more reasonably be sought in the haste and superficiality which our present phase of urbanisation fosters, and only the most robust genius can adequately withstand.

THE AFFORESTATION OF TALLA.

Mr. George Thow has an interesting description of the above scheme in this month's "World's Work":—

To convert the bare hillsides of Talla into umbrageous plantations of larch, spruce and fir is the present purpose of the Edinburgh Water Trust. Besides tree clothing the catchment area of Talla reservoir, there is to be a substantial profit from the disposal of the timber in years to come, an aspect which appeals to the Edinburgh trustees.

The Talla reservoir is about forty miles from Edinburgh, and is now the main water supply of the city. It is a pleasing, although in winter time a bleak, country-side high up in the hills of Peebles-shire, clean, wind swept, and devoid of trees or shrubs. The reservoir is a large loch several miles in length, between mountains rising 2,200 feet on either side. A massive earthen and concrete embankment crosses the valley and dams up the water.

Dark coloured trout of particularly excellent quality abound in the loch. That prettiest and brightest of mountain streams,

the Talla Water, which rises away up in the hills, enters the reservoir after a precipitous descent through a picturesque rocky glen. And the Talla Glen and Garneshope Valley are to be planted, and, it is anticipated, in years to come a profit-showing balance-sheet will result.

It is not long ago that one of the largest timber sales yet recorded in the north of Scotland was concluded. It comprised 50,000 standing trees on the estate of the Countess Dowager of Seafield—an estimated total weight of 25,000 tons—the purchase price given by the timber merchants being £12,000.

Although the Edinburgh Water Trustees have not quite so ambitious notions, yet their estate of the Talla covers 6,000 acres, and they have a private rail-track between Talla and the nearest station, eight miles away. Wood can be easily consigned to the nearest market, the county town of Peebles, a busy centre where some years ago the Highland and Agricultural Society held its four days' annual show.

Meantime, however, 600 acres are to be proceeded with, and the head of the Department of Forestry in Edinburgh University has thought out the scheme of planting. It is intended to plant European larch, Sitka spruce, common spruce and Douglas fir. Probably also the Japanese larch may be tried on a small scale. But the Scots pine will not grow on the steep exposed sides of Talla.

As a commercial transaction this afforestation scheme has to be conducted on the most economical lines combined with efficiency. Small sturdy plants are used ; a nursery will also be formed to maintain regular supplies ; and a big output of saleable timber should result. It is thought that neighbouring landowners on the route of the light railway may also grow plantations, and add thereby to the timber traffic on the line.

Taking the 600 acres as the first investment, the cost per acre of planting, including the necessary fencing, works out at £4 18s. 6d. per acre. Including the initial capital outlay the cost per acre comes to £5 2s. 6d.

There is, therefore, every reason to hope that this scheme will prove a successful business undertaking. It commends itself to the Edinburgh Water Trustees ; they are believers of the doctrine expounded by the Laird of Dumbiedykes to his son and heir—always to plant a tree at odd moments, it would aye be growing while he was sleeping.

"SLAKING LIME."

By William Henry Caudle.

(*Continued.*)

"And what do you think?" asked Miss Marshall of the girl.

"Why should I work overtime for nothing?"

"You used to work an hour and a-half a day more than now, and for the same money!" replied Morrison.

"Well, you gave it us. We didn't ask for it."

"And all I ask is that now and then, perhaps once or twice a week, you'll give me half-an-hour. I gave you nine hours a week, and you grudge me an occasional half-hour."

"It's more than that. Some of us 'ave given the whole nine hours some weeks. Yes, and what's more, we does as much work as we did 'fore you shortened the time. You gets extra work and don't pay for it."

"I'm not prepared to admit your contention."

"Well, I ain't going back under Bannister."

"You must go back under Bannister. He was merely carrying out my instructions."

"I won't work under that slimy Bible-thumper."

She blurted it out and shocked no one, not even Mrs. Morrison. This good woman had herself once termed Bannister "slimy," and so she, momentarily, agreed, then remembered her position, and remarked, quietly:—

"You mustn't talk like that. Take what is offered."

"I won't, ma'am. You don't know Bannister. 'E's a saved 'un—tells us 'e is—and 'e ain't straight!"

"Do you mean to say that—er, Bannister is immoral?" gasped Morrison.

The girl laughed—rocked with laughter, then covered her face with her fat stumpy fingers.

'La, forgive me! No! course not. Why, Bannister ain't got courage to talk at any on us, not if 'e minded to, which I don't thing 'e does. No! Mr. Morrison, 'e's nice with you, maybe, but 'e's summat different to us gals—just rotten!"

"What do you mean?" inquired Mr. Morrison.

"'E's religious, see? Down on us gals what don't go to-ther Mission. Gives soft jobs to them as does. Passes their bad work against ours. 'E's a blighter."

"We must get back to the point. I still insist on you leaving that to me. I cannot place you anywhere else, and Bannister cannot be dismissed. Now, are you prepared to go on those terms?"

"No, I ain't. Do what yer like; I ain't goin' under Bannister—that's straight."

"Then I don't see that we can do anything more, Miss Marshall," and Mr. Morrison rose, indicative of the conference having finished. Miss Marshall followed his example.

"Oh, something must be settled!"

Morrison's hands rested on the table. His face was grave.

"My terms are refused. She"—pointing to the girl—"will not go back; will not work the half-hour when needed. I can say no more."

Miss Marshall saw that nothing more could be done. In such cases to prolong a discussion does harm, but she was resolved to try another plan. Smiling pleasantly at Mrs. Morrison, they shook hands.

"I am sorry it hasn't been settled."

"The girl is foolish," murmured Mrs. Morrison.

"Perhaps so!"

Gertrude Bonner had walked out to the front door.

* * * * * *

Early in the afternoon following the conference at Mr. Morson's, Dane Fennimore received a telegram as follows:—

"Strikers' meeting at eight to-night. Can you come?"

He was busy at the time. To leave London during the heaviest part of the day's work was intolerable. He rang for an assistant.

"Find me the latest train I can catch to reach Stonham at eight to-night."

He continued to write——

"Well?"

"Five-fifteen, sir."

"Wire Miss Marshall, Queen's Hotel, Stonham"—he paused.

"Yes, sir!"

"Trains back?"

"9.10 and 9.38, sir!"

"Wire then: 'Coming. Must return by 9.38 train.'"

"Yes, sir!"

Fennimore continued to write. There was a tap on the door.

"Come in!"

"Mr. Hopton to see you, sir!"

"Show him in."

Hopton was Labour M.P. for a Yorkshire constituency, and secretary of the union to which the Stonham strikers mostly belonged.

"Ah, Mr. Fennimore! Glad to see you. Won't keep you a minute!"

"Thanks! I'm awfully busy," and Fennimore looked straight at Hopton.

"What's the matter, Mr. Fennimore?" asked Hopton returning the look.

"I didn't want to see you!" answered the other slowly.

"Good gracious! Why not?"

"I'm going to Stonham about the strike there, and don't want to be primed up with your union case. See?"

"Well, that's what I've come about. Just had a wire to tell me that your Miss Marshall was down there, and that she had asked you to go down to-night. I thought I'd pop along here and——"

"Quite so, but I don't want to know anything. You see I've had a letter from the owner. What's his name? Oh! yes, Morrison."

"What are you going to do, then?" The information was disconcerting to the Labour leader.

"It's a difficult case, Hopton."

"You must have the men's case, otherwise how can you speak to them?"

"I shall get all I want from Miss Marshall."

Hopton never lost his temper with a man, but he felt that he ought to with Fennimore. The Editor's action was inexplicable.

"Has Morrison given you his case?"

"He has written, I said," returned Fennimore.

"You mean that you don't intend to tell?" went on Hopton with a laugh.

"Not exactly! The man seems a good sort, and I'd rather like to help."

"What! against the men?" gasped Hopton.

"Why not? Am I always to conclude that the men are right?"

"Just as much as the capitalist Press concludes that the men are always wrong," answered Hopton emphatically.

"I fail to see it. Here! have a cigarette. You see, this chap Morrison isn't a bad sort, so I don't feel like cutting his throat with half a column of the 'News' unless there is a jolly good economic reason for so doing. See?"

"He's certainly a fair employer," admitted Hopton.

"That's what I think. It seems to be an unfortunate strike."

"Well, you won't let me give you the men's side of the matter."

"You can rest assured that I shan't come the heavy in Morrison's favour. All I want to do is to help the old chap into the Movement, and the workpeople with him. The men have a case. Of that I am certain. I want to give them the Socialist lesson, that's all."

"Quite so! And you know about the Hurst Syndicate?"

"No! What's that to do with it?"

"Everything!" chuckled Hopton.

"I don't appreciate it!"

"Well, the Hurst Syndicate controls every important firm in the trade save Morrison's. Owing to the fact that Morrison holds the patents for certain processes he is able, owing to lower productive costs, to keep free from the tentacles of the Syndicate. All the wealth of the Syndicate will be pitted against him, though, unless he joins in. He has, like many small men, an objection to trusts and syndicates."

"And that is why he feels that the workpeople should stand by him and so enable him to keep going?"

"Exactly! Smith, who is the leader, realises that. He feels that Morrison's sole chance is to join the Syndicate, that Morrison, despite his patents, must lose. Hence the struggle."

"It is quite a new phase for a strike leader to be trying to force a firm to join a trust. This is very interesting."

"Well, it's to Smith's interest to keep the works open, isn't it?"

"Certainly."

"Morrison, of course, doesn't agree with Smith. There is a deadlock. If the men will hold out long enough they are bound to win!"

"Wait, though! It might result in Morrison being smashed. You see the Syndicate has got its eyes on this business, and will know where to profit!"

"Quite so. That is the only danger!"

"Who is the head of the Syndicate?"

"Sir Jonathan Hurst!"

"The M.P.?"

"Yes, that's the gentleman. A big Nonconformist. Built a large mission at Manchester. Cost £25,000."

"Well, well, I can't talk more now. Thanks for telling me. Good-bye!" and Fennimore held out his hand to Hopton.

"Good luck! but don't mention the Syndicate unless Smith speaks of it. Good-bye!" and Hopton closed the door on Fennimore.

The other, alone, sat chewing the end of his pen. He was deeply interested. The problem lurking behind the ostensible reason for the strike was fascinating. Thus he summed it up—

"Morrison thinks that he can keep going if the workpeople will give him the extra time. Probably has religious reasons against joining a trust; would quote the minor prophets in support. Smith sees ruin facing the works unless Morrison joins the Syndicate, so uses the strike for payment of overtime as a means of forcing Morrison to join the Syndicate, thereby keeping the works open.

"Morrison is fighting for a principle. If he wins he may very possibly become bankrupt and the business shut down. If he loses he must pocket his principle, will become bankrupt and have to close the factory. He is on the horns of a dilemma. To him the one chance of saving his principle lies in victory. A trying situation!

"To Smith the question presents itself in this fashion: If the strike fails, then, in a short while, the Syndicate will crush Morrison, and the works will shut down. Should, however, they win, the Syndicate's chance of beating Morrison is made doubly sure. Rather than become bankrupt Morrison will join the Syndicate. In losing the strike the workpeople will free Morrison to fight the Syndicate, and his chance of joining will be gone. The only chance to keep the works going is to win the strike!

"Will Smith be able to hold the men long enough to break down Morrison?

"Will Morrison's stubbornness ruin himself and the works?"

* * * * * *

In the sanctum sat Mr. and Mrs. Morrison. On the former's knee lay a letter bearing the heading of the Hurst Syndicate. At a table close at hand ledgers and books.

"Read that last paragraph again, John."

Mr. Morrison adjusted his glasses.

"The Board feels that your objections to amalgamation are the result of a misconcpetion. A working arrangement such as exists between the various firms forming the Syndicate is quite different from the Standard Oil Co. of America with which you quite erroneously compare the Hurst Syndicate. In the elimination of harmful competition lies the future success of business enterprise and the cessation of labour troubles, concerning which latter the Board extend to you its sympathy.

"I am directed to enclose our new lists, which come into operation on Monday next."

"Then the Syndicate isn't a trust?"

"In all but name!"

"Those price lists are aimed at you, my dear."

"I am afraid so."

* * * * * *

The narrow High Street of Stonham was crowded with people. It was the usual gathering of anxious and interested

persons. "Morrison's Strike" had been an item of considerable moment in the town. Apart from the strikers and their intimates it had found no favour. Public disapproval, however, was no reason for not gathering in the High Street in front of the Trentham Hall where the strike meeting was to be held. Perhaps the idea that the strike would be settled caused the crowd to collect. Gertrude Bonner's visit in the company of an unknown lady to Morrison's house during the morning was generally known, and gave colour to the idea of a settlement.

"Show yer union cards! Show yer badges!" shouted two brawny fellows wearing red rosettes.

The crowd rushed forward. There was a scuffle, and then the doors were slammed in the face of the onrushers.

(To be concluded.)

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THE NEW LIBERAL LAND POLICY.

By L. E. Quelch.

Mr. Lloyd George, in his Bedford speech, made out the strongest indictment of the present landowning system that I have read for many a day. Yet, as he admitted in his speech at Swindon, all this was known long ago. The rack rents the farmer had to pay, the depredations on their crops by game, the insecurity of tenure, the loss of improvements when notice to quit was given with increased rents if allowed to stay, after having put their best into the farm—all these evils under which the capitalist farmer had to labour have been discussed over and over again for the past two generations at least. And they still remain! Low wages, bad housing, long hours of toil, with no chance of improving his position, have been the lot of the agricultural labourer for an even longer period, and all kinds of proposals have been made and a number of Acts of Parliament have been passed to improve his

position and prevent the depopulation of the country-side. Yet now, in the year 1913, Mr. Lloyd George has the same picture of wretchedness and poverty to paint, and the same story of the rural exodus to relate.

The great Liberal Party was going to change all this, and the labourer was to be saved and depopulation prevented by the Small Holdings and Allotments Act which came into operation in 1908. We predicted at the time it was bound to prove a failure, and now Lloyd George admits it has failed for the precise reasons we then gave. "You have tried everything except one thing," says he, "and that is recasting the whole conditions of the monopoly. We have come to the conclusion you must strike deeper . . . . The first step is to assume a complete control of the monopoly of land in this country—to put it more under the control of the State." In fact, his proposals are quite "revolutionary." The power of the landlord is to be completely broken. No more will the farmer have his rents raised or be turned out of his farm by the squire, and if he leaves his farm, full compensation will have to be paid, whether the landlord likes it or not, both for improvements and damage to crops.

The labourers are to have better wages, better cottages, better gardens and security of tenure. A Ministry of Lands is to be set up and the present Board of Agriculture will supply the staff of officials to carry out the work of the new scheme, and the central Government is to find the money. That for the labourers' cottages is to come out of the insurance reserve funds. A minumum wage of 20s. 6d. based on the cost of workhouse fare is to be given to the labourer, to be taken out of the landlord's rent if necessary, to tempt him to remain on the land. With these high wages he will be enabled to take advantage of the Small Holdings and Allotments Acts, and thus a ladder is raised whereby he can climb out of the wage-labour class, and become a full-blown tenant farmer.

His horizon will be extended, his ambition aroused, and he will put his heart and soul into his work. In short, to quote an election leaflet: "To them, the labourers, it means a life such as they have hitherto hardly been able to imagine, much less to enjoy."

Although workhouse fare at 20s. 6d. per week may not appear very tempting to some people, to those agricultural labourers who at present are receiving from 10s. to 14s. per week it certainly will appear a big advance, and to have a cottage damp-proof and rain-proof, with enough room to secure the common decencies of life, would certainly be a boon to hundreds of our rural population, and therefore we may expect that this new Land Policy will secure the Liberal Party a good deal of support in the rural districts. The Liberal Party, in this as in previous matters, are very lavish in promises. But those who expect that any real change in the lives of the common people will result from them will be disappointed. In regard to capitalist farmers, some mitigation of the present evils may be expected; but, so far as the labourer is concerned, those who expect nothing will be wise.

For years past the payments in kind of different sorts have been curtailed until very little but the money-wage remains, and what there is left of payment in kind will certainly disappear when any attempt is made to establish a mimimum wage of £1 per week. With regard to housing, although Mr. Lloyd George states that the Government can build cottages cheaper than any private builder, past experience in other matters shows the capitalist instinct of profit so rampant in the Governments of to-day that it is almost certain that a good portion of the increased wages will go in rent. Whilst increased access to the land in the matter of gardens and allotments may increase the labourer's food supply, it always implies increased hours of toil of a very similar character to that engaged in for wages, and therefore it does not afford either change or recreation, both of which are essential if the countryside is to be made endurable

enough to attract the superfluous town labourer or even to stem the tide of emigration from the villages.

As to small holdings, there is the still unanswered objection of increased competition among producers who would be too poor to wait for good markets, or unable to reach them with their products, and the old grinding toil and poverty of the peasants of France and other countries would be repeated. Even in a new country like Canada the same experience prevails, as our comrades of Vancouver have told us repeatedly. More leisure, change, recreation, and means of mental culture must be obtainable if village life is to be revived. The mere question of a full stomach is not sufficient.

It is for us of the British Socialist Party to meet this pseudo-revolutionary land policy of the Liberal Party with definite proposals of an immediately practical character that would secure not only good housing and good feeding, but the other necessary adjuncts that go to make up a really human life possible in the rural districts. It is not enough to criticise the proposals of our opponents, or to reiterate the truism that Liberalism, standing as it does for the continuance of private ownership of land and capital, is utterly incapable of accomplishing any real change in the life of the working class in either town or country.

We must, at the earliest possible moment, formulate a Socialist Land Policy of a truly revolutionary character, with details at least as clearly defined as those promulgated by Mr. Lloyd George.

WHAT IS THE WORKING CLASS?

By H. W. Lee.

In the excellent appreciation of H. Quelch which A. S. Headingley wrote for the "British Socialist" last month, he raises some important points concerning the working class and its capability to be the real power which will bring about the change from capitalist society of to-day to the Co-operative Commonwealth of the future. But I am not sure that I appreciate fully the points that he has raised, and I question whether they have presented themselves in anything like a clear form to many others. It seems to me that there are at least three points to be considered: (1) the ability of the working class of this country, in its present position, to take the lead in any conscious social change from capitalism to Social-Democracy; (2) how far those of the working class who individually exhibit such capacity can be said to remain in the working class, or to rise above and out of it; and (3) what constitutes the working class—their economic position or the work that they do?

So far as the first point is concerned, we must all, I think, fully but regretfully admit that our comrade Headingley is right. The working class of this country as it exists at present is utterly incapable of carrying out the declaration, "The emancipation of the workers must be the work of the workers themselves." I cannot recollect for the moment whether that declaration is supposed to be that of Marx. My first recollection of it was in a manifesto issued in 1884 by the "Fédération des Travailleurs Socialistes des France" (Possibilists), in their organ "Le Prolétariat," and I think it ran,

"L'émancipation des travailleurs ne doit être que l'oeuvre des travailleurs eux-mêmes." This, however, by the way. Whatever may be the facts concerning the workers of other countries, it cannot be questioned, unfortunately, that here they have not yet realised their social and economic position; that whatever class solidarity they exhibit at times is more unconscious than conscious; and that they are far too ready to rush after anything new and dramatic rather than to rely upon themselves for steady, organised effort towards their emancipation. That they will improve in all these respects in the near future is a result for which we must all hope and strive.

The second point is one which offers wide field for friendly and interesting discussion. Do those who, like Harry Quelch, display the capacity which the working class, as a class, must possess in order to take the lead in the transformation of society from capitalism to Socialism, do they remain in the working class, or do they rise above it, and therefore come out from it on that account? Here we are met with the third point, in that we require to know whether it is generally speaking their work, that is to say their occupations under production for profit, or their economic position as wage-earners, which constitutes them the working class. This point, it seems to me, rests more on the latter than on the former. If a member of the working classes by his ability and force of character rises to a position in which he is no longer a wage-earner in the true acceptation of the term—a position in which his salary is not governed by ordinary competitive wage-earning conditions—or, further, to a position in which he becomes a member of the employing classes, depending not upon wages or even salary, but profit or interest—then he undoubtedly leaves the working classes economically. But he will still remain in thought and in action a member of the working classes if, notwithstanding the change in his economic position, he does not alter his conception of the class to which he formerly belonged, and does not

regard them merely as "hands" for the production of capitalist surplus-value.

The third point, to my mind, is the most important: whether it is its economic position or the work that its members do that constitutes the working class. There are sentences in the article of our comrade Headingley which would lead us to conclude that, for the moment at any rate, he was regarding the working class from the standpoint of what it does rather than from its economic position. "Had the word worker been substituted for working class we should all agree." Is not this a trifle arbitrary? Are not the terms as ordinarily used interchangeable? In the manifesto from which I quoted in the early portion of this article, the word "workers" is used to signify the same meaning as the "working class" in the quotation to which Headingley refers. The only reason for insisting on a difference would seem to be to draw attention to the fact that there are "workers" who are not included in the working class; but is their number large enough to make any real difference?

Then we come to the nature of the work of the working class. Headingley contends that working men "are not doing working-class work when they assist the movement." Possibly so. To be economically accurate, "working-class" work consists only in the expenditure of the labour of the wage-earners upon production for capitalist profit. But does Headingley mean to reduce the definition down to that point of economic accuracy? I do not think he does, because a little later he differentiates work done for the movement—scrubbing floors, painting, repairing furniture—as working-class work, and the more public work of the movement as that of the "liberal professions."

This very differentiation, after all, suggests that it is their economic position and not their occupation which constitutes practically the whole of those who work the working class. Most of the labour which comrade Headingley describes as that of the "liberal professions," save, perhaps, lecturing and writing, has

become proletarianised, if I may use the expression, during the last half-century. Clerical work, the greater part of the theatrical, concert and entertainment work, is all done by wage-earners who are as much proletarians as the manual labourers. Whatever difference formerly existed between them has been swept away. This change is also affecting the professional classes to a large and increasing extent.

I do not expect, and I do not wish, that the Revolution should come from below, if by below is meant the "lower ruts" of the working classes. But neither do I expect it from above. Those above may be willing under pressure to help the working class to any extent save that of helping them to help themselves. But I do look to a general rise in the conception of the destinies of the working class by at least a considerable minority of the workers, because then they will become active and conscious agents of the Revolution in which the working class shall be lost in the workers of the nation.

THE WOMAN WORKERS IN THE GERMAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

By Gertrud Hanna.
(From "Sozialistische Monatshefte." Translated by Florence Baldwin.)

For many years past workmen have realised that they must unite if they are to obtain increased wages and better general conditions of labour, and retain what they have already won. This is shown by the old-time Guilds and their struggles. Their existence also proves that already, when handicraft was at its height, the labour conditions for a large number of the employees were less satisfactory than is often assumed, and that even then the aspirations of Labour towards improving its economic position met with the greatest difficulties. The misery into which the working class fell owing to the changes in the method of production, coupled with political oppression, caused for a time the almost total destruction of those organisations. But among the ranks of the most intelligent of the workers there always remained the remembrance of the struggles and successes of the Guilds, thus renewing the idea of organisation which in the sixties of last century ultimately led to the formation of the Trade Unions.

At that time very few people had any idea that it would be necessary to win over also the women workers to these economic organisations in order to be successful in the struggle against the employing class. A Report on the Trade Union Movement in 1877, published in the following year by the printer Geib, only

mentions a single organisation with female members —the "Union of Factory and Hand Workers of both Sexes," which numbered 1,250 members in 32 localities. It is true this report does not state that the other 28 organisations did not admit women; but this may be assumed, as otherwise the names of the unions would probably have contained some reference to the inclusion of women. Up till the middle of the eighties nothing is known of women being members of these organisations. Indeed, even after the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law, when the reorganisation of the suppressed trade unions was undertaken, the propaganda, even in trades where many women were employed, was not extended to them.

The attempts to win over the women workers for the economic struggle are thus of considerably more recent date than the work of organising the men. They began in the eighties and are to a great extent traceable to the activity of comrade Ihrer, the energetic pioneer of the women workers' movement. In 1885 she founded the "Society for the Representation of the Interests of Working Women" in Berlin, a large part of the activity of which dealt with trade union objects. The society was soon dissolved, in company with other women's organisations having similar or more political objects. But the idea of organising the women economically found more and more response. By the end of the eighties societies of working women and girls were in existence in several places, some of which could be considered as trade unions.

In 1889 a "Society of Women Workers in Book and Lithographic Printing" was founded, and somewhat later arose the "Society for Promoting the Interests of the Assistant Workers in the Printing Trade in and around Berlin." It was from these two societies that the incentive went forth in 1889 to found a Central League of the workers in this group of trades. This Central League (Zentralverband) numbers to-day 15,751 members, 8,750 of whom are women, and it is managed by a woman, a former president of the old

Society of Women Workers. In 1889 a Central Society of Women Factory and Hand Workers came into being at Hamburg, and subsequently amalgamated with the men's union. Further, in 1888, an Ironers' Society was founded in Berlin and a Women Workers' Society in Bremen. In 1890 a Women Textile Workers' Society arose at Sorau, and in 1891 a Seamstresses' Society in Hamburg. The number of members in all these societies was, however, only small. Their existence was for the most part merely nominal, and at the best they never attained any importance worth mentioning. An exception may be made in the case of the Berlin Women Printers' Society, which, a short time after it came into existence, took part in the great though unsuccessful struggle of the printers for the nine hours' day, which, while exhausting it very much, at the same time strengthened it internally.

The cause of the small progress generally made by the trade union movement among women was undoubtedly due to the fact that even the greater part of the organised men workers took no account of the women's organisation. The women breadwinners numbered millions, the factory-workers alone hundreds of thousands; and yet the dangers of unorganised female labour were not yet recognised. The men saw, indeed, with alarm how department after department of labour was given over to women, but thought to protect themselves from this wage-injuring competition by opposing female labour as such. Finally, they began, but only slowly, to recognise that women's work could never again be banished from production, and that the injury it did to the whole body of workers could only be counteracted by the active assistance of the women workers themselves. Above all, too, the full extent of women's wage-work was not generally known. The report of the census of 1882 could not be sufficiently circulated among the workers, because at that time the organisations and their journals had been suppressed. Therefore, where female labour was prevalent, only its direct results were to be seen, and

these were everywhere such as to justify the men workers in speaking of injury being done them by the women. But the cause was not examined into. Women's work on any other plane than those where people were accustomed to find it (though there it is not looked upon as work), such as household duties, bringing up children, nursing the sick, and perhaps also home-work, or assisting the husband, was considered to be injurious. Wage-work by unmarried women was looked upon as mere temporary occupation which would be put an end to by marriage. Wage-work by married women was according to that view only carried on to earn something *extra*. These ideas are still very prevalent to-day, especially among the women-workers themselves; and this is another reason why it is so difficult to organise them.

Thus at the beginning of trade union organisation among women, there were considerable difficulties to overcome, which explains why the number of female members in the organisations remained so small for a long time. Added to that, there were with us in Germany the laws controlling political associations, which, as is well known, prohibited women from joining such associations, until the rescinding of the old Law of Association (Vereinsgesetz) in 1908. After the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Law, the workers naturally tried to discuss political questions wherever they could, at their trade union meetings as elsewhere. But if women were present it was not permitted. On that account the local trade unions did not accept women as members. In the case of the central organisations there was not the same objection to the admission of women; all political activity was forbidden to these unions by the Law of Association. But here other difficulties arose from the entry of female members. In Bavaria, for instance, the authorities, even as late as the end of the nineties, threatened to dissolve the unions if women were admitted. Some authorities even went so far as to forbid women to attend public trade union meetings. All these circumstances at las

produced in the trade unions long and violent controversies about the form of organisation to be adopted, whether centralised or local.

At the Trades Union Congress at Halberstadt in 1891, the representatives of organised Labour were agreed that separate trade union organisations for women were not to be recommended. A motion demanding such organisations was rejected. On the other hand, a resolution was carried calling upon all existing organisations to alter their constitutions so as to admit women as members, and to extend the propaganda to the women workers. In practice, however, small attention was paid to this resolution. Most of the unions still attached little importance to female labour. Even as late as 1902, at the Stuttgart Trades Union Congress, a delegate was able to report that the Transport Workers had passed on to the next business when a motion to organise women was proposed. Under these circumstances, it is easily understood why the organising of women progressed slowly. But still it did progress, and since we first began to obtain statistics on the number of organised women, only three times has a diminution been reported in the organisation. The first figures we have are from the year 1892. At that time, 4,355 women were organised in 16 unions. In 1894 their number decreased, but rose again to 15,265 in 1897. In the two following years it again dropped, to 13,481, but the next year showed an increase to 19,280. From that time onwards the membership increased uninterruptedly till 1909, when it went down once more, in consequence of the economic crisis. In 1910 an upward movement set in again. In 1912 the unions affiliated to the General Commission included 216,462 female members. This number is still small in comparison to that of all the working women, but it is large compared to the number of organised women in the year 1892, especially considering the difficulties in the way of the propaganda among working women. To-day all the unions in whose trades there is female labour accept women as members. Even the Miners'

Union altered its constitution two years ago so as to admit women. Incidentally, this is a proof that female labour is now met with in trades where it was entirely unthought of not so very long ago.*

The propaganda among women workers showed a considerable rise after the Trades Union Congress of Stuttgart in 1902, where the necessity of drawing the women into the unions was discussed in detail. A resolution was passed declaring it to be the duty of the workers to gain their wage-earning female relatives for the organisations. Ten years had then passed since the Congress of Halberstadt demanded the extension of the propaganda to the working women and girls, so the unions had already accomplished ten years' practical work in this direction. The representative of the Textile Workers, a union in which women constituted the majority, pointed out at Stuttgart, among other things, that the defective organisation of the women workers was the cause of the union's want of success. In the meantime the Labour Press had done much to circulate the results of the trade and profession census of 1895. This did not fail to have its effect. In 1903 the number of organised women increased by 12,448 to 40,666, and its proportion to the organised men by 3.8 to 4.6 per cent. Now the proportion of women workers in the organisation is 8.6 per cent. Thus also in this direction important progress has been made, which, must rejoice everyone who is intimate with the labour conditions and economic circumstances of the women workers. But there remains much to be done in order to win the great number of those still outside. According to the trade census of 1907, one-and-a-half millions of women and girls are engaged in industry alone. Together with the female employees in the category "Trade and Commerce," who must be reckoned as working women, there were, in 1907, over two-and-a-quarter million women in

* More than 20 years ago, however, women were already working in the mines of Pensberg, Bavaria.—TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

Germany who were earning their living by wage-labour and therefore capable of being organised. If we add to these the hundreds of thousands occupied as home-workers, and not mentioned in the statistics either as assistant members of the family or as doing work for extra money, the disproportion is seen still more clearly. On that account, all the unions of the trades where female labour plays any considerable part are eagerly at work to get the women into the organisation, and some unions have already made special arrangements to further that object. No organisation, indeed, has as yet gone so far as to carry out the suggestion of a speaker at the Stuttgart Congress to introduce a bridal trousseau as one of the benefits of the union, or to return to female members, on their marriage, half of the contributions they have paid in! They do, however, try to attract the women by putting them upon the Executive and upon special commissions.

Public opinion regarding the importance of female labour in economic life is very different now to what it was 20 years ago, and this has caused a considerable change in the opinions regarding the value of female co-operation in the trade organisations. It is true the women still complain, with justification, that they are not treated as equals in the trade unions, and that they are not admitted to posts of honour. But the management of the organisations cannot be held responsible for this. The reason why many organised workmen turn away from their female colleagues is to be sought in the indifference still shown by most of the women workers towards the trade union organisation. This, in turn, can be traced back to circumstances. In the working class, as in all other classes, the thought-world of the girl is, from childhood, a different one from that of the boy. The girl is brought up for the house, and in almost every working-class family is occupied, even as a child, and later when a wage-earner, with domestic duties. Indeed, the girls often voluntarily undertake a considerable portion of the house-work in their free time, and occupy themselves

with sewing, &c., because they know that the skill thus acquired will stand them in good stead in their future calling as wives and mothers. Thus they fill up much time which the young men are able to use for quite other things. The latter see and hear much more of public life and all that is connected with it. Thus it comes about that the young men are usually well acquainted with the Labour movement and the aims of the organisations at an age when the girls have no idea of anything of the sort. Here a change will only come when the parents—above all, the working-class mothers—understand the value of organisation for women workers and point it out to their daughters in their early days at home. To-day in 90 cases out of 100 the girl only learns later the importance of organisation from her colleagues at work, and if she takes an interest in it and wants to join the union, the parents lay the greatest difficulties in her way.

But even the increasing enlightenment of the parents will not do away altogether with the drag on the women's movement. Family duties will still continue to bind heavy chains on the women workers, especially those who are married, chains which can only quite disappear in that form of society to which we as Socialists aspire. For even if there is the strongest interest in the organisation and the best will in the world to extend it, the domestic and maternal duties still set bounds to the activity of women which do not exist for men. All that does not, indeed, justify the extreme apathy of the great mass of women workers. They might still take more part in working for the union, and, above all, might organise *themselves* in greater numbers than they do. There is no doubt about that. And it is not true that their help is not appreciated. This may, indeed, apply to a few exceptional cases, but it is no longer general. It is still an exception for a woman to put up for a post of honour in the management, and so the men have yet to get accustomed to see in the equally capable woman the colleague with equal rights.

Certainly the general views have quite changed in this regard from those prevalent during the first period of the women's movement. For example, take the relations in the "Union of Book and Lithograph Printers' Assistants, Male and Female." There a woman has been at the head of it ever since its inauguration, and leads the organisation with great skill. Many women workers take part in the management. A female member acts as provincial leader. And nowhere do the men seek, either violently or gently, to push the women out of the leading posts on account of their sex. It is true that in this union the conditions are somewhat unusual, in so far as the women were the first to organise, and have always sought women to co-operate in the local branches, though it has often needed much persuasion. Dislike on principle to the co-operation of women does not exist in any organisation, and cannot exist, as the constitution of the unions ensures equal rights for all members. The only thing which might still be considered is whether it might not be better to drop the classification of the members as male and female, which was introduced because of the difference in wages. This difference, to which the different scales of contributions have to be approximated, could be taken into account in another way. The Book Printers Assistants' Union has, for instance, a number of classes of wages, common to men and women, and has fixed the contributions, and of course the benefits, accordingly. This system also appears to us more just, because unskilled women workers in some trades earn more than skilled men workers in others, and in the large unions, including many trades, an unequal burdening of the members may easily arise if they are divided according to sex. But in no union would any member be excluded from any of the advantages of the organisation, or from any post of honour, simply on account of what wage-class he or she might happen to belong to. Those trade unionists who are active in propaganda, almost without exception, are at great

trouble to draw in their female colleagues, and seek to interest them in the work by giving them posts of honour, when they can find suitable personalities. That must be recognised and admitted. There are now a great number of unions in which women take an active part. The Textile Workers' Union every now and then arranges re-unions of such of the women colleagues who are active in the propaganda. Apart from the encouraging effect of these conferences on those taking part in them, they have a favourable influence in the circle of women workers who are still outside the organisation. The latter begin to have more confidence in the union when they see that their women colleagues are taking part in the management. The Textile Workers' Union also has appointed women as officials. Among the metal workers, bookbinders, bakers, leather-workers, shop assistants—in short, in all unions where many women work in the trade—there exists a staff of female colleagues, and the unions are more and more engaging women, and for other than purely mechanical services.

Of course, we cannot expect the unions to choose their officials from among the ranks of the female workers for the sole reason that many women work in that particular trade. One can only be called to posts of honour when one has proved that one has the will and the capacity to do the work. And that is as yet not always the case. The women do not yet everywhere see sufficiently the need for trade union organisation, and they have too little faith in the efficacy of their own strength. The possibility to help is given to them, the equal opportunities exist. But they have also the same duties to fulfil. If they show that they realise this, they are proposed and elected for the functions of management and to represent the organisation outside. If any prejudices still exist in this regard, it is for the women workers to break them down.

It must be added that the figures given do not include all the women workers who are organised in the unions affiliated to the General Commission. In

1912 there were in addition 5,738 female members of the Domestic Employees' Union and 609 of the Country Workers' Union. These organisations occupy an exceptional position in so far as their members have not in general the right to strike for better wages and labour conditions. In the Country Workers' Union the men members are naturally in the majority; they number 16,414. The Domestic Employees' Union consists almost wholly of women members. In its last report only 11 men were mentioned as belonging to it. On that account the management of the organisation is almost entirely in the hands of women. The domestic workers themselves take a very satisfactory part in the propaganda, although this is made very difficult for them by the special conditions of their work, the personal dependence caused by the living-in system, etc. That in spite of this domestic workers are willing to take part in the work of their union surely speaks for the capability of women to be organised, as soon as they see the necessity of trade union action. If we would form a correct judgment of the difficulties of organising the women workers, we must take into account all the conditions under which they live and work. We must also take the political conditions into account, and must not forget the views which have existed for so many centuries about the inferior intelligence of the female sex and the position of woman in society. All these things make it enormously difficult to win over the working women for the struggle of their class, and for the trade union organisation. But, at the same time, the propaganda among them is by no means fruitless.

In view of all the stumbling-blocks that have had to be overcome, a great deal has been accomplished in a generation, and we may reckon with certainty that the women workers will gradually come to take part to an ever-increasing extent in the victorious upward march of the working class.

THE MONTH.

The imprisonment of James Larkin is one of those blunders on the part of the Liberal Government the result of which everyone, save perhaps the Cabinet themselves, could easily have foreseen. Protests against the conviction and the sentence have been raised in all parts of the country by trade unionists and Socialists, and Ministers and M.P.'s have been deluged with letters. Many of the Liberal organs are displaying great anxiety as to what will happen if Larkin is kept in prison, and some of the Radicals themselves are getting very restive. Those who have been loudly demanding the prosecution of Sir Edward Carson for "sedition" in Ulster are wondering why no steps are taken against him when Larkin is convicted and sentenced.

Possibly the Dublin Employers' Federation thought that if Larkin were put away the back of the men's resistance would be broken. So far from that being the effect, his imprisonment has increased the bitterness already existing. The struggle is being continued, and there appears little prospect of a settlement for some weeks to come. Some of the men have returned to work, and a few of the employers seem to have broken away from the Federation. One thing which threatens to make matters worse is the introduction of blacklegs by the Shipping Federation. Meanwhile, support is still being rendered to the Dublin workers by the trade unions of this country.

The attempt, mainly on the part of prominent members of the "Daily Herald" League, to bring away some of the children from Dublin, so that they should be taken care of during the dispute, was frustrated by the action of the priests.—However little attention the Catholic Church may have paid to the bodies of the little ones who were enduring all the hardships of the prolonged labour dispute, the enthusiasm of the priests for the saving of their souls was roused at the prospect of a few of them being taken away

to "Protestant" England even for a short time. The temper of the Catholic population was inflamed against the well-meant efforts to help the little ones to such an extent that it became very difficult, if not impossible, for any child to leave the Irish capital. In the end the priests were entirely successful. They were able to intervene indirectly in favour of the Nationalist employers when they could not have done so directly.

The increasing number of railway accidents is raising the question of our railways in an acute form. In spite of all the Board of Trade regulations, the rules of the companies and the increase—real or supposed—of automatic arrangements, serious railway accidents are getting most unpleasantly frequent. The greater speed and weight of trains have undoubtedly put heavier responsibilities upon the shoulders of the drivers, as was clearly shown in the Aisgill disaster. It is evident that the driver of an express train cannot pay that undivided attention to the signals that he should pay if he has frequently to look after the engine itself. What is wanted is another man in the cab.

The disasters at Liverpool and Waterloo Junction were no doubt due to inaccurate signalling, but here again the evidence shows that the great signal-boxes are miserably understaffed. The wonder is, in fact, that the men are able to do their work as regularly and methodically as they do. It is high time that a serious inquiry were instituted into the question of how far our present capitalist railway monopoly is responsible for the loss of life which has recently taken place. An inquiry of that description is more urgent at the present time than a Royal Commission on the relation of the railways to the State.

The Conference of the Miners' Federation held at Scarborough at the beginning of last month was looked forward to with considerable interest on account of the Chesterfield election. Mr. Barnet Kenyon was the miners' candidate for the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. James Haslam, and he was returned. But he went forward more as a Liberal than a Labour candidate, and a good deal of dissatisfaction was expressed in consequence. After Leicester the Labour Party had to do something, so they withdrew official support from Mr. Kenyon. The action of the Labour Party Executive was endorsed by the Executive of the Miners' Federation pending the Conference at Scarborough, at

which the whole question would be raised by Mr. Kenyon's supporters. They raised it, and the action of the Miners' Executive was upheld with only four dissentients. The ballot on the Political Fund showed 261,000 in favour and 194,000 against. The Conference also resolved to grant £1,000 a week to the locked-out transport workers of Dublin, and to make a levy for the support of the "Daily Citizen," which would bring in an amount of £90,000 spread over a period of three years.

Part of the speech delivered by Winston Churchill at the Manchester Free Trade Hall on October 19 was devoted to putting forward once more the proposal of a naval "holiday" between Germany and this country. We strongly suspect that the proposal was not seriously intended. Had it been so intended, it would not have been put forward in that way. Arrangements regarding naval and military affairs between nations are not made from the housetops. But it may have served the purpose of quieting some of the "peace" Radicals who were becoming a little restive at the prospect of increased naval expenditure. And, after all, what did Winston Churchill's proposal amount to? That both Germany and the United Kingdom should cease naval shipbuilding—for a year! No suggestion of reductions, arrangements, ententes, or anything of that kind, but simply that the burden of taxation on the rich, whose property requires expensive preparations for defence, should be temporarily eased! The suggestion was treated in Berlin as farcical, as it undoubtedly was.

The preliminary statement of the Agricultural Returns for England and Wales for 1913 were issued last month. They show a considerable decline in the total acreage under crops and grass, and a decrease in all kinds and classes of live stock, compared with those of 1912. The total acreage under crops and grass has gone down from 27,174,690 acres in 1912 to 27,129,382 in 1913, a decrease of 45,308 acres; that of arable land is reduced from 11,335,276 acres in 1912 to 11,058,233 acres in 1913, a falling off of 277,043 acres, most of which was transferred to permanent pasture; wheat has declined 161,776 acres, oats 97,770 acres, and nearly all other crops show a marked decline save barley, which has increased by 102,328 acres. The decline in live stock affects all sections; the numbers of horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs have all decreased. The greatest percentages are 15.8 per cent. for pigs and 10.9 for horses used for agricultural purposes, includ-

ing mares for breeding. In face of this continual decline in agriculture in this country, what hope is there of the tinkering proposals of Mr. Lloyd George seriously stemming the tide of emigration from the land?

The Socialist successes at the recent general elections in Italy have far exceeded the most sanguine expectations. Eighty Socialists have been returned to the Italian Chamber. Fifty-two of these belong to the Italian Socialist Party, which had only twenty-four representatives in the former Parliament; twenty-three belong to the "Reformists," some of whom are supporters of Giolitti, an increase of ten on their former number; and there are five "independent" Socialists, including a couple of "revolutionary Syndicalists," who appear to be not altogether adverse to political action! It is true that Giolitti has, on the whole, increased his support in the Chamber, but it is doubtful if he thought that the Socialists were going to gain so largely by the introduction of universal suffrage which suddenly added five millions to the Italian electorate.

The fight has been an exceedingly hard one for our comrades owing to the enormous increase of the electorate. Ever since the commencement of September the speakers and propagandists of the Party have been at work laying before the electors the programme of the Party and its reasons for attacking all other parties, and especially the imperialist policy of the Government. In this connection it may be as well to quote the concluding sentences of the electoral manifesto of the Party: "Of all parties ours is the only one which has carried through the fight against the war, against militarism, against reaction and priestcraft. To our candidates, therefore, the votes of all electors who suffer under the present system should be given. Parliament is the chief instrument of the rule of the bourgeoisie. In sending our political representatives to Parliament, we do not send them for the purpose of co-operating with the class which lives by the exploitation of labour, but in order to defend, in full view of the whole nation, the interests and claims of the proletariat. For these reasons our candidates do not lay before you a programme of illusory and paltry reforms; we do not promise, as is done by the constitutional Opposition, an old age pension of threepence a day, but we emphasise the necessity of a systematic and uninterrupted struggle, within the precincts even of Parliament, against armaments, against the customs barriers, against the

parasitic castes in State and Church, and in favour of expropriation, in favour of the enlargement of the rights of the proletariat and for universal suffrage for all men and women."

The situation in Mexico is almost incomprehensible to those not acquainted with the country. After the dictator Porfirio Diaz, who had so long ruled the country with an iron hand, was deposed, Madero was made President. Then came the assassination of Madero, and General Huerta installed himself. Those who support Huerta contend that he possesses the determination necessary to enable Mexico to get out of the mess in which all this guerilla civil war has landed the country; those who are opposed to his despotic rule declare that he is a tyrant who has gained his position by the murder of his predecessor. So far as Mexico itself is concerned, the Federalists hold the more central portions, while the "Constitutionalists" occupy the northern provinces. Neither side seems to be able to get the better of the other.

The talk of United States intervention seems now to be nearing action of some sort. Mr. Bryan, the U.S. Foreign Secretary, has declared that there will not be armed intervention, but the later utterances of President Wilson indicate that unless Huerta clears out, the United States Government is prepared to go even to the extent of invading Mexico territory to secure his downfall. It is, of course, almost impossible to get at any popular Mexican opinion about the situation, but in the organ of the Railwaymen's Union, of Mexico, reference is made to two or three engine drivers having been killed in "accidents" to military trains, while there is nothing to suggest a popular antagonism to Huerta's rule. Probably the threats of action on the part of the United States have tended to gather round Huerta a stronger popular opinion than he would otherwise have had. In either case we may be certain that the great oil combinations are watching events. The Standard Oil Trust on the one hand and the Cowdray-Murray groups on the other will see to it that Mexico is exploited to the fullest extent, no matter what happens.

THE EVENTS OF OCTOBER.

AT HOME.

1—Masters threaten cotton lock-out.

2—Church Congress ends.

6—Dublin employers decline to accept basis of settlement presented by Court Inquiry.

Ballot of Dockers' Union shows majority of ten to one in favour of political action.

7—Miners' Federation Conference at Scarborough.

8—Chesterfield discussed at Miners' Conference; Executive action endorsed.

9—Split in Women Workers' Union threatened on Suffrage Question.

Forcible feeding resumed on Suffragettes.

10—Settlement of Leeds Carters' Dispute.

Volturno burned in mid-Atlantic.

11—Mr. Lloyd George opens Land Campaign at Bedford.

14—Terrible disaster at Universal Colliery, Senghenydd; 450 lives lost.

Dublin employers still refuse to recognise Irish Transport Workers' Union.

15—Railway disaster at Liverpool; six killed and many injured.

16—Cotton lock-out averted.

19—Sir Rufus Isaacs appointed Lord Chief Justice.

Winston Churchill again offers "Naval Holiday."

20—Agricultural returns show large decline in total acreage under crops and decrease in live stock.

21—J. G. Butler adopted as B.S.P. candidate at Reading.

Caudle convicted of manslaughter in connection with Aisgill disaster.

22—Catholic priests stop strikers' children being taken from Dublin.

Threatened scarcity of meat.

23—Royal Commission on Railways appointed.

24—P. and O. officers demand higher pay ; some resign.

27—Free Labour Association Congress opened ; the usual "800,000 independent labourers" represented.

James Larkin sentenced to seven months' imprisonment in first division.

Railway accident at Waterloo Junction ; three killed and many injured.

28—R.M.S.P. Co.'s engineers resign for higher pay and better conditions.

29—P. and O. dispute settled.

31—Caudle "pardoned."

Dublin pawnbrokers refuse to accept further pledges.

ABROAD.

1—Growth of Passive Resistance among Indians in South Africa.

3—Bavarian Socialist Editor sentenced to a month's imprisonment for caricaturing the meeting of the German princes.

6—Yuan Shih-Kai elected President of the Chinese Republic.

7—M. Poincaré visits King Alfonso at Madrid.

8—Commission of Inquiry appointed because of unsettled state of Bengal.

10—General Huerta, President of Mexico, dissolves both Houses of Parliament and proclaims new elections for October 26.

14—Greece takes "precautionary measures" in Macedonia.

16—French general officers relieved of their commands owing to dissatisfaction at results of Army Manœuvres.

17—German airship disaster ; crew of 28 killed.

18—Austria calls on Servia to evacuate Albania.
French Radical Congress concluded at Pau.

20—Servia obeys Austria.

21—Russia extends military service from three to three and a half years, thus adding 350,000 men to the colours.
Elections for Baden Landtag : Socialist vote decreased.

22—Failure of Monarchist rising in Portugal.

24—Strikers sentenced for rioting in connection with miners' strike at Vancouver.
Strike of Indian miners in Natal.

26—Italian elections : first ballots ; Socialist victories.
Mexican elections : "insufficient" votes recorded.

28—Felix Diaz clears out of Mexico.

30—Waterside Workers' strike at Wellington, N.Z.

31—Bulgaria re-occupies Western Thrace.

THE EDUCATION ACT IN BELGIUM.

MANIFESTO OF THE BELGIAN SOCIALIST PARTY AGAINST THE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT NOW BEFORE THE BELGIAN CHAMBER.

By the projected School Law now before the Belgian Chamber education is made compulsory. In most of the countries of Europe this has passed into legislation more than thirty years ago, and the Opposition Parties in Belgium have demanded it vainly up to the present.

Compelled by economic circumstances to institute this reform the Clerical Government wishes to prevent the intellectual emancipation of the workers, which would normally result from the Act, by delivering elementary education into the hands of the Catholic Church.

As all the Popes who have succeeded to the Papal Chair since the French Revolution have condemned our modern liberties, notably the freedom of conscience, the Clericals cloak with the pretence of liberty and equality their attempts against freedom of thought and against the people.

They wish, they say, to secure for the heads of families the free choice of the schools to which their children shall go. It is for this object that the State will give new and considerable subsidies to the private schools!

But, from the preliminary report of the proposed Act given by M. Woeste, it appears that the State would refuse any subsidy to a Socialist school or even to a school in which rationalist moral instruction was given. Further, in our society, governed by the powers of money, it is impossible to have liberty without property. The poor and isolated workers are no more able to send their children to the schools of their own choice than they are to refuse or to accept the conditions of work offered them by the employers.

On the other hand, the Catholic Government, by a cunning yet patient manœuvre, by suppressing the greater part of the State elementary schools and favouring in various ways the Clerical schools, have been able to impose male and female instructors trained in Clerical establishments on a large number of anti-Clerical parishes.

Possessing, therefore, devoted agents in many of the schools classed as non-sectarian, directors of the public schools where the administration is in the hands of the Clericals, complete masters of the "adopted" schools and of those "adoptable" (which contain nearly one-half of the total elementary school population), the Catholic Church and its docile accomplice, the Clerical Government, think the hour has arrived to destroy the public and non-sectarian instruction which the large towns and the industrial districts of Walloon have been able to maintain and which have prospered.

They wish, they say, for equality between the public and the private schools!

But all political or philosophical propaganda is prohibited to the State school teacher, whilst those in the "adopted" schools are free to work for the Catholic Party.

In the system of subsidies which is hidden in the complicated Poulett scheme, the adoptable schools are so favoured that in certain cases elementary education will become a source of revenue for the Catholic Church.

Although the provincial and district schools are subject on the part of the State to an irritating and often hostile supervision, the Catholic schools will not have even to announce the text-books—and what text-books they are—they will use for the parishes which will have to pay for them.

While the parishes will not be able to provide the scholars with food or clothing or with anything at all except instruction, properly speaking, without granting the same favours to the children in the "adoptable" schools, the managers of the latter will be free to attract the workers' children by all kinds of material advantages without at the same time having to obtain them for the public school children.

In this way the Catholic Party hope, as M. Woeste has not hestitated to announce, "to mark the young minds with an indelible impression," with an impression which leaves them the prey to all kinds of domination and exploitation.

The Belgian Socialist Party, respecting all religious and philosophic convictions, considers always that tolerance and freedom of thought are the most precious conquests of the modern spirit and the indispensable instruments for the improvement of the conditions of the working class.

Our ideal is free and public elementary education accessible to all children without offence to any religious conviction, preparing, in the words of Hector Denis, "the power which must proceed from universal human solidarity."

The powers of reaction, in a vain attempt to destroy, believe themselves to be working for the realisation of the prophecy of the Archbishop of Malines, according to which "the next genera-

tion will see the foundering of Socialism!" To achieve this object it will be necessary to destroy Thought, which we know always survives.

However, to live is to fight. To this bold attempt to capture the proletariat, prepared by a combination of Clerical reactionaries and so-called Christian democrats, the Belgian working class will respond by making greater efforts for Socialist education and intellectual emancipation.

LE CONSEIL GENERAL DU PARTI OUVRIER BELGE.

(Translated by F. D.)

CHINESE REFUGEES IN JAPAN.

By S. KATAYAMA

(Japanese Representative on International Socialist Bureau).

The Chinese revolution, apparently so successful, has crumbled to earth after many sacrifices and injustices. Only last year the revolutionists forced the abdication of the Manchu. Dynasty. After some compromises between Yuan Sie-Kai and Sun Yat Sen and other southern revolutionists, the provisional Government was established at Pekin and Yuan elected head of it. Now that Yuan has become the nominal head of the new Government, he has asserted his power and is determined to rid the country of these revolutionary leaders in order to secure a Constitution that he desires.

Dr. Sun and his friends have long been educating the Chinese people in the principles of Socialism. It was their desire to gradually establish Socialism in China by the election of public-spirited officials who would work for the good of the working class instead of for personal aggrandisement.

At the last Chinese Parliament that gathered to draft the new Constitution the revolutionary element was dominant. The President of the Upper House was elected by Sen's Party and had an absolute majority. A large number of Sen's group were elected also to the Lower House, but Yuan, with a large money bag at his disposal, gradually induced many of the revolutionary party members to give up their principles of Democracy and vote for him. Moreover, it is reported that Yuan succeeded in the bloody work of killing Sang Chiao-Jen, one of the ablest leaders of the southern revolutionists. This crime was investigated and discovered to be the work of Yuan.

As is to be expected, the southern revolutionaries arose to expose this brutal act on the part of the President. They furnished proofs in the way of documents that fixed the crime of assassination on him. Immediately President Yuan suppressed the Press engaged in exposing him. He bribed certain officials and so-called revolutionists and assumed the most tyrannical attitude toward all those who refused to support his measures.

By the support of a subtle financial influence, Yuan concluded the great Five Power Loan that had been consistently fought and opposed by the real revolutionists. The Socialists claim that it was Five Power money that Yuan employed to defeat them. Between the southern revolutionists and the Yuan constituency there spread a wide gulf which grew ever wider.

With the suppression of the Press and free discussion many took up arms against (self) Constituted Authority. The provinces of Canton and Nankin took up arms against the Yuan group. This gave Yuan a further opportunity for suppressing the Liberal Press and the whole Liberal movement. Socialist organisations were immediately dispersed or crushed, and one of the leaders of the Socialist movement was put to death at Pekin. This was not a very difficult matter, for Yuan had at his disposal complete power over the army and navy and money enough to corrupt the Liberal movement as well. Further, the Chinese merchant class is for Yuan all the way through, because they want the PEACE THAT MEANS GOOD BUSINESS.

At so early a date it is often hard to discover the invisible powers that move the puppet Presidents. But the foreign Powers gave Yuan every kind of support in exchange for a chance to grab some of the wonderfully rich natural Chinese resources. Almost openly the Germans lent their aid in crushing the Southern uprising.

And so Democracy (to say nothing of Socialism) has been wiped out temporarily in China. The revolutionary forces are almost routed. Only those in Nankin still wage war; but they are doomed. Yuan will reign supreme.

Dr. Sun Yat Sen is now a refugee in Japan. Ha Han-Min, the ex-Governor-General of Canton, is, too, in Japan with many others. Yuan offered $100,000 for the head of Dr. Sun and $50,000 for the head of General Huang H Sing. There is a price on the heads of many other prominent revolutionists.

Here, in Japan, we now have two sets of Chinese in our midst —the revolutionary refugees and those head-hunters, all of whom are exercising eternal diligence in the hope of pulling down the $100,000 offered for Sun Yat Sen. Perhaps you may remember that Dr. Sun was slated soon to occupy the highest position China had to offer.

Our people are, of course, in deep sympathy with the revolutionary refugees. But the Government, being imperialistic, naturally hates the Republic and favours Yuan's administration. At first the refugees were denied admission to Japan, but they were finally permitted to land with the understanding that they make no move for the revolution while here. They are watched by the Government and prohibited from meeting any sympathisers, so that they are practically prisoners in Japan!

General Huang H Sing and Dr. Sun may soon come to America, but so far their movements are not known to us. Of the many Chinese refugees in Japan, few are known. Their comings and going are made with the utmost secrecy, as they live in constant fear of assassination. The wives and daughters of General Huang and Dr. Sun are reported to be in Japan, but nobody knows where they are hidden. Both these men were once students in Japan and they have many friends here. They are strong Socialists. Perhaps you will have an opportunity to meet them in America before many months.

In spite of all these disasters, the Chinese comrades will never give up. They have tasted the first fruits of liberty and so will they again!

(From the "International Review.")

THE TURKISH NOVEL.

It is not unnatural that Pierre Loti's devotion to Turkey should connote some sort of a literary interchange. French writers, it appears, have appealed more than others to the Turk, and a considerable literature of manners has grown up among the younger writers of Turkey that owes its inspiration largely to France. The opening wedge was formed of Turkish translations of Racine, Lamartine, and others of the classics, made by Ibrahim Schinasy, one of the founders of the young Turkish school; but these have been followed by studies of Turkish life from the Turkish point of view, though modelled upon the form of the French writers. This modern school is studied by Mr. Tony Kellen in "Die Literarische Echo" (Berlin), where we read:—

"At first novels were translated, and not merely the edifying 'Télémaque' of Fénélon and the works of Voltaire, but also the principal works of Victor Hugo and the two Dumas. But the piquant stories of Paul de Kock and the romantic novels of Eugène Sue and Xavier de Montépins as well as the naturalistic novels and stories of Zolá and De Maupassant met with more favour."

We pass over a list of Turkish romances written in imitation of these models in the late middle of the nineteenth century to more recent specimens. Uschschaqyzade Chalyd Zija, the translator of Zola and De Maupassant, published in 1889 two pessimistic novels, "The Hopeless" and "The Book of a Dead Man." Later:—

"A new group is formed by Achmed Rasim, Mechmed Mueneddschi, and Huessen Rechmi (born in 1876), with their realistic novels; Wedschihi and Achmed Hikmet (born in 1870), with their psychological novels; and Nazym, with his peasant tales. They all like to stage their scenes half in a 'frankish' (i.e., European) setting, or even partly in foreign lands, and they seek to portray both the good and the evil side of European culture in typical examples. . . . .

"Schems Samy, who translated 'Les Misérables,' treated of unhappy Turkish marriages in 'The Love of Telet and Fitnet' (1872). This is the essential theme also in 'The Lute Player,' by Fatma Alié Hanem, and 'A Desert Adventure,' by Ali Kemal

Bey. . . . Neither of these two novels is longer than a long short story, but if they are less extensive than our novels this must be ascribed to the fact that they are written in a terse style, presenting events simply . . . without artistic elaboration. They are written in the style—so unaffected and yet always so engaging—of an eighteenth-century French tale. On this account it was tolerably easy for Gustave Léon to translate them into French for the 'Malumat' Library."

Mr. Kellen gives here a description of the plots of these novels, of which the first seems the most interesting and important :—

"Bedia, the heroine of 'The Lute Player,' marries in Damascus an officer who is not worthy of her, Captain Mail Bey. She leaves him, returns to Constantinople, and in order not to fall into that kind of life which drags down so many women, she gives music lessons, fighting her way through life gamely until at last she succumbs to death with honour still untarnished.

"A great rôle is played in the story by the Jewish dancer, Halula, for whose love Mail is faithless to his wife, whose ornaments he even takes away to bestow them on his lady-love. Bedia knows of his infidelity, but is silent. In a social gathering Halula approaches her and seeks in some measure to excuse herself: she might have given her favours to much richer men, but she had a genuine love for Mail, and she was forced to follow her mode of life to support her poor mother and younger brothers. Bedia's pride makes her pretend that she does not care for her husband and that his 'affairs' are a matter of indifference to her. In reality she is so cut to the heart that she falls ill with consumption, of which she eventually dies.

"One evening her husband comes to her and begs her to help him free himself from this woman. Bedia acts as if she knew nothing of the matter. She is indignant that he should make such a confession to her; she is his wife, not his sister; he should have asked the latter for counsel. Such a view would seem a trifle peculiar to a European wife. . . . .

"Three years later Bedia meets again the same dancer, now a married woman. After having plundered so many men she has reformed and turned to a respectable life. She has come to perceive that though men are at times unfaithful to their wives, they really have for them a more genuine love than for women whose love is venal. None of the men who had heaped gifts upon her had been willing to marry her, and that she finally obtained a young merchant for her husband was due to her property. But Bedia makes her way as a music teacher till consumption claims her. This malady is very prevalent in Turkey, and is therefore often met in belles lettres. Abdel Kerim Hady has called a books of poems 'Complaints of a Consumptive', (1891), and in the drama, 'An Unhappy Girl,' the heroine is one

of those consumptives who have been so popular in Turkish literature since the 'Lady of the Camellias' first appeared."

The second story whose plot is outlined is called "A Desert Adventure." Sabuhi Effendi, living in the Syrian desert, has married a second wife, Safret, much younger than himself. She is frivolous and fond of pleasure and spoils her step-children, especially the daughter Syhir, a dreamy and romantic girl of sixteen, for whom they long strive in vain to find a husband. At last the son of the Arab Sheik, Sataan, appears on the scene and marries Syhir. Safret, meantime, has made the life of her husband a real inferno. He is old and feeble, and his coquettish wife has no more use for him. The comedy turns to tragedy when the old gentleman discovers her guilt and is killed on the spot.

Mr. Kellen comments on the fact that neither of the two novels analysed contains forced and improbable invention, but seem to be founded on observation of the facts of real life. He says also: "The art of the two is about equal, but Fatma Alié Hanem describes dwellings, costumes, and such matters, upon which her masculine colleague is silent." Both novels have a tendency to teach, not, however, obtrusively, but in a way that springs rather "from the naiveté of half-cultured races who seek in their light literature not merely entertainment, but an agreeable mode of instruction." Drunkenness, marital infidelity, and sexual excess are represented as the chief vices of the Turks, but writers avoid frank treatment of such things. "There is nothing prurient in the novels, and yet things are spoken of which it is impossible to mention in our own polite literature. . . . Yet the very fact that in novels meant for the widest circulaton certain things are spoken of entirely without reserve merely proves that the Turks are free from our own excessive delicacy."

—From the "Literary Digest," New York.

THE REVIEWS.

THE HOURS OF LABOUR.

Mr. T. Good, whose articles on the National Insurance in "Justice" have occasioned considerable comment, contributes an article on the "Hours of Labour" to the "Westminster Review," from which we take the following :—

In most manufacturing industries we have what is called a nine-hour day. The standard working week consists of fifty-four hours, though in some cases only fifty-three hours are worked, while in some other cases the number is fifty-six. The fifty-six hour week is usually one of five days of ten hours each and one day of six hours. The starting time each day is 6 a.m. There is a stop for breakfast in one of the half hours between 8 and 9. There is a dinner hour some time between 12 and 2. The knocking-off time is 5.30, except on Saturday, when it is 12.30.

Thus the five days, Monday to Friday, are 11½-hour days, including the meal times. Allowing for a couple of half-hour journeys to and from work, the period of absence from home is 12½ hours—5.30 a.m. to 6 p.m. The more customary 53 and 54 hour week gives an additional half hour of leisure daily. The usual period of absence from home is 12 hours—9½ hours actual work, 1½ hours for meals, and an hour, say, for travelling. Even those who consider such hours reasonable in summer will surely not defend the custom of dragging men out of bed at 5 o'clock on a mid-winter morning—three hours before daylight.

This has been the custom in most trades for fully a generation. But in this generation the conditions of labour and life have been transformed, and if it was wise for our fathers, if not grandfathers, to establish a so-called nine-hour day, would it not be equally wise for us to establish something like an eight-hour day? At any rate, a reduction of working hours can be justified on two grounds—the intensification of toil, and the improved habits of the workers.

The "speeding-up" that has been effected in many trades within the last dozen or fifteen years is alone amply sufficient to support a case for a reduced working day. In the late nineties

many of our employers, under pressure of growing external competition and internal taxation, began to "Americanise" their works. Since then furnaces have become bigger and hotter, machines run faster, tools are heavier, appliances need more strength and nerve for their manipulation, shops are more crowded, more dusty, more noisy, and labour altogther is more fatiguing and hazardous. Accidents have increased by 100 per cent. Deaths from accidents in workshops have actually increased by 50 per cent. It costs the workman far more, both in care and in cash, to keep himself fit than it did only half a generation back. There is more physical strain now in an ordinary working day than there was in a day, plus half a day's overtime, down to the middle or late nineties. The working classes generally are blamed for malingering under the Compensation Law. Some men do malinger, but Labour's traducers forget that there is now far greater need for an injured worker to get thoroughly efficient before he returns to the workshop than there was in the old slack ways. Those whose observation of labour is confined to seeing workmen employed by public authorities taking things leisurely have no idea of the conditions in private employment, under the spurs of competition and dividend earning. Managers and foremen who, prior to the Americanisation of British industry, were never seen in the workshops before breakfast time, are now on duty at 6 a.m. Supervision is more strict. Time keeping is more exact. Resting times have been knocked off. Our workmen are not seeking reduced hours because they are less inclined to hard work than their forefathers—far from it ; but because the pace is hotter, the toil is intensified, the hazards are multiplied.

But while a demand for shorter working hours can be abundantly justified, the trade union-Socialist demand for uniform working hours borders upon madness. It is a move to outrage both Nature and economics. All the seasons are not alike. All men are not alike. All jobs are not alike. That a general, uniform eight-hour working day would be a social, industrial, and economic curse is not merely a matter of opinion, but one of fact—not a mere speculation, but a demonstrable certainty. In the only big industry where the eight-hour day has been legalised it has failed, and if uniformity cannot be imposed upon one industry without detriment, it cannot be imposed upon all industries without disaster. The legal eight-hour day in the coal trade has been a failure on nine points out of ten. From what has happened in the mining industry as a result of the Eight Hours Act it is possible to forecast what will happen to British industry generally if workmen, employers, and statesmen permit the New Labour leaders to do for all trades what they have done for the coal trade. Unfortunately, few people are aware of the havoc wrought by the Mines Eight Hours Act. A brief statement of its effects may, therefore, be opportune.

First we may put the question of safety. A big point with the advocates of the Eight Hours Act was that it would promote safety. Member after member of Parliament pleaded for the passage of the measure on the ground that it would reduce accidents. It was said that with a reduction of their working hours the miners would be physically fresher and more mentally alert. However, instead of the anticipated decrease of accidents, there has been a substantial increase. In the ten years before the Eight Hours Act came into force the deaths from accidents equalled 1 in every 771 persons employed—that is, per annum. In the three years experienced under the Act the annual average has been 1 in every 743. The first two years of the measure had particularly bad records, the numbers of miners killed averaging six per working day, against only four per day in the last two years before the hours were limited.

This imposition of a uniform eight-hour day upon an industry in which the economic conditions vary between district and district, and in which the natural conditions vary between mine and mine, has proved positively harmful in a variety of ways. It may be said that in one district we have a winter demand for coal —that is, for household coal. In another district there is a summer demand for coal—that is, in respect of ships trading to the Baltic, say. Again, in one mine we have "faces" comparatively near the shafts, few faults, easily got coal, and little water. In another mine we have reverse conditions. As with the pits and the trade, so with the men. Some miners, aged and slow men, by going down first and coming up last, by spending nine or ten hours below the ground, could "make wages," and, being generally experienced and cautious men, they were safe men. But the Eight Hours Act, with its uniformity, put all mines and all men on one level. The result is that in some mines dangerous methods have had to be adopted, while the aged and cautious men have been placed at a discount. There is an increasing disposition to engage young and inexperienced men because they can rush, just as there is to introduce new and dangerous methods and appliances.

At many mines it has been necessary to adopt what is called the multiple-shift system of working—that is, three eight-hour shifts in the twenty-four. This is keenly resented by the miners because it has upset their family and social customs as well as increased their dangers. With continuous working the pits never "cool," as the men put it, and there is increased danger of explosions, while the new shift arrangements interfere with both health and leisure. Before the Eight Hours Act arrived the miners generally had their evenings to themselves, and they had lengthy "week-ends." By working in some cases nine or ten hours on mid-week days they often had Saturdays and Mondays off for sport and gardening. Moreover, the boys had regular hours of work, play, sleep and meals, and could attend evening classes regularly.

Now, in households where two or three sons or lodgers as well as father work at the pits, and on different and changing shifts, the workers are going out and coming in at almost all hours of the day and night; the women have never done preparing meals and changes of clothing; family life is disorganised; the men have to hold their meetings on Sundays, because full attendances cannot be got other days; some of the old off-days at week-ends are lost because the working hours are restricted, and it often becomes necessary to put in an extra shift per week; and the boys' health, as well as their education, suffers by the irregular hours.

With a legal eight-hour day applied all round, the multiple shift system would be adopted in many industries. It is a system to be avoided, as far as possible. Night work is unnatural. Besides, with eight hours worked on a three-shift system, the spell would have to be an unbroken one, and eight hours, plus the time taken travelling to and from work, is too long to go without a meal. This system would also in some cases cut into the Saturday half-holiday, now almost sacred. In many a trade a legal eight-hour day would do what it has done in the coal industry—reduce earnings, introduce inconvenient working shifts, increase dangers and accidents, interfere with family and social life, and strike a blow at health.

For reduced hours of labour there is a case; but for uniform hours there is no case. What about seed-time and harvest? To enact a universal eight-hour law, with statutory boards to fix the conditions upon which the law should be observed in the various industries, as is suggested, would be to ruin some trades, and to set up a costly and ridiculous bureaucracy to work the ruin. Again, there is far more fatigue at some jobs in six hours than at others in twelve. If we put the railway porter on eight hours, we shall soon have a demand from the forgeman for four hours.

The twin questions of restriction of overtime by the trade unions and of ordinary time-losing by workmen are provoking serious discussion and some ill-feeling in industrial circles. The shipbuilding employers complain that not only is there a too rigid limitation of overtime by the unions, but that the members of the biggest shipyard union, the Boilermakers' and Shipbuilders' Society, are losing nearly 19 per cent. of their stipulated working hours, and it is alleged that orders are being lost, because, with so much absenteeism, delivery cannot be guaranteed within reasonable time. This is certainly a case that has two sides. The employers' argument is that first the unions prohibit more than a few hours' overtime per week—five, ten, or fifteen hours, the limits varying between the different trades—and then numbers of the workmen habitually lose days, and quarters of days, besides refusing to work even the limited amount of overtime permitted; that the higher the wage rate paid the more time the men lose; that while wage advances are being abused by the men the employers are

being penalised in respect of delayed contracts, and that some business is being lost altogether.

There is a type of workman who will not earn more than a certain amount per week, and with every advance of wage rates, making it possible to earn this amount in less time, there is an automatic increase of unauthorised holidays. There are miners who will not earn more than 30s. a week, and will not be content with less. If the rates of pay are so low that six days' work is required to get this 30s., six days will the men work. But if the rates are so good that the 30s. can be got in three days, the men will only turn up three days a week. Most trades are afflicted with this type of man. The result is that in the busiest time, when it is necessary to have a big output, and when wage rates are at the highest, the attendance of the workmen is the worst. Men who will stand at the gates from morning till night, six days a week, pestering foremen for work when there is no work for them, will only turn up three or four days a week when there is full employment available. This is detrimental to Labour—particularly to the best workmen, who are willing to make a push in busy times—just as it is to Capital.

In the lighter trades of Sheffield and Birmingham employers have complained not only of a lack of first-class workmen, but of an abnormal absenteeism during the current trade boom. Undoubtedly orders are being lost in some cases, while those that are secured cannot always be executed to time. The whole industry suffers, and the time has arrived when the leaders of both Capital and Labour ought to knock their heads together and find a remedy. If a remedy could be found and agreed upon—certainly a remedy could be found—and applied through the Labour Exchanges, those institutions would serve at least one useful purpose. But there must be a frank understanding on both sides. And there must be toleration on both sides. The general problem is not so simple as it looks, and it will never be solved unless both sides get down to the bed-rock facts.

The most deplorable fact in this connection is that British industry loses too many of its best men by emigration. Those who are thrifty, those who will work six days a week whenever they can get six days' work in a week, those who get money in the banks, are the first, and practically the only, workers to emigrate when they are persuaded that they can do better abroad than at home. The time-losers never save enough to emigrate with. To-day, while large numbers of the best of British craftsmen are "making good" in American factories, British industry is burdened with the scally-wags and unable to take all the business that is going. Then, when the slump comes, the time-losers will be "on the parish." These facts, however, are more or less well understood. The employers' side of this time-losing business is fairly well known. The men's side is not so clearly recognised.

On the Labour side there are many reasons why men lose more time than formerly. Columns might be written in explanation, if not in justification, of this increasing disposition to lose time, to refuse overtime, to go on strike, and generally to kick against both employers and leaders. There is nothing unnatural in this growing turmoil and indiscipline. The British workman is not a worse but a better fellow than he used to be. It is the employer, if anybody, who gets worse to deal with. The employer, in fact, is becoming extinct. We are now living in an age of shareholders and managers, not employers. Capital has become impersonal. Workmen draw their wages from officials, not employers. This evolution of capitalism is a cardinal law of progress, but it is largely responsible for the changed disposition of Labour. And there is quite as much to praise as condemn in this changed disposition. The very indiscipline—the very recklessness—bred in the workman by the new conditions of employment makes for independence and self-reliance, and if only our politicians would cease to coddle Labour, and leave it to stand on its own legs, we should hear little of national decadence.

The conditions of shipyard labour make for indiscipline. The industry is carried on by big firms. There is no personal attachment between employers and workmen. Capital is impersonal. Again, men frequently move from yard to yard, owing to the fluctuating character of the trade, and they are often without a job. This has a marked effect on temperament. Shipyard workers have always been great time-losers since the iron age set in. Moreover, with regard to the pieceworkers—the riveters in particular—it is only fair to observe that the men work in squads, each man fits in a squad like a wheel in a machine, and the absence of one man is enough to lay a squad idle. An absenteeism of 18 or 19 per cent. is not, therefore, so bad as it looks. And there are many factors in this time-losing besides the indolence of the men. Large numbers of the men are dependent upon trams, trains, and ferries to get to work, and fogs, to name only one point, often upset the time-table. Men are frequently late through no fault of their own. As a rule, if more than five minutes late they are locked out, and for each man locked out a squad is idle. The writer, after getting up a little after four o'clock to be at work at six, has been delayed three-quarters of an hour on the High Level Bridge at Newcastle, and so lost a day. It might be urged that the employers should make allowance for this kind of thing, but if they did it would be abused by some men. Conditions are such, and human nature is such, that a perfect system cannot be devised. The best we can do is to be reasonable with one another, and put up as cheerfully as possible with the unavoidable inconveniences.

With regard to the limitation of overtime, the employers would be well advised to take a tolerant view of this also. Engineers and others engaged in comparatively light work may reasonably be

expected to put in a good deal of overtime when needed, but it is not reasonable to expect riveters, for instance, to work much overtime. Their labour is too exhausting. An ordinary day of twelve or thirteen hours, from leaving home at about 5 a.m. to returning at nearly 6 p.m., of which 9½ hours have been spent swinging a hammer at a tremendous rate, and exposed to many hazards, is about enough for any ordinary man. For one thing, the danger is far greater than it used to be. Men working high up on the shell of a Titanic need far more nerve than their fathers on the much smaller boats of a generation back. Again, work generally has been "speeded-up." In many branches of industry there is more fatigue than there used to be in a given number of hours.

"SLAKING LIME."

By William Henry Caudle.

(*Conclusion.*)

Inside the hall, which was small and dingy, about three hundred men and women were gathered. The bare platform, with its dusty and ancient maroon plush trimmings, was lighted by two chimneyless incandescents.

"Good old Jimmy!" cried a voice above the cheering.

"Good old Jimmy!" as Mr. Smith came on to the platform followed by the Strike Committee.

Jim Smith, tall, well-built, was about fifty years of age. Most people in Stonham were of the opinion that "Jim Smith ought to know better." It certainly seemed erratic for a man of his staid habits, and in receipt, as foreman, of £2 10s. a week, to "down tools." Jim was an upright man. Brave, noble, and homely, he had, to the mystification of all Stonham, been the fiercest and most unflinching fighter. His face bore signs of fatigue, but his eyes shone with the faith within him.

Another burst of cheering arose as he stood up behind the little table.

"Good old Jimmy! Let's have it 'ot! Give old Morrison summat to go on with! Good old Jim Smith!"

He smiled at the many upturned faces, and moved from behind the table. With his hands folded behind his back he rested against the table and waited for the cheering to cease.

"Fellow workpeople!" His voice was virile and staccato. "Fellow workpeople! We have gathered here to-night to consider our position and to renew our pledge to carry on this struggle until we are victorious!" (Cheers.)

"There has been a good deal happening to-day. Some of you are anxious to know who is the lady who interviewed, with Gertie Bonner, Mr. Morrison. Well, that lady is Miss Marshall. She has been sent down here to help by the Editor of the 'Socialist News.'" (Another outburst of cheering.)

"We have not yet succeeded in making Morrison give way, but he is wavering a bit." (Cheers and shouts of "Silence!")

"Morrison contends that he can't afford to pay overtime. Well, perhaps not. We can't afford to work without pay.

Morrison expects gratitude for having given us a shorter working day. That's nothing to be grateful about. We do just as much work in the eight hours as we did in the old nine and a-half hours day. I defy Morrison to disprove it. We are doing better work, too; and for Morrison to ask us to work extra time for nothing is robbery. He hasn't lost a farthing by giving the eight hours day. It was a good business investment for him." (Cheers.)

"Now look here! Morrison must give way soon, or he'll find his trade is gone. I know what I am talking about. He can't afford to let his competitors have the field too long. If we hold out long enough we are bound to win." (Loud cheers.)

"I can't say more now. Besides, there is a surprise for you. The Editor of the 'Socialist News' has come down to address us. He is in yon room. I want you to give him a good hearing. He must catch a train back to London to-night, so I will not stand in the way."

The door opened and Gertrude Bonner, followed by Miss Marshall and Dane Fennimore, occupied the three vacant chairs. Smith got no further in his speech. The whole audience jumped to its feet and cheered. Hats, scarves, sticks were waved in the air. Cheers were called and given for "The Editor," for "the lady," and for "Dear old Gert.!" Smith knew his audience. He turned to Fennimore, who rose and walked to the front of the platform. Smith tip-toed to his chair behind the table—his face was wreathed in smiles.

Fennimore was always well dressed. He loved good clothes, and had a weakness for carnations—it was a beauty which rested on the lapel of his coat. For a moment he stood smelling the carnation, and then adjusted his glasses. The cheering ceased.

"Thank you, gentlemen! Thank you, ladies!

"Mr. Chairman, I have little to say to you or my friends here," and his hand indicated the listening men and women, "as to the righteousness of this strike. I cannot go into the various points at issue between you and Mr. Morrison. But let me say this much: I think that this strike shows the terrible position in which a good employer sometimes finds himself."

Smith looked up inquiringly at Fennimore. The audience was startled. Fennimore passed on quickly.

"Let me explain. Mr. Morrison is about as good an employer as you'll find anywhere in the country. You that work for him know that it to be true." (Cries of "Yes" and "No.") "Well! I know it to be true, but I've not come here to speak for him, nor to plead his cause. There are too many in this town ready to do that.

"In all strikes you have the two main issues—the masters' claim and the demands of the workpeople. On the one side there is Mr. Morrison endeavouring to get you people to do certain things, to submit to certain conditions. You refuse these conditions. On the other hand, you are trying to force him to accept

certain proposals, one of which is to sack a man—(loud laughter)—well, it is a case of one of you having to give way. There need be no compromise. Indeed, to compromise is to be defeated. This struggle can be settled without you giving up a single principle.

"Now I am a Socialist, and as a Socialist I try to analyse all problems by applying to them Socialist principles. Let us examine this problem. Morrison has a factory. He works it himself. He is owner and manager. As such he is entitled to three things:—

"One; he is entitled to payment as manager. Mind you, a fair market wage.

"Two; he is entitled to payment for his skill in the market-place. That is to say, he buys and sells in such a manner as to improve the position of the factory. He should be paid for that.

"Lastly; he is entitled to receive a return on any capital which he uses to improve the factory, to stimulate the business.

"Now let us examine this Morrison's factory from another point of view. In this factory are workpeople—you—all of you. You, by your work and by Morrison's managing ability and skill in the market-place, produce goods, wealth. You are paid wages, some by the hour, some by the piece. These are, I understand, union rates. In addition, you have certain other things, such as holiday money and sometimes have to work late and don't get paid for it. (Laughter and ironic cheers.)

"After Morrison has been paid his wages, his return on capital used to improve the business, after you have all received your wages, after there has been set aside money—that is, value of wealth produced—to cover wear and tear, there is a surplus. Does that surplus go into your pockets?" (Shouts of "No!" and "Morrison watches that!") "Quite so! That profit is robbery. It goes into Morrison's pocket. But, remember, there are thousands beside Morrison who are robbing you. Don't blame Morrison. Stop him if you can, and all the others as well!" (Cheers.)

"The crux of the question is this item of profit. Are you in a position to lessen it? Can you, as the result of this strike, ensure that a greater share of it goes into your pockets? It is a matter of tactics. It is for you to settle. I can't settle it for you. Remember that you and Morrison, as producers, have to face severe competition in the market-place. That competition may be severe enough to overwhelm the firm. On the other hand, it may not. The point is this, how far do your interests and Morrison's coincide? You, like everybody else, are being robbed by Morrison. Is it the lesser of two evils? You see, it is a matter of tactics. Keep that fact before you. Are you able to lessen the robbing process? You may gain the day and cause the factory to be beaten by competitors. Also you may win, and the factory still flourish—as I think it will. Also you may win, gain all you're out after, and, by a speeding up

here and an alteration there, Morrison may not only keep all the profits, but get a little bit more as well. Then you will have lost. Don't let this struggle lead you away from the Economic Principle.

"I know you'll say that I haven't touched on your grievances. I haven't sufficient knowledge of them to justify me. If I can get you to understand the true position of the relation between you as employees and Morrison as employer, I have done all that is possible for me to do.

"There is yet another feature of this struggle. None of you have a word to say against Morrison as a man. From what I have been told and know of him he is a good fellow. To him the welfare of his factory is the welfare of you people. He is chairman of a Brotherhood, and believes in Brotherhood. Honestly, I don't think he realises that he is robbing you, or that our system of life —this capitalist system—is fundamentally wrong. He is keenly desirous of helping bring the Kingdom of God down on to this earth. And yet he holds your means of life in his hands. He can never be your brother except sentimentally. Men and women, there can be no brotherhood outside justice! I say to you, I say to Morrison, that until society is altered so that it is impossible for him, or anybody else, to make a profit out of a man there can be no Brotherhood. Who is Morrison's greatest competitor? The Hurst Syndicate! This Syndicate is capturing the trade, and Morrison is fighting them. You all know that, don't you?" (Cries of "Yes!")

"Well, the head of the Hurst Syndicate is Sir Jonathan Hurst. Now Sir Jonathan is a religious man. He is a Nonconformist. He is Chairman of a big Brotherhood up the North. There is the whole position in a nutshell. Morrison and Hurst both fighting, yet brothers. If the Syndicate wins Morrison would be a bankrupt and Sir Jonathan would still believe in brotherhood. In fact, probably never know of Morrison's failure. Both of them belong to the master class. Both of them hold the lives of their workpeople in their hands. They cannot, in justice, be your brothers! There can be no peace!" (Loud cheers.) "How can there be peace? Are not Morrison and Hurst both using their workpeople as soldiers to fight their battle?

"This is the class war, if you like. It matters not what you call it. To me it is simply man's struggle towards perfection, the reaching out after the ideal which we call Socialism. It is the boiling and spluttering, the heavy clouds of steam, the breaking and splitting asunder, the powdering of the lumps of quicklime as the chemical action of the water in contact with the quicklime is producing the new compound which we call slaked lime. We can't blame the steam, nor the yawning chasms, nor the crumbling lumps. It is the inevitable. Why be sentimental about it?

"The French have an expression, 'La Joie de Vivre' (the Joy of Life). Music is a part of it. It is an unknown world to you.

The beautiful sonatas of Beethoven, the grandeur of Wagner's operas, the wild intoxicating dances of Brahm and Chopin, the weird and haunting melodies of Grieg, 'the Peer Gynt Suite'—Peer, his mother dying, sits on the bed by her side. They talk of the days when he was a child, the make-believe sledge and reindeers; then, as the old woman is sinking, he tells her that she is in the sledge, that he is driving her over the snow, along the glacier's edge. 'We're just driving over a fjord and the old woman answers, 'I'm afraid! What is that I hear rushing and sighing so strange and wild?' Peer replies, 'It's the sough of the pine trees, mother, on the heath. Do you but sit still.'

"Later he says, 'There's a castle rising before us; the drive will be over soon,' and Ase, his mother, feebly answers, 'I will lie back and close my eyes then, and trust me to you, my boy!' He almost believes it himself, and drives on madly to heaven's gate and turns to find her gone.

"Grieg tells Ibsen's story in wild and fantastic music. It is the Joy of Life. All music is that—it is a world in which you cannot roam.

"This world of 'La Joie de Vivre' is full of treasures. Think of the beautiful works of art, the paintings, such pictures as 'La Joconde.' There are all the wondrous works done by the great men in our cathedrals and churches. We have the tapestries of William Morris, the furniture and carvings of subtle craftsmen as Adams and Grinling Gibbons. It is a perpetual joy, the delicate beauties of Japanese lacquers. No one can schedule the treasures of Art!

"The world of Literature! From Job to Chaucer is an eternity of continual joy. There are thousands of great souls waiting to grasp our hands in friendship. They live in books. The mighty intellects of the world are waiting to pour their knowledge at our feet. Such is 'La Joie de Vivre.' It is to hold communion with such men as the writer of Ecclesiastes, and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, to laugh with Falstaff and to cry bitterly with Jane Eyre.

"This great land of ours, with its purling brooks, its pleasant meadows and the cornfields splashed with red poppies and blue cornflowers. England, with its hills and green dells, its rivers and the purple heather. All England is in that world of 'La Joie de Vivre.' So, too, the cry of little children and the song of the skylark.

"This world of 'La Joie de Vivre,' this world of Music, of Art, of Literature is for you, for all of us. It is the Promised Land. Why do you not enter? The gaunt spectre of Poverty, daughter of Greed—mother and daughter—stand before the portals. 'Open Sesame,' you cry, and the answer returns cruel and stern, 'This world is not for you. Back to your slums, to your mean and shabby streets, back to your ugly, hideous lives of grinding toil. Your pale miserable lives are not for "La Joie de Vivre." Toil to win bread that you may have strength to toil and then die! Die! dishonoured, broken, paupers!'"

Fennimore's voice sank almost to a whisper as he went on :—

"I'd rather you lose this strike and get a glimpse of 'La Joie de Vivre' than win and be blind. I want you to win. I want to make Socialists of you. There is but one path—that path is Socialism. Learn that lesson, and little else matters."

He sat down amid thunderous applause. Ella Marshall's eyes glittered, so, too, did Smith's. When the cheering ceased, Smith spoke.

"Friends, we have been given the straight tip to-night. We can see our way clearer now. If we lose this struggle, we shall fight again some other day; but we are out after 'La Joie de Vivre.' We are going on the road to Socialism." He stopped, half turned towards the table—

"I call on Miss Bonner." (Great cheers.)

Gertrude Bonner was startled to hear her name, was confused. Smith beckoned her forward. She rose, and walked slowly to the front.

"I ain't never made a speech in me life. I ain't really, now. Look 'ere, mates, Morrison 'ull take I back. I'll go if yer wants me to. Yes! under Bannister, too. I be going to 'ave some of them good things we's 'eard about ternight. Settle it 'ow yer like."

She sat down again. All was silence, then up jumped a committee man.

"Mr. Chairman, I move that you be instructed to make terms with Mr. Morrison."

Several in the hall jumped up and shouted, "I second," and loud cheering, with cries of "Agreed." Smith's face became pale. He was deeply agitated.

During the cheering the door at the side of the platform opened, and a man came up to the table with a note, which he handed to Smith.

Smith opened the note, and read. He jumped to his feet and gesticulated in silence.

He shouted, "Comrades! Comrades!"

Everyone stopped to listen. Smith held the paper in his hand and read out as follows—leaving out the description under Morrison's name :—

"Dear Mr. Smith,

"Kindly let the workpeople know that the factory will be opened to-morrow morning at 8. The following conditions of work will apply :—

"1. Times as usual, 8 to 5.

"2. Payment for overtime.

"3. No holiday payment, but employees may take a fortnight's leave annually.

"Yours faithfully,

"JOHN MORRISON

(for John Morrison and Son,
Branch of the Hurst Syndicate)."

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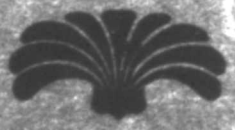

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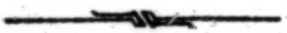

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BRITISH SOCIALIST.

Vol. II., No. 12. DECEMBER 15, 1913.

THE "SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT" AND "BRITISH SOCIALIST," 1897—1913.

By H. W. LEE.

With this number the "Social-Democrat" (latterly the "British Socialist") completes the sixteenth year of its existence as a monthly Socialist magazine and review. It was started in January, 1897, by our never-to-be-forgotten comrade, H. Quelch. It began as a twopenny magazine of 32 pages, and continued in that form for six years. At the beginning of 1903 it was increased to 64 pages, printed on thicker paper, and issued at 6d. But though the change was made in response to many requests for enlargement and improvement, the sale steadily diminished; and in 1908 it was reduced to threepence. The formation of the British Socialist Party took place at the end of 1911, and in January, 1912, the "Social-Democrat" became the "British Socialist."

There is no doubt whatever that Socialists frequently fail to appreciate at the moment the many good articles, reviews, and the reliable information concerning their international movement that is constantly set before them. It is in looking back on what has been published years ago that we see how much valuable work has been done by the many contributors who have voluntarily and cheerfully given of their best to the literary and journalist side of the Socialist cause. The pages of the past volumes of the "Social-Democrat" teem with matter that is of the greatest historical interest and value. There are "Personal Sketches" of leaders of the people—past and present. Biographies of Karl Marx, Robert Owen, Wilhelm Liebknecht, August Bebel, Sophie Perovskaia, George Julian Harney, the old Chartist, Auguste Blanqui, Henry George, William Morris, J. L. Joynes, and many others who have passed from us will be found, together with many who are living and working in the Socialist movement. There are articles innumerable on Socialist theory, policy and tactics; on matters of foreign policy, subject races, colonial questions; while the extracts from magazine articles on various economic and social questions have always been a feature of the "Social-Democrat." To it, too, our late comrade Quelch contributed a number of those excellent short stories to which Hyndman has frequently referred, and which, it is hoped, will soon be published in volume form; and at the time he contributed them anonymously. "Jim Carter's Last Day," "Only—he was a Socialist!" "Bread and Stones," and "In the Merry Christmas Time" are among some of his most powerful pieces depicting the awful daily tragedy of poorer working-class life; while "The Dynamiters," on the other hand, is delightfully humorous.

Then the articles—the volumes for 1899 to 1903 contain matter of a most valuable description regarding that infamy in South Africa which no one but ourselves would believe was going to happen even four weeks before hostilities began. In the volume for 1902, J. B.

Askew furnishes us with a translation of the discussion which took place in the "Neue Zeit" between E. Belfort Bax and Karl Kautsky on "The Materialist Conception of History." In the volume for 1903 there is the symposium on "Clericalism and Socialism," in which Vandervelde, Destrée, Vollmar, Simons, Iglesias, Kautsky, Bernstein, Knudsen, and a number of other leading Socialists of all countries took part. In that for 1904 there are the memoirs of Jean Allemane, who went through the Commune, and was banished to New Caledonia, whence he returned at the Amnesty to take his place in the ranks of the French Socialists. I recollect visiting his printery in the Rue Saint Sauveur, Paris, in 1889, where the "Prolétariat" was printed. The series of articles on the "Patriarchs of Socialism" began in 1904, and was continued the following year.

Page after page could be filled with descriptions of what has appeared. The Socialist movement in all countries has been dealt with; editorial notes on matters of the moment have been written each month: facts and figures, stories and sketches and poetry abound. Knowing how useful such a magazine should be to Socialists in this country, if they would only recognise the fact, it is all the more regrettable that I should have to announce that this number will be the last of the "British Socialist." The sale, which diminished with the alteration in size and price in 1903, has gone down steadily, and it went down still further with the alteration of the title from "Social-Democrat" to "British Socialist." Merely to publish a magazine at a loss for the sake of the comparative few who take it regularly is useless, and it has, therefore, been decided to discontinue the publication of the "British Socialist"—at all events, for the present. The loss arising from its publication can be much more serviceably applied to the enlargement and improvement of "Justice," which is a real necessity to the Socialist movement in this country. Sometimes the absence of a thing causes its value to be more

generally recognised than its presence. It is very likely to be the case with the "British Socialist." If that turns out to be so, and if it is shown later that there is a demand, as there undoubtedly ought to be, for a serious Socialist critical review in this country, then there will be no difficulty in bringing out one which in some respects may be an improvement on the "Social-Democrat," though it is difficult to see how it can be made more useful.

THE DANGERS OF "REFORMISM."

By Otto Bauer (Vienna).

(Translated from "Die Neue Zeit.")

The Annual Conference of the German Social-Democracy in Austria, which took place at Vienna during the first days of November, deserves also the attention of our comrades beyond the Austrian frontiers. For, however peculiar the forms of the proletarian class war under the special conditions of the Austrian State, however much it may differ from the simple, straight course it takes in other countries of homogeneous national structure, that Conference was dominated by the same great question that has been for many years the fundamental question at all international congresses and all national conferences of the International Social-Democracy—by the struggle between the Reformist and the Revolutionary Socialism. And it is all the more remarkable that this question should have been broached in the German-Austrian Social-Democracy, inasmuch as it is not differences about the theory of Socialism, but bitter experience in the political field, that placed the great problem of the Socialist movement on the agenda.

Up to 1904, the Austrian Social-Democratic Party was a small party. Between 1904 and 1907 it grew by leaps and bounds. The period of prosperity enabled the trade unions at that time to increase their membership enormously; in two or three years their membership grew from 189,000 to 501,000. An exceedingly great number of industrial fights resulted

in an increase of wages, a shortening of the hours of labour, and advantageous agreements. And to those great successes in industrial conflicts was added a great political victory. The military quarrel with Hungary, which forced the Crown to threaten the aristocratic Parliament with Universal Suffrage, induced the Austrian working class to start the fight for Universal Suffrage in Austria too. The Russian Revolution gave weight and impetus to that fight. Allied with Crown and Bureaucracy, the proletariat smashed the electoral privileges of the feudal aristocracy and the bourgeoisie.

That great victory brought new crowds of adherents into the camp of the Social-Democratic Party. But the mode of thought of those crowds was altogether *Reformist*. They had been gained for the Party by the force of our victories in the period between 1904 and 1907. They expected an indefinite number of such victories. Above all, they placed the most extravagant hopes in the new Parliament elected on a basis of universal and equal suffrage. The old Parliament of the privileged classes had done nothing for the workers; was it not reasonable to expect that things would change now that the proletariat, by a bold rush, had gained a "People's Parliament"? The workers were full of hope that the conquest of Universal Suffrage would be followed by a grand era of social reforms, by a peaceful and rapid ascent of the proletariat, a gradual "hollowing-out" of capitalism. That Reformist way of thinking of the mass of the workers was, in Austria, not the result of conscious Revisionist propaganda, but the inevitable sequel of the great victories of 1904 and 1907. But the Reformist hopes were also here destined to lead to bitter disappointments.

In the first place, the economic position of the working class became decidedly worse. A general rise of prices took place. In 1908 we passed through a severe economic crisis. The recovery from that crisis was impeded, in 1909, by the threat of war, following the annexation of Bosnia, and in 1910 and 1911 by the

effect of two bad harvests. But in the autumn of 1912 there occurred, on account of the Balkan troubles, a crisis of such severity as had not been experienced in Austria since the seventies. The employers' organisations, which had become strong in consequence of the great successes of the trade unions in the preceding period, made use of that state of trade which was so unfavourable to the workers. Since 1907, the wages of fully-employed workers have risen much more slowly than the prices of food and rent. The wages of a great part of the working class were considerably reduced by means of short time. And tens of thousands have been out of work for many months.

It was at that time of terrible working-class misery that the ominous change of the foreign policy of Austria-Hungary took place. The Balkan policy of the Monarchy, a peaceful and quiet policy in the period of the Mürgsteg Agreement (1903-1908), became violent and dangerous from the time that Count Ahrenthal, by announcing the intention of building the Sandjak Railway, had torn to pieces the agreement with Russia. The annexation of Bosnia and the hostility shown to Servia during the last year brought Austria-Hungary twice during four years within serious danger of war. Twice during four years great portions of the Army were placed on a war footing. Last year, tens of thousands of reservists, tens of thousands of heads of families, were for fully eight months under arms near the Servian frontier. Militarism was redoubling its efforts. In 1911, Austria, which up to then had had no considerable Navy, proceeded to build a Dreadnought squadron. In 1912, the annual number of recruits was at one stroke increased by one-half. Concurrently with this the attitude of the governing classes toward the Social-Democratic Party underwent a change. In 1905 and 1906 the working-class had been the ally of the Crown against the Parliament of privilege, and now Social-Democracy, the only serious opponent of Imperialism and Militarism, was regarded as the enemy. The administrative authorities and the law courts now

showed themselves more hostile to the working class than ever.

Parliament proved itself impotent and without influence in face of that development. The introduction of a universal and equal suffrage had widened, complicated, intensified the struggles of the Austrian nations for the power in the State. Nations which the old electoral system had prevented from being heard could only develop their historical rôle in full after the democratisation of the suffrage. Such was the case with the Ruthenians and the Slovenes. The development of latter years has strengthened the self-consciousness of both of them. In the case of the Ruthenians, the cause of this was the Russian Revolution, and in the case of the Slovenes it was the victories of the southern Slavs on the Balkan Peninsula. Young, unsatisfied, with as yet no social differentiation, the whole power of their people is being concentrated in their fights for a University, for a reform of the suffrage for their Diet*, or for a greater representation (share) in the bureaucracy. And as the smaller nations can never hope to obtain a majority in the Imperial Parliament for their demands, they make use of the weapon of *obstruction* in order to enforce the fulfilment of their wishes. But the greater nations—Germans, Czechs, Poles—did not dare to take that weapon away from them. For they also have neither of them a majority in Parliament. Also they are each of them afraid of the possibility of being vanquished by a coalition hostile to them. Each of them, therefore, desires to retain for itself the possibility of obstruction. As every nation has come to regard the right of obstruction as an indispensable means of defence, Parliament had to submit to two dozen Ruthenians and Slovenes again and again making all Parliamentary work impossible. The popular representative body becoming incapable of deciding anything, bureaucracy usurped the power

* The Diets are the local or State Legislatures of the various States constituting the Austrian Monarchy.—TRANSLATOR.

of deciding things. By means of the notorious Section 14 of the fundamental State Law it forced on the Empire laws without the consent of the Imperial Parliament.

But also in times in which Parliament was not hamstrung by obstruction, things were far different from what the mass of the proletariat had hoped. In Austria, too, the intensification of class antagonism has grown at an exceedingly quick rate. The trade-union successes drove the small traders (i.e., the small master class employing themselves, or one or two journeymen; a class still numerous in Austria.—TRANSLATOR) into the arms of the great captains of industry. The growth of the co-operative societies has filled the small shopkeepers with wild hatred for the working class. Fights about the corn duties and the prohibition of the cattle import, and the rise of wages in agriculture in consequence of a shortness of labour on the land, have mobilised peasant and landlord against Social-Democracy. The tendency in the direction of uniting the whole of the possessing classes against the proletariat was strengthened by the electoral reform. Formerly, the middle-class parties had been able to fight each other undisturbed in the electoral classes,* but now all of them saw themselves menaced by the Social-Democracy. Except for the small band of Radicals, all middle-class parties in the German-speaking parts of the Monarchy united against the Social-Democratic Party. In Parliament, all attempts to obtain protective Labour legislation met with the resistance of all middle-class parties. Here, the "one reactionary mass" has become a reality.

So things had turned out quite differently from what the people had hoped. Instead of the expected era of "positive achievements," of social reforms, of the "hollowing out of capitalism," we had a period of high prices, of economic crisis, of armaments and

* The old Austrian franchise was similar to the existing Prussian franchise: men paying the highest taxes voting in the first class, others in the second, etc.—TRANSLATOR.

mobilisations, of nationalist obstruction, of absolutist dictatorship, of the coalition of all the middle-class parties against us, and of stagnation in all social legislation.

At first, the mass of the people were hoping to be able to stem the tide of development by skilful tactics. From 1905 till 1907 we had succeeded, by an alliance with the Crown, in breaking the resistance of the nobility and the middle classes against an equal suffrage. Even after the electoral reform many still believed in the possibility of a co-operation of the International Social-Democracy with the Government of the International Austrian States against middle-class Nationalism. The presence of some Social-Democrats at the reading of the King's Speech in 1907* and Pernerstorffer's visit to the Court were symptoms of that feeling. But ever since the Crown turned away from Democracy, since it made its peace again with the feudal aristocracy of Hungary and dropped universal and equal suffrage for Hungary (the Austrian Emperor, as King of Hungary, has promised the Hungarian people universal and equal suffrage, but the fulfilment of that promise has hitherto been frustrated by the unscrupulous Hungarian landocracy dominating the present Hungarian Parliament.—TRANSLATOR), and instituted Tisza's dictatorship; ever since Imperialism and Militarism forced the working class to fight against the policy of the governing class—the hope of a co-operation, such as was possible in 1905 and 1906, has flown. Immediately after the crisis occasioned by the annexation of Bosnia, the Party Conference of Reichenberg (1909) declared that tactical experiments like Pernerstorffer's going to Court must not be repeated.

As it had proved impossible to gain the expected social reforms by an alliance with the Government, it

* It should be stated here, as an explanation, that the Socialist M.P.'s in the Continental Monarchies generally ostentatiously refrain from being present at the reading of the King's Speech, so as to demonstrate their Republicanism.—TRANSLATOR.

was now decided to enforce them by fighting against the Government. From 1905 till 1907 street demonstrations had been our chief weapon, and as street demonstrations had brought victory under specially favourable circumstances—it was the time of the military differences with Hungary and the Russian Revolution—the mass of the people were inclined to think that street demonstrations were under all circumstances, at all times, an infallible weapon. In fighting the great rise in prices that weapon was used repeatedly. But when peaceable street demonstrations proved of no avail, the masses turned street demonstrations into open revolt, in spite of all exhortations and warnings of their leaders. Nothing was achieved by this but the sanguinary vengeance of the State.

Being powerless to change by themselves the course of evolution, people placed their hope again in their representatives in Parliament. They still believed that the hoped-for successes could not fail to turn up if only their representatives made use of all appropriate means. At times that obsession of the masses showed itself in a very naive manner. For instance, an organisation composed of workers employed in the workshops of the State Railways once threatened to withhold their contributions to the Party if our Parliamentary members did not at last get the wages of the State Railway workers raised! The conviction that it was only the wrong tactics of our members that were at fault if the hoped for "successes" were not forthcoming got an increasingly firm grip on many of the members of our Party. Gradually that conviction grew into a demand for obstruction in Parliament. People heard that two dozen Ruthenians had succeded in stopping all work in Parliament. Why did our own members not do the same thing? Why were they satisfied with speaking and voting against the Government instead of forcing concessions for the working class by means of obstruction?

Thus it came about that the branches of Vienna-Meidling and Graz submitted resolutions to the Party

Conference in which they demanded that the Parliamentary Party should not be satisfied with mere opposition, but should obstruct the Government Bills, especially the demands for the Army, until the Old Age and Invalidity Insurance and some pressing social reforms had been obtained. That the ideas underlying those resolutions are widely spread was undoubtedly shown in the debates at the Conference. A portion of the Viennese delegates, the delegates from Styria, Salzburg, and Vorarlberg were in favour of those resolutions.

The Executive Committee of the Party and the Members of Parliament spoke against them. They pointed to the Austrian situation. The obstruction in the Bohemian Diet that had already been going on for years led to a bureaucratic absolutism taking the place of the autonomous State administration that had been destroyed by obstruction. A simular state of things was developing also in Galicia. Soon the Diets would be superseded in all the States of Austria with a mixed national population, and their places would be taken by "Administrative Commissions" appointed by the Government. Obstruction had prepared the way for absolutism in the States, and the same thing would happen in the Empire. No Parliament could exist if now one, now another, party prevented its working by obstruction. If Parliament became incapable of coming to decisions, they would be placed before the alternative of either having a reform of the Parliamentary Standing Orders which would make all obstruction impossible, and would thus subject all minorities to the untrammelled domination of the majority for the time being, or the complete setting aside of Parliament—Absolutism.

Hitherto obstruction had been the weapon in the war of nationalities. If the Social-Democrats made use of that weapon, it would become a weapon of the class war. Every class would use it; to-day it would be the workers, to-morrow the guild people (small employers or traders.—TRANSLATOR); one day the

Agrarians, and then again the great industrial employers. Socio-political obstruction would entirely destroy Parliament, and help Absolutism to get hold of the reins of government. It could not be their work to destroy Parliament; on the contrary, it would in future be their duty to co-operate in endeavours to reform the Standing Orders so as to restrict the possibilities of obstruction, restore the right of the majority to decide (without which Parliament was not possible), and thus protect Parliament against the growing danger of Absolutism.

The Conference could not deny the force of these arguments. After a lengthy debate a motion of the delegates from German Bohemia was adopted in which obstruction was rejected as a normal Parliamentary weapon, and was declared to be only applicable as a last extreme means of Parliamentary defence.

But, however important that decision might be, it does not constitute the great achievement of the Conference. A matter of much greater importance is that the debate on obstruction led to a discussion about our whole relation to Parliamentarism and the bourgeois State itself. The whole debate was based on the recognition that there is no greater danger for our Party than the illusion that all that was wanted to usher in an era of positive successes, social reforms, an era of the "hollowing-out" of capitalism (permeating capitalism, we would say in Great Britain.—TRANSLATOR), was tactical skill. The whole debate was based upon the recognition that it is of vital interest for the Party to lead back the mass of the people, who had been deceived by the great successes of 1904-1907, to the old Marxian teaching that capitalist development does not lead to peaceable, continual improvement, but to the greater misery of the proletariat, to increased exploitation, to an intensification of class antagonism, until we are strong enough to smash the whole world of capitalism! It was, above all, Victor Adler who explained it to our comrades in simple and plain words:—We should always be in a bad state if we wanted to

live by *being contented* with the successes we achieve in the capitalist State; our strength only grows out of the *discontent* with the whole world of capitalism! It is not an era of *Social Reform* that we can hope for, we can only hope for a great epoch of *Social Revolution!*

And with that change in our relationships to capitalism in general our relationship to the Austrian State in particular has changed. In the exultation of our suffrage victory the illusion had spread in our ranks that this Austria of ours could become an exemplary Democratic State, a second Switzerland, which would prove to the world that all nations could live together under the same roof in liberty and peace. The devastating interior troubles of these last years, and the catastrophic change for the worse that has taken place with regard to the European position of the Empire in consequence of the revolutions that have taken place in the Balkans, have destroyed that illusion. At this Party Conference it became evident for the first time *how badly the belief in the possibility of the continued existence of Austria has been shaken.*

The epoch of bourgeois revolution in the past created national States on the ruins of the old feudal and absolutist States. It left Austria to exist as a mere aggregation of remainders of nations that had been left over in the process of forming national States. It is an open question whether Austria, under the pressure of future revolutions, will be able to transform herself in some measure into a federal State of autonomous nations that will live, or whether she will have to fall to pieces and give up her nations to the national communities around us. In other countries it might be thinkable that the proletariat, peaceably pressing forward, will gain control over the machinery of the State; in our case it is clear that the machinery of the State that we could take possession of will first have to be forged in the great storms of European history.

Of course, these are no new thoughts. In Austria, too, there have always been comrades who warned us

against Reformist views, and who endeavoured to bring the mass of the people to the revolutionary way of thinking. But formerly they were rarely listened to, and then only by the few. At this last Conference it became evident, for the first time, that the whole of the public opinion in our Party is beginning to apprehend the dangers of Reformism; that our most responsible and trusted people, taught by bitter experience, recognise that the Reformist illusions only lead to disappointments for which the Party is made responsible; that, if the mass of the people are given exaggerated hopes of "positive achievements," and then when those achievements will not materialise the people will no longer make capitalism responsible for their misery, but they will hold Social-Democracy responsible—no longer will they blame the governing classes, but their own representatives.

It will certainly not be easy to change the mode of thought of the great mass of the proletariat. Years of educational work are necessary for that, and not only verbal education but also that acquired through experience. But the fact that the Vienna Conference made the first step in this educational work gives it a special importance in the history of our Party.

That is why that Conference is also deserving of the attention of our comrades outside of Austria. Austria has so often been pointed out as a pattern of international Reformism, and the Austrian Social-Democracy has been lauded by the Revisionists of all countries as an example to be followed. Well, Austria has now demonstrated to the whole of the International the dangers of exclusive Reformism. Our experience can be a lesson and warning to the Parties in other countries.

A SONG OF ENDEAVOUR.

By Eliana Twynam.

Courage, Dear Heart! In spite of wintry weather,
And steps oft faltering o'er the hard, rough road,
We'll bear each other's burdens, thus together,
By sharing suffering, lighten half its load.
Were we apart—each loveless left, and lonely,
And crushed beneath a weight we could not lift;
Striving to rise, but to sink deeper only,
Through wild, bare wastes of dread Despair to drift,
Till we were lost—sunk in th' o'erwhelming ocean
Of Misery, by Anguish toss'd, torn, riven,
Starved, speechless, senseless—stirred by no emotion,
Drown'd, "dead and done for," after having striven.
Could it so be, 't were madness to endeavour—
Were all our strength in struggling spent in vain;
Were we foredoom'd to failure—fated never
Ambition's visionary goal to gain!
Ah! crude, harsh, soul-enslaving creeds, that fetter,
Or drive to crime, or snare to suicide—
Hope in Humanity is, surely, better;
And effort *is* worth while, whate'er betide.
Hope's "charm" to cure lone lives of selfish sadness
Is Comradeship: in others' interests share;
Sow Sympathy, to reap reward in Gladness,
Find "fellow-feelings" here—there—everywhere!
Shun Solitude! Grow rich in freely giving
Thought, time, and talents for the common good:
So will we work that life shall be worth living,
And Socialism better understood.

Tottenham, 1913.

THE MONTH.

The municipal elections of November 1 have been among the most satisfactory features of the year for Socialist and Labour activities. Taking the elections throughout the country, both Liberals and Tories lost seats. The gains were to the Socialists and Labour candidates. They won 75 seats and lost 15, which meant a gain of 60 seats all told. This is extremely satisfactory, especially in view of the " rebel " cold water that had been splashed upon working-class political action for many months previously.

In addition to the general political Labour advance which is shown in the results of the municipal elections, the British Socialist Party has good reason to congratulate itself upon the votes that were recorded for the candidates of the Party. It had eight gains and one loss. On the whole this is a very good result when we take into consideration the general belittlement of political action which has been a feature of some of the " rebel " agitation to which we have been subjected. But much more might have been done had the branches of the B.S.P. which put forward candidates for the municipal elections made more strenuous efforts to increase the number of votes that were recorded for their candidates. When a Socialist candidate is put forward for a municipal election, surely it should be the one aim of the comrades to secure his return on definite, sane Socialist lines. Sometimes, perhaps, it would be better for us if we reserved our energies for the advocacy of our Socialist proposals rather than exhaust them by too many attacks on our opponents. Anyhow, the B.S.P. has done so well relatively during last month as to encourage the whole of the branches to prepare in the most vigorous manner possible for the municipal elections of November, 1914.

The lock-out in Dublin has taken precedence of everything else in the industrial world. Nothing much has happened industrially

as regards the lock-out itself. The position at the end of the month is practically the same as it was at the beginning. But what is of particular interest to Socialists is the fact that the political element was brought prominently to the fore. Larkin had been sentenced to seven months' imprisonment. Meetings were held all over the country demanding his release. Many of these meetings were held, let it be understood, quite outside of the trade unions. There was, in fact, a public feeling created on behalf of Larkin and in favour of the locked-out labourers of Dublin far beyond that which would have been influenced through the ordinary trade union channels. In Government circles, rightly or wrongly, their electoral reverses were attributed largely to the popular feeling against the sentence on Larkin. We are inclined to think that too much altogether was made of this incident in so far as it affected the electoral results. But Larkin was released. That was in itself a triumph for the forces against the present Liberal Government, which is continually exhibiting weakness and tyranny alternately in its dealings with public questions of the day.

As regards Larkin himself, a wonderful and spontaneous tribute has been paid to him from all parts of Great Britain. He has been generally recognised as having borne aloft the banner of organised labour in Dublin, and to have lifted it above the ordinary trade unionist level. That is not to say that the demands which the Irish Transport Workers have made have exceeded those which would ordinarily be put forward by average trade unionists; but there has unquestionably been in the Dublin dispute an element which has been regarded as being above the ordinary trade dispute.

Certainly no labour dispute of recent years has been accorded so great a measure of support as that of Dublin. The trade unions of England have splendidly supported the men locked out. Over £70,000 has been received by the Parliamentary Committee of the Trades Union Congress, and has been expended by providing food and clothing for the men, women and children who have been called upon to undergo the privations of a long industrial struggle. This display of solidarity has been the more striking in that it has come from Great Britain to Ireland. The trade unionists of this country do not know how much their Continental comrades were struck by the sending of food ships across St. George's Channel, and the praise they have showered upon that action.

The by-elections which have taken place during the month have told all against the Government, with the exception of Keighley. In Linlithgow the Liberal majority was reduced from 2,070 to 521; in Reading it was altogether wiped out, and the Unionist candidate elected with a majority of 1,131. In Keighley the Liberal majority was increased by 53, but the Labour candidate, Bland, increased the Labour vote by 191 as compared with that polled by W. C. Anderson at the last election. This is the more encouraging in that Bland was a local candidate who had just before been defeated at the municipal elections. The Liberals naturally made the most of Keighley, though it was not much that they could make of it.

Reading, however, was the surprise. The Liberals hardly expected to retain the seat; the Unionists thought they might capture it; the Socialists hoped to influence it. As a matter of fact, our comrade Butler's poll exceeded altogether the expectations of those who were taking an active part in the contest. The 1,063 votes recorded for him shows what can be done by a Socialist candidate who will do as much as he can to enter into the local life of his constituency, and to take the side of the workers in whatever local trade disputes may occur. Butler's vote must be attributed more to what he did beforehand than to the organised efforts in the by-election itself.

The "passive resistance" movement of the Indians from Natal, and the strikes and disturbances which afterwards took place, are bound to have a serious effect, far beyond South Africa. When indentured Indian labour was introduced into Natal, the Transvaal and Orange River were Boer Republics. Then came the South African war, and the incorporation of those territories in the British Empire with General Botha on top. Nothing could have better portrayed the British domination of South Africa than "Punch's" cartoon for its Almanack at that time, giving four horses—Cape Colony, Natal, Orange River, and Transvaal—with Louis Botha driving them!

When once all South Africa became British, why should the Indians in Natal be restricted solely to that Colony? That was a question that would necessarily arise. They also were British subjects. As long as the Transvaal was an independent Boer Republic, it had the right to say whether they should or

should not be admitted. But when Ghandi led the Indians in Natal across the Transvaal border as a protest against the poll-tax and the general restrictions on their movements, he and some of his companions were at once arrested under the Immigration Act of South Africa, and sentenced to terms of imprisonment by the court at Volksrust.

Then came the strikes of the Indian coolies in Natal. Sugar plantations, coal mines, railways, and the harbour at Durban were affected. Collisions took place between the coolies and the police, and it must be acknowledged that the latter were almost forced to retaliate. In these collisions some Indians were killed and a number wounded. All these incidents were quickly transmitted to India, where they were soon made known over the whole of that vast area. But what roused Indian feeling more than anything else was the reported flogging and ill-treatment of the Indians who were imprisoned. So much feeling was thus created that the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, was forced to make a protest to the Union Government of South Africa, which was naturally resented in turn. We see here a most striking instance of the marked antagonism that is likely to occur with increasing frequency between those portions of the British Empire governed by the Crown and the self-governing Colonies which have their own particular interests to see after.

THE EVENTS OF NOVEMBER.

AT HOME.

1—Municipal Elections; considerable Socialist and Labour gains. Albert Hall meeting to demand Larkin's release.

4—Mr. J. Quincy (O'Brienite) returned unopposed for North Cork. British Trade Union representatives arrive in Dublin.

6—Coats's Cotton Combine declare big dividend, and increase reserve by £500,000.

7—Death of Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace.
Postmaster-General refuses to go beyond recommendations of Holt Committee.
Linlithgow Bye-Election: Pratt (L.), 5,615; Kidd (U.), 5,094; Liberal majority reduced from 2,070 to 521.

8—Reading Bye-Election: Wilson (U.), 5,144; Gooch (L.), 4,013; Butler (B.S.P.), 1,063; Liberal majority of 99 becomes Tory majority of 1,131.
Postal Strike at Christmas threatened.

11—Keighley Bye-Election: Buckmaster (L.), 4,730; Lascelles (U.), 3,852; Bland (Lab.), 3,646; Liberal majority increased from 825 to 878; Labour vote increased by 191.

—Deadlock in Dublin.

13—Larkin released.

14—First public sitting of Railway Commission.

16—Larkin speaks at Free Trade Hall, Manchester.

18—Dublin Housing Inquiry opened.

19—Trade Union Parliamentary Committee decides to hold Special Congress on Dublin situation on December 9.
Larkin speaks at Albert Hall.

21—Larkin issues manifesto to English Trade Unionists.

26—County of London Electric Supply Company suggests amalgamation of electric companies, the combined capital of which would exceed £14,000,000.

27—Mr. Asquith denies necessity for General Election.

30—Shipbuilding shows slight decline.

ABROAD.

2—General Election in Italy. Great Socialist successes.

3—Karl Liebknecht gives evidence in Krupp trial.

4—Yuan Shih-Tang dissolves the Democratic Opposition Party.

U.S. Elections: "Tammany" defeated in New York. Russell (Socialist Party) polls 32,000 votes.

7—Conclusion of Krupp Trial; slight sentences on Brandt and Eccius.

10—End of Kieff Trial; Beiliss acquitted.

French Chamber re-affirms adhesion to Proportional Representation.

Disturbances in Zabern, Alsace.

11—Graeco-Turkish Treaty initialled.

Two Labour Members suspended in Australian House o Representatives.

14—Mr. Ghandi sentenced to three months' imprisonment at Volksrust under Immigration Act.

16—General Huerta defiant; Juarez captured by Constitutionalists.

Portugese Elections give Alfonso Costa clear majority over all Opposition Parties.

18—Rio Tinto Strike ends; men gain partial success.

Serious riots of Indian coolies at Elandslaagte (Natal); 5,000 on strike at Durban.

19—Krupp profit stated to be £1,830,000 for past year; 14 p.c. dividend declared.

20—Spread of Indian Strike in Natal.

21—French Coal Strike General in the Department of the Nord.

22—India becoming roused over treatment of fellow-countrymen in South Africa.

25—Four Indians killed and ten wounded in fight with police at Esperanza, South Natal; strike spreads to Zululand.

26—Lord Hardinge, Indian Viceroy, speaks out against treatment of Indians in South Africa.

27—Another fight between Indians and police at Hillhead plantation; six Indians killed and several wounded.

28—Arrests of Indians in Natal and Zululand.

30—Rioting in Zabern on account of arbitrary arrests of civilians by military.

LABOUR CENTRALISATION IN BELGIUM.

Report from "Le Peuple" of a Speech by Emile Vandervelde, at Flémalle.

(Translated by LEONARD J. SIMONS.)

In Belgium just now there is a movement towards greater centralisation, not only of the trade unions, but also of the many other Labour organisations with a Socialist tendency—co-operatives, leagues, mutualities and so forth. To help to persuade the miners of Flémalle, near Liège, to join in this movement, the Syndicate of Miners organised a meeting in the Maison du Peuple, under the presidency of Omer Maisin, vice-president of the Provincial Council, Citizen Donnay making a speech to introduce the principal speaker, Emile Vandervelde. First Citizen Donnay spoke of the activity of the Labour movement in Flémalle since the rising in 1886, the better-paid miners having established a flourishing Socialist Co-operative and built the Maison du Peuple. Just because of their success and self-confidence they had become "localist." He added: "The fact that our organisations were the most powerful in the region incited us to have confidence in ourselves only. We have the faults of our qualities. The people of Flémalle are not always the first to take action, but once in action they are the last to leave the field. There is good in stubbornness when the action is limited, but it becomes perilous when principles are concerned which must serve as a basis for general proletarian action."

Emile Vandervelde began by saying that the organisation at Flémalle ought to become one of the best regiments in the "Centrale" of miners. Centralisation was a fundamental law of the modern world in the domains both of politics and economics.

"Some centuries ago," he continued, "Belgium was simply a federation of communes. Later these were subordinated to provinces, and the 17 provinces formed a State, which, after one division, became Belgium. Although the State is at the head, the parish spirit has persisted. That is a benefit, especially under a Government like ours, in order to be able to resist the central power. The central power, however, is useful for the establishment of railways, postal service and all those things of which the scattered provinces and communes are incapable.

"Just as centralisation has come about in the political sphere, so it has in the economic. Formerly each worked at home; then there has been seen the birth of manufacture, the factory and the joint stock company. These last are federating, constituting cartels, syndicates, and then trusts, which at a given moment will draw together a whole industry. And the moment when we see the employers create formidable organisations you will be crushed, if in your turn you do not create powerful unions.

"Centralisation is beginning in the sphere of trade unionism also. Formerly there were only local unions, confined to a single coal mine or to a workshop. Next they were federated, and in recent times there have appeared the centralised unions which group together all the workers in one union.

"At the beginning of 1913 there were at the 'Commission Syndicale' 131,000 members. What was the number of members still remaining in the local syndicates? 8,037. On the other hand, in the Federations and central unions there were 123,368 members. It was a handful of men then who remained without a link of understanding ('rapport') binding them to the great mass of the workers' army.

"The immense majority of organised workers believed that only by labour centralisation could the centralisation of the employers be resisted.

"But I must add that 15,534 members of the local unions of Seraing, Ougree, and Saint-Gilles were not affiliated to the 'Commission Syndicale.' If these comrades had been included in the figures, there would have been more than 140,000 members at the 'Commission Syndicale.' Well, since then our comrades have understood their duty. Only a few remain out; and these latter, you know who they are? They are yourselves.

"And why do we want centralisation? Because it is the only force which allows us to resist the employing class. And what is this centralisation which is going on throughout the country, as with the metal workers, or throughout a province, as with the miners?

"It is in the first place a financial centralisation; all the members pay the same contribution, which goes to the same account. In the next place it is centralisation from the administrative point of view. Instead of having local secretaries who have but little time, there are placed at the head of the centralised syndicates many who can give to them every moment of their time, and who manage the finances and direct the trade union life.

"Lastly, centralisation is for the working class the possibility of conducting movements together against the employers with a discipline which will never be obtained by local unions.

"The trade union movement has made enormous progress everywhere. For 25 years I have seen it enlarge and grow in success to a degree of which I never dreamed. Do you know how

many workers there are organised in trade unions? More than 13 millions in the industrial world—nearly twice the population of Belgium. Ah, certainly they are not all Socialists, but at the office of the Socialist International there are the affiliations of more than six millions, almost as many as the population of Belgium.

"But, comrades of Flémalle, you do not count in these statistics; you are nothing but a small battalion lost in the plain.

"There are on the one side 6,000,000 trade unionists, and on the other 1,800 miners of Flémalle who think that they are stronger remaining alone and isolating themselves more and more.

"I consider that that they are wrong, because in the whole world localism is falling back, and centralisation advances constantly.

"To prove it, I will not propose to you to make a tour of the world; that would be too long; but I am going to take three countries which well represent characteristic types in the trade union movement. France, the country of localism; England, the country of federations, which form the transition between localism and centralism; and Germany, the country of centralised unions.

"France is a country where industry is less developed, and develops less rapidly, than elsewhere. It is that which explains the tendencies towards localism and Anarchism seen in the C.G.T., where the groups of revolutionary syndicates are in the majority. What is their structure? They are local groups, impregnated by the spirit of localism, and bound together by the rather obscure bond of federalism. French comrades used to be very proud of this organisation. They would say: 'The Germans are levying machines ("machines à cotiser"), but a revolutionary people like ourselves cannot mould ourselves to centralisation. The C.G.T. is the receptive apparatus of the local organisms. And these local organisms have no need of money.' The French used to say also that strikes must be multiplied, that they must devote themselves to a kind of revolutionary gymnastics in view of the general strike. Further, they proclaimed that the syndicate was self-sufficing, that direct action ought to be predominant, that Parliamentarism was no good, and that everything should come within the revolutionary action of the syndicates federated by the C.G.T.

"For several years these ideas were spread among the masses. The employers, taken by surprise on the occasions of strikes, were obliged sometimes to yield, and the French held to the idea that in this way they obtained more than by others.

"But in the end the employers organised themselves too, and a whole series of attempts at a general strike of French trade unions were met by lamentable checks. And to-day in the most important organisations, whether it be admitted or not, they are contemplating the creation of more solid federations which approach towards centralisation. The tactics of our French comrades have met with failure, and reorganisation is imperative.

"Passing now to an older type of trade union, those in England. They are still quite a long way from complete centralisation. The localist spirit still has a real power in England. They are satisfied in the very strongest organisations with provincial or district centres. Such is, for instance, the English Federation of Miners."

Our Belgian comrade then spoke in glowing terms of the "general strike of miners" in 1912 in England, the organisation of which was, he said, so admirable and pacific that "the heavy machine of Parliament was then seen to put itself in motion. Now, you know how many years it sometimes takes to pass a measure of reform. Well, it was sufficient that a million men placed themselves on strike for the House of Commons in 48 hours to legislate, and the House of Lords, capitulating in its turn, did justice to the miners' claims.*

"Do you think, comrades, that if the English miners had been dispersed in local unions—each for himself and God for all—they would have triumphed? No, it is because they were united strongly that they have conquered, and that alone shows that centralisation is imperative.

"If you have doubts as to the power of centralisation, it would be enough to go to Germany, where there is one single organisation for all the country, and one single cash account. In 1902, the centralised syndicates included 733,000 members. They had an income of £552,000, and they expended £442,000. In 1909 the number of members was 1,852,000, with an income of £2,512,000, and an expenditure of £2,280,000. In 1911 these figures reached respectively 2,300,000, £3,000,000 and £2,400,000. In 1913 the unions counted 2,700,000 members, and a fund of more than £4,000,000.

"Would you like an idea of the power that centralisation gives them? The unions keep their funds at the Deutsche Bank. Well, recently this bank had a conflict with its employees. The Union 'Centrale' took the part of the latter and threatened to withdraw its funds. To avoid the disaster of a withdrawal of £4,000,000, the bank gave satisfaction to its staff. Do you feel the power of the German syndicates, and do you not understand that it is centralisation which gives it to them?

"Do you remember the last days of the Commune, when, driven at bay by Versailles, each of the fedérés defended his quarter, his street? Resistance would have been possible had action been taken with a united discipline. That being lacking, the Commune was crushed.

"Well, in the proletarian battle also efforts must be co-ordinated,—the funds must be accumulated and the syndicates centralised.

* If any miners read this, they will no doubt make allowances for an orator's licence.—TRANSLATOR.

"Your local trade unions resemble centralised unions to the extent that sailing boats resemble Dreadnoughts. With your sailing vessels you will be sunk by the capitalist squadrons. The only means of conquering them is to oppose them with Dreadnoughts of centralisation. And we need all our forces.

"For the first time, perhaps, the chiefs of industry, and, in a way, the bourgeois class generally, have come to understand that the workers, marching in agreement, possess a formidable power. And they have said that the hour has come to put the brake on the progress of Socialism. We must expect a fierce and constant war to the knife.

"It began on the morrow of the general strike. This has been proved at Seraing and at Ougree. In Brussels the hatters and the carriage-builders have been brutally driven back. It has manifested itself, too, at Antwerp and at Charleroi, and it threatens to extend still further.

"And how will you become strong?

"Is it in isolating yourselves in your village, in "tête-à-têtes" all to yourselves, or in joining the Provincial Centrale of the Liège miners, who, themselves, are part of that army of 6,000,000 trade unionists, of that workers' international above which floats the red flag?"

ALFONSO COSTA: THE MOST EXECRATED RULER IN EUROPE.

Despite that unexpected failure to blow Premier Costa of Portugal to pieces, which is a source of such chagrin to the Royalists of Europe, there seems little doubt that the great Republican's life is in dire peril. The female members of his household would not, at last accounts, let him out of their sight. He drinks nothing unless it is first tasted by one of his nieces. When he goes to bed the room is searched for bombs. Even the linen of the household is no longer sent to the laundry, lest one of the doctor's shirts be returned with a deadly coat of some subtle poison on the bosom.

Never was mortal more serene than Costa as he dedicates himself to liberty in the shadow of death, we read in the Lisbon "Mundo," his own inspired organ, although the less friendly London "Post" pictures the man trembling behind the lines of bayonets between him and the vengeance of mankind. His eyes —furtive and cruel, according to the British daily, but frank and benevolent in the character sketch of the Portuguese paper—wear themselves out nightly over fresh decrees for the extension of his country's liberty. What is left of his hair grows whiter visibly with every fresh attempt to slay him, notes the monarchical "Gaulois" (Paris). He is thinner than he was. The scholarly stoop of the shoulders is accentuated. The mouth quivers when the dictator is striving most to conceal his agitation. For a man in his prime, he walks slowly, totteringly. The expression of the typically Latin face is stern, almost forbidding. The old smile is gone.

The brain of Costa is as keen as ever, perhaps more subtle. In asserting so much, the "Indépendance Belge" (Brussels) adds that the Premier of Portugal is one of the very clever men of this age. Destiny has pent him up in a parish, but he has the genius to rule a world. Few men have his intimate knowledge of the sciences, his insight into human character, his brilliance in speech. He took charge of an invalid Republic when it seemed doomed, and he has foiled Royalists who were rich when he could not pay his own troops. In a land of illiterates he has set a school system on its feet. His sway over a fussy and talkative Parliament has been absolute. He is to-day the most execrated of mankind, no doubt, but that circumstance is the Royalist tribute to his person-

ality, his efficiency. He has exemplified the will to rule by striking terror into the foes of the Republic. The Church is against him, the Powers distrust him, high finance will not recognise him, and conspiracy plans one attempt after another upon his life. He makes the most daring Socialistic experiments. He defies his own followers to unhorse him. He lives in a chronic financial and political crisis. He gets on in spite of everything. The triumph, we read, is one of personality alone.

The foundation of Costa's character, says the French daily, is its decision. He has the precious gift of knowing not only what to do, but when to do it. The adamantine firmness of his determination goes with a softness of speech, a sweetness of manner, and a readiness to listen which impart to this man of iron many of the aspects of a dressed doll. He has the neatness and newness of look of a dressed doll with his well-brushed boots, his impeccable linen and the American crease in his trousers. How different that right-hand man of his, Doctor Brito Camacho—all Republican leaders in Portugal are doctors—so careless of dress, so brusque in speech, so averse to society! Costa is politeness itself, his most cutting sarcasm being expressed in terms of a very polished courtesy. His readiness at retort, by which he saves difficult situations, is deemed miraculous. When his kitchen blew up one day as a result of fresh Royalist attentions, he remarked to the guest in the dining room: "I have escaped another attack of indigestion." His stomach is not strong. That is why he lives so much on fruit. But his self-control is perfect. The last time he was poisoned he superintended the working of the stomach pump cheerfully.

Although Costa is denounced in the Clerical Press of Europe as an Atheist, denying God and worshipping reason in the French revolutionary manner, it seems, from the Belgian daily just named, that he believes in a supreme being. Like so many of the revolutionists in Lisbon, he has read Comte with admiration. He has the modern mind, going in for eugenics, disarmament and political equality of the sexes. His scientific interests keep him still in his laboratory, where he loves to make experiments with agar preparations and with stained bacteria. His knowledge of medicine is vouched for as wide and practical. He has the professional unction of the Latin medical man and the catlike tread of one used to the sick-room. He has the Portuguese head, finely rounded, with the romantic dark eye and poetical melancholy of expression due to the intimacy of former contact with the Moors. Quick as are Costa's gestures, they are always perfectly graceful, even aristocratic. He takes pains to conceal that through one of his grandfathers he is a descendant of a Court favourite under King John. Costa is most anxious to be deemed self-made and plebeian. He is a trifle vain of his rise to greatness under difficulties.

All the intimates of Costa deny the "blood lust," the sanguinary moods, the love of cruelty of which so much is made in the London

"Post" and other Conservative European dailies. They paint him as a monster, lurking for the well-born, inventing tortures for men and women of noble birth in dungeons. He is accused of turning Roman Catholic faith into a mockery by gross allusions to the mystery of the immaculate conception. His talk has been described as a string of blasphemies. The sight of a priest, we read in one or two monarchical pamphlets, makes Costa froth at the mouth. These impressions of the man, according to the Socialist "Avanti" of Rome, and the Radical "Chronicle" of London, are caricatures. He is neither bloody nor blasphemous, and there are lines in the Lusiad which he cannot read without tears. His love for children is conspicuous, as the boys and girls of the Lisbon schools can attest. He led a crusade against child labour at a time when under the monarchy powerful vested interests threatened him with a loss of his livelihood. His favourite reading, it is added, includes the book of Job, Doctor Costa having a remarkable familiarity with the text of the Scriptures.

Only the exemplary patience of a Costa could contend, says the Italian Socialist daily, with the turbulence of the men he manages. There is Doctor José d'Almeida, for instance, the passionate, the impulsive, the eloquent, another right-hand man of the Premier's. He, like Camacho, is a pillar of Republican Radicalism; and he, like Camacho again, is for war to the hilt against reaction, for death to priests, for the immediate emancipation of Portuguese everywhere and a redistribution of wealth. Camacho is the champion of the working man. Between them they keep the Executive, the Legislature and the Judiciary in a turmoil; they organise strikes, and they make wholesale arrests of the enemies of liberty. Each time a fresh attempt is made upon the life of Costa, the pair of Publicists order more death warrants for political prisoners. There are hasty interventions by the Spanish Minister, the French Minister, the British Minister. At the crisis of the negotiations a Royalist bomb explodes under the floor again.

Now, we read in the "Avanti," Costa is most himself. Extracting a splinter from his cheek, he urges his followers, as they stream in, to retain their presence of mind for the sake of the Republic. If he is injured enough to be forced to bed, he ponders matters of high policy and relieves the monotony with the writings of the sublime thinkers. His philosophical resignation to circumstances, his high courage in the face of death, his noble scorn of the reactionary and the tyrant, and his disinterested devotion to the Socialistic ideal thrill our anti-Clerical contemporary, which, nevertheless, is suspicious of his politeness to the Portuguese bishops. At the risk of his own life, when he had a high fever, Costa, wounded, got up from his bed when last the Royalists under arms invaded the soil of the Republic. Even then, the daily from which we copy these details must remind us, the spirit of Costa made the episode imperishable. "Why," asked Senhor José, "is the Pretender risking his life here in this fashion?'" "If he stayed

in Spain any longer," replied Doctor Costa, "he'd have to get married." Whether the Portuguese statesman actually says the witty things put into his mouth or not, observes our authority, those who hear him talk agree that he has cleverness enough for a playwright. In his early days he picked up a precarious livelihood by writing for the flash gazettes. The Republican manifestoes reflect, we are asked to believe, the qualities of a florid but effective rhetoric for which he is famed.

The fundamental defect in Costa, according to a writer in the London "Times," is his extremism. He has the mind that cannot compromise. He is surrounded by a handful of doctrinaires, a set of fierce Radicals, who think themselves divinely appointed to usher in an era of universal happiness on earth. These men have made a cipher of the kindly Senhor Arriaga, their puppet President. When he was at the point of death recently they left him inadequately fed in a badly-ventilated dining hall of the palace to die or get well as he pleased. Costa, with grave face, signs decrees for the confiscation of church lands for the redemption of the National Debt with waste paper. If he took himself too seriously, the assassin, hired by the secret society now in power, would stab him to the heart. The efforts to slay Costa, it is hinted, are not all Royalist. The Carbonarios sent him a floral wreath on his last birthday. The wires were an ingenious bomb. Costa was too subtle to handle the gift, too subtle to avow his suspicions when it exploded on the dining-room table. His admirers in Oporto were so indignant at the trick that they set up a life-size statue of the Premier in Oporto made of silver. He is given a calm attitude on a pediment from which the three freedoms—of conscience, of speech, and of the Press—stretch forth hands of appeal to their saviour.

Dom Manoel, meanwhile, is held responsible by the Lisbon "Mundo" for the impression that Costa is a fiend in human shape. The Royalists have a Press agent in every large capital whose business it is, apparently, to describe the Premier of Portugal upon the model of Suetonius sketching a Cæsar. Costa is denounced now as a cold and cruel executioner, like Robespierre, again as a fierce fanatic, like Danton or Marat. He is painted against a background of ensanguined streets through which maidens are dragged from aged parents' arms. He is said to enrich himself constantly from the spoil of patrician estates. The world is warned to beware of the voice of slander by the "Mundo," to which Costa is all that Brutus was to Plutarch.—"Current Opinion," New York.

THE RISE OF ANTI-CLERICALISM IN AMERICA.

There has never been and never will be a so-called religious, sectarian war that was not based upon economic and political considerations. The majority who take part in such hostilities, on one side or the other, may believe they are fighting over differences of creeds, but the master minds who start and direct the hostilities know better. Religious and sectarian differences have never been anything more than the masks under which political and economic conflicts have been disguised.

In practically all these clashes, the party opening the attack have disavowed any intention of quarrelling over creeds or differences of belief, and have always explained their activity as being directed against the political encroachments of the other side; while on the other hand, the attacked party have as insistently declared that the attackers were inspired solely by "bigotry" and hatred of religion.

In the Middle Ages, when the Catholic Church was exterminating heretics, the excuse was always put forward that they were dangerous to the State, and that the safety of the social order demanded their extirpation. The heretics, however, always accused their enemies of being merely religious "bigots" and fanatics, and refused to admit that they themselves were in any way dangerous to society, or had any hostile intentions towards the existing social order.

When the tables were turned the Protestants did to the Catholics exactly what the latter had done to them, and explained their actions in exactly the same way, while the Catholics insisted in turn that they had no designs whatever against the State, but were being persecuted solely on account of their religion by the Protestant "bigots."

This general position holds good to-day. The Russian Government, for instance, will not admit that it persecutes the Jews on account of their religion, but because it regards them as enemies of State and society. When the Chinese chase out the Christian missionaries they always put up a like explanation, while the missionary insists they are merely inspired by fanatical hatred of the "Christian religion."

Here in this country the observer may note the beginning of one of these clashes apparently caused by differences of religious belief, but in reality at base a conflict of political and economic interests.

The old "A.P.A." is being revived. Anti-Catholic newspapers with enormous circulations are already in existence and their scope ever growing greater. A fight against the Roman Church is without doubt taking shape.

And, as might be expected, the anti-Catholic element protest that they are not making war against the Church on account of its creed; they care nothing whatever for that, they assert. It is what they call the political encroachments of the Catholic Church in this country that has stirred them into activity. They regard that Church mainly from the point of view of a political organisation, and therefore as a menace to the State and society. Considered merely as a Church with a certain religious creed, they declare they have no quarrel with it. But as a political organisation, they scent danger in it, and propose to check its further encroachments in that direction.

On the other hand, the Catholic organs shriek against these people as "bigots" and religious persecutors, and profess to see in their activity nothing but an attack on their creed. To the accusation of "political encroachments" they pay no direct attention, but try to obliquely offset it by loud assertions of patriotism and love for those American institutions of which their opponents declare them the most deadly enemies.

A clash of this sort is not without interest to Socialists; though, having their own work to attend to, they may take no active part on either side. But the thing itself is a social and political portent of no small significance, and a phenomenon that it is incumbent upon Socialists to understand and explain. In the past these "religious" clashes have either foreshadowed or been the reflex manifestation of great and important economic and political changes, and there is not the slightest reason for assuming that they do not bear the same import now. In a distant way they are connected with Socialism, which is the great economic change ahead of society. Social evolution can use, and in the past has used, the bigot, the persecutor and the religious fanatic as indirect instruments of its purposes.

This particular phenomenon is worthy of the closest attention. Religion and politics under capitalism cannot be divorced, being inseparably connected. To "make America Catholic," as is the publicly avowed intentions of the Roman Church, is as much a political as a religious task, despite all denials. There have undoubtedly been what their enemies call "political encroachments" as a necessary consequence of the process of carrying out

this programme, though to the other side it appears merely as getting their fair share of public recognition. But the names matter little. The realities concealed underneath them are the important things.

In this country the Catholic Church has declared itself publicly as the enemy of Socialism, and has announced its intention of destroying it. How it fares in a clash with non-Socialist, but anti-Catholic, elements who have been startled into activity by its rapidly growing political power cannot be a matter of complete indifference to us who insist that the Socialist philosophy can give the only adequate explanation of all social and political phenomena, even those which appear to operate under the mask of "religion."

—"New York Call."

THE REVIEWS.

RELATIONS OF CAPITAL AND LABOUR.

In the "Fortnightly Review," Mr. John B. C. Kershaw deals with the speech delivered by Sir George Askwith at Bristol, on November 5, in an article entitled "The Future Relations of Capital and Labour." Sir George Askwith, in the speech, it will be remembered, expressed his belief that industrial unrest would increase, and that in a short time a crisis would arise in the relations of Capital and Labour. He (Sir George) did not believe that the movement could be stopped by force, but that it could be "directed and mitigated by a better understanding between person and person." This forms Mr. Kershaw's text, and he proceeds to say: "That the one man in the country who knows most intimately the views and opinions that are held to-day by the leaders in the opposing camps of Capital and Labour should express himself in this pessimistic strain is not surprising. Seven years of Liberal government, in fact, have not brought the promised millennium into view. In spite of all the measures that have been passed in this period for the purpose of alleviating the hardships of the worker's position, or of increasing his happiness, the world of Labour to-day is in a more dissatisfied and dangerous state than at any period of the past 30 years. The miners and railwaymen, in loud tones, are each expressing their desire to terminate the agreements under which they are working; and as Sir George Askwith clearly hints, industrial troubles on a larger scale than yet experienced may have to be faced in the near future. The influence and authority of the older school of trade union leaders is also waning, and men of the stamp of Mr. Tom Mann and Mr. James Larkin are becoming more and more powerful and dangerous in the realms of industry. The present position certainly demands the most serious consideration of all thoughtful people, and some means of escape must be found from the anarchical condition of continuous strikes and lock-outs into which we, as a nation, appear to be drifting. The present article upon the achievements and possibilities of 'Labour Co-partnership' is offered, therefore, as a contribution to that serious discussion of the Labour problem which the urgent necessities of the hour demand. The problem,

stated in its briefest form, is that of reconciling the conflicting claims of Capital and Labour as regards their respective shares of the profits of industry, and of thus securing the harmonious co-operation which is essential for the continued success and development of our manufacturing industries. The subject will be discussed under the following heads: (1) General Principles and Advantages of Profit-sharing and of Co-partnership Production. (2) Details and Results of Typical Schemes now in Operation. (3) Hindrances to the More Extended Adoption of Co-partnership Principles. (4) The Lines of Future Progress."

"The base principle of the schemes of profit-sharing and co-partnership production, dealt with in this article," proceeds Mr. Kershaw, "is that every worker with one or more years' service to his credit shall be given a direct share in the profits of the undertaking *over and above* his payment by a fixed rate of wages. This share may be either paid in cash, at stated periods of the year, or it may be placed to his credit in the books of the firm, and employed as loan capital, earning interest in the business." . . . "There are three essentials required for the successful conduct of modern industry: (1) A plentiful and cheap supply of capital. (2) A plentiful supply of skilled and contented labour; and (3) Skilled technical and business management, which can take instant advantage of all opportunities offered for improving the manufacture and of extending the market for the finished goods." Dealing with the head, "The Lines of Future Progress," Mr. Kershaw would concede: (1) Freedom for the workers to join a union and to strike. (2) Recognition of the Trade Union rate of wages, and of a fixed rate of interest upon capital as a basis of the scheme. (3) Payment of only one-half (or some smaller proportion) of the bonus in cash, the balance being invested in the business.

TO SOCIALISTS—HAVE YOU READ

THE WORLD OF LABOUR?

A DISCUSSION OF THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF TRADE UNIONS.

By G. D. H. COLE, Joint Author of "The Pamphlets of the Greater Unionism."

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G. BELL & SONS, Ld., Publishers, London, W.C.

Mr. Kershaw proceeds: "Freedom to join a union and to strike. There are many manufacturers who would rather make (as Sir George Livesey did) a bold attempt to strike off the fetters of unionism once for all from their particular industry. The argument for making the inauguration of the schemes of co-partnership, or profit-sharing, dependent upon some restriction of the worker's rights to join a union certainly derives strength from the more recent developments of trade unionism in this country. When we find the majority of the younger trade unionists of to-day to be men who have refused time after time to follow their own leaders' policy or advice; men who have no regard for agreements signed by their representatives on their behalf, if these same agreements contain clauses which clash with their own wishes or prejudices; and men who have accepted, without reserve, the Socialistic doctrines preached by the extreme wing of the Labour Party, it may well be asked whether it would not be wiser to attempt to crush out this sinister and dangerous growth before it has done more harm."

AGRICULTURE AND A MINIMUM WAGE.

Professor A. C. Pigou (in the Chair of Political Economy at Cambridge) has an article, entitled "A Minimum Wage for Agriculture," in the current number of the "Nineteenth Century." Having the proposals for the establishment of Wages Boards and the Report of the Land Inquiry Committee before his eyes, he says that the advocates of the Wages Boards declare that "there is a definite evil, urgently crying for a remedy, in the low wages that agricultural labourers, in many parts of the country can be proved at the present time to receive. Their wage-rates are, in many cases, 'too low,' and it is for that reason the business of the State to raise them. Indictment and practical proposal go together. The latter is grounded on the former, and the two must, therefore, be examined in close connection with one another. . . . Among those persons who maintain that agricultural wages are frequently 'too low' there are two broad groups: The one contend that a considerable number of agricultural labourers receive less than a 'fair wage,' and the other that a considerable number receive less than a 'living wage.' These two conceptions are not equivalent, nor is the practical policy built upon the notion of the fair wage by any means identical with that built upon the rival foundation."

What is a fair wage? "When a wage-rate is paid equal to the rate current for similar workmen in the same trade and neighbourhood," says the Professor, "I shall call that wage-rate 'fair in the narrower sense,' and when a rate is paid equal to the pre-

dominant rate for similar work throughout the country and in the generality of trades I shall call it 'fair in the wider sense.' . . . The conception of the 'living wage' is in some ways even harder than that of the 'fair wage' to define precisely. In the most obvious and natural sense the term seems to mean a wage sufficient to enable the recipient of it to attain, without further help from charity or the Poor Law, to a certain definite standard of life below which public opinion holds it unreasonable that the estate of any citizen should be allowed to fall. . . . The Land Inquiry Committee reached the conclusion that a living wage is 'such a sum as will enable the labourer to keep himself and an average family in a state of physical efficiency, and to pay a commercial rent for his cottage.' It is in the light of the term thus defined that they condemn the existing state of agricultural wages in England."

Professor Pigou arrives at the conclusion that "the establishment of Wages Boards, instructed to combat 'unfair' wages in the several agricultural districts, is likely to lead to good or bad results according to the manner in which these Boards interpret their functions. First: If they can enforce throughout each of the several districts—the districts being assumed to be fairly small—a wage-rate for men of ordinary efficiency equal to that predominantly paid by reputable employers in the district, they will do unalloyed good. Secondly: If they can force up the predominant rate paid in each district to the rate which farmers would tend to offer if they were not held back by tradition and tacit combination, they will again do unalloyed good. But, thirdly, if in any district the natural economic wage of agricultural labour, when the influence of tradition and combination has been eliminated, is less than the rate paid to similar labour elsewhere, because the supply of agricultural labour is unduly large, the element of unfairness which then subsists cannot, with advantage, be attacked by Wages Boards. External interference with the wage-rate would be more likely to hinder than to assist the healing influence of normal economic forces."

PROFIT SHARING.

Prof. Ashley, in the "Quarterly Review," writing on "Profit Sharing," gives as its real birth the year 1865, and states that from that year to 1912, out of 212 schemes only 62 survived in 1912. How many survive now in this year of grace no man knows.

Says Prof. Ashley: "One of the greatest weaknesses in the profit-sharing of the last generation lay in what its most authoritative advocates regarded as its fundamental principle. Employers were urged to give their workpeople a share in the profits of their busi-

nesses, because, among other reasons, it would cost them nothing. The policy, it was represented, would necessarily call forth so much greater zeal and interest on the part of the employees, so much new care and economy in the use of materials, tools and powers—in short, so much extra service of one kind and another—that an extra profit would be realised; and it was from this extra profit that the workpeople would be rewarded."

In his introduction Prof. Ashley brings before his readers a certain Mr. Sedley Taylor, who was the foremost English exponent of the principles of profit-sharing, who proclaimed its gospel in the proposition submitted to the Industrial Remuneration Conference in 1885. The proposition is as follows:—

"The rationale of profit-sharing is a very simple and obvious one. We may safely assume that a man who knows that the excellence of the work which he performs has a direct influence on the remuneration to be received for it will make far more zealous efforts than one who has no such assurance. This expectation, that a direct interest in ultimate results will stimulate to improved exertions, and thus open an entirely new source of profit, is the economic basis on which the participating system rests."

Prof. Ashley says that "this 'stimulus principle' or 'incentive principle,' attractive as it seems at first glance, is really open to the gravest objections," and calls Mr. Sedley Taylor to witness that "under successful participation, additional profits, due to the more zealous efforts of the workpeople, are realised. A portion only of this surplus, is, as a rule, allotted to labour."

"It may be observed," says the Professor, "that the average gain to workpeople in profit-sharing business has, in the past, amounted, at the most, to an addition of between 4½ and 5½ per cent. to their wages. To be more precise, in the two periods for which the statisticians of the Board of Trade have calculated a figure—1865-93 and 1901-11—the average increase was 4.4 for the former and 5.5 for the latter. Probably these figures were not a little in excess of the real average amount, for a great many concerns made no return on this point, and had to be left out of the reckoning. The addition of even a shilling in the pound to wages all round at the end of the year presents no great inducement to go on taking unwonted trouble. And, of course, it is by no means all round. In the depressed years 1894-96, for instance, from a quarter to a third of the profit-sharing firms distributed no bonus at all."

His ground being established, Prof. Ashley proceeds to discuss and condemn the thing all round.

The learned Professor, arguing very skilfully and very fairly, in view of recent development, says: "In almost all the staple trades of the country . . . . the first and chief consideration to be borne in mind is that profit-sharing is sure to be opposed, more or

less openly, by the leaders of trade unionism. They have, indeed, no choice in the matter. As human nature is mixed, some personal self-seeking may mingle with worthier motives on both sides, and more will be imputed. There will be a natural tendency for employers whose well-meant schemes are put in jeopardy to ascribe jealousy to union officials; just as there will be a natural tendency to exaggerate the defects of any scheme brought before them, and to 'fear the Greeks even when they bring presents.' The unfortunate truth is that the more a trade union leader is true to union principles, the more he is bound to put obstacles in the way of a profit-sharing scheme; and the better the scheme is for the particular men concerned, the more necessary is it to prevent its success from the union point of view."

"Profit-sharing and trade unionism rest on two mutually exclusive principles, and involve two incompatible policies. Profit-sharing rests on the assumption of a solidarity, or community of interest, between the employer and the employed in each particular business concern; trade unionism rests on the assumption of a solidarity, or community of interest, between all the workmen of a trade, face to face with, if not in opposition to, all the employers of the trade. Profit-sharing, accordingly, fixes its attention on the gains made by each several concern, and proposes a plan for their division; trade unionism fixes its attention on the gains made by the trade as a whole, and seeks to secure as large a share as possible for labour in the form of the highest obtainable."

According to this reasoning, the Professor goes on to say that where trade unionism exists, or, as he says, "where a union exists which includes, or effectively represents, the body of the men," it would be folly to introduce a profit-sharing scheme. It would be a "conclusion of common sense, a simple yielding to *force majeure*."

The Professor, who has evidently studied the Labour question as a paper question, from an easy arm-chair, gives good advice, according to his lights, and concludes:—

"If employers accept, as many of them must, the essential principle of profit-sharing in its widest sense, viz., that the work-people should share in business prosperity, let them carry it out in the only form consistent with modern democratic conditions—in a form extending to the whole of the trade to which they belong. The employers in each trade are coming to be more and more associated and federated in organisations which determine the wage policy of all their members. It is perfectly possible for such bodies, when times of prosperity come, to give a share of it to the employees of all the constituent concerns in the forms of higher or supplementary rates of pay, without waiting for such increases to be angrily demanded under threat of strike. This will be real profit-sharing; it will tie no workman to any particular concern; and it will have the advantage of absolute simplicity."

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE UNITED STATES.

An article under the above title appears in the December issue of the "Nineteenth Century and After" from the pen of J. O. P. Bland. After referring to the "triumphant progress of Woman Suffrage eastwards from the Pacific Coast" as amongst its many interesting features, the writer proceeds:—

Indeed, study of the map and of the numerical proportions of women to men in the various States is necessary to a proper understanding of the significance of that progress and to intelligent anticipation of the future of the movement. Just as the marriage-rate varies directly with the harvest, and as the divorce rate is lowest in the States where the proportion of women is highest, even so the attitude of men and women alike on the question of the suffrage has been unmistakably affected by the economic factor. Whereas, in the population of the North-Eastern States, there are more women than men, in the Middle West there are 10 per cent. more men than women; the farther West we go the greater becomes the numerical inferiority and the resultant social ascendancy of women until, as Professor Ross, of Wisconsin, puts it, "In the inter-mountain States, where there are at least two suitors for every woman, the sex becomes an upper caste to which nothing will be denied—from street-car seats to ballots and public offices. . . . Indeed, the enviable position of American women is largely the cumulative outcome of the scarcity-value she has for a time enjoyed in the newer Commonwealth."

This chivalrous, not to say deferential, attitude of men towards women in the thinly-populated mountain States of the Pacific coast, where frontier conditions persist, is clearly reflected in the fact that the movement for admitting women to equal political rights (which began with Wyoming's admission to Statehood in 1890) has rapidly spread, until it now includes every State on the Pacific coast, and it is steadily advancing Eastwards. So long as the movement was confined to the small new States of the Rockies public opinion in the East looked upon it complacently enough as part of the rough-and-ready radicalism of that region. It was only when the State of Washington enfranchised its women by a two-to-one vote in 1910, and when their admission to political rights was immediately followed by a drastic cleansing of the City Government of Seattle that the country in general, and the party machines in particular, began to face the question seriously. Victory in the State of Washington was followed by a still more dramatic triumph in California, where the admission of women to voting rights was unmistakably identified with the "insurgent" movement in high politics. For fifteen years the women in California had been vainly agitating for a suffrage amendment to their State's

Constitution; the "bosses" had treated them to polite evasions. But no sooner had the "insurgents" overthrown the Corporations and their machine and elected a progressive Legislature than woman's work for the cause of social justice and the "square deal" was rewarded with the franchise. Henceforth "Votes for Women" became practical national politics.

No doubt the Suffragist movement in England has been to some extent a factor in the increased activity which American women have displayed in their organised agitation for the vote since 1909, but the chief cause of the strength and the success of their campaign has undoubtedly laid in the insurgent movement of the new "Democracy," in the ascendancy of the great moral and social questions raised by the Progressive Party under the leadership first of Mr. La Follette and later of Mr. Roosevelt. Up till a comparatively recent date politics in America, the issues on which public opinion was divided, were "business" matters—railroad legislation, currency reform, the tariff, monopolies and rebates. It needed an arousing of the national conscience, the advent of a new and higher type of politician, to prove that "business" had been largely responsible for an increasing burden of social and economic evils. Mr. Wilson, in his inaugural address, expressed a very general conviction when he said: "We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped thoughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the deadweight and burden of it all has fallen piteously the years through."

With this new spirit, this social crusade, aggressive and insistent, American women in the enfranchised States have been consistently identified. Wherever they have shared the responsibilities of government their weight and influence have been brought to bear, irrespective of party politics, on the promotion of measures intended to secure "the protection of children, the care of the aged, the relief of over-worked girls, and the safeguarding of burdened men." That the insurgent movement should have evoked this sudden emergence of the American woman into the political arena is not surprising when one remembers her social and intellectual ascendancy. The philanthropic work of the country, its culture, its religious and social aspirations are already in her hands. Given the organisation of a political party pledged to work for "social and industrial justice," she was bound to come forward in support of its platform when (in the words of Miss Addams) "measures long discussed by small groups in charity conferences and economic associations were at last thrust into the stern arena of political action."

In the Western States woman's attitude as a voter has been consistently non-sectarian and non-partisan. She has given her vote to public men identified with progressive practice, independent

of party, rather than to the theories of election platforms; she has placed parks and school-houses, playgrounds and prison reform before general principles and policies of government—above all, her efforts have been directed towards the abolition of child labour. Looking to the record of women's work in the enfranchised States, and most notably in Wyoming, Idaho and Colorado, it is impossible to deny that its influence has been successfully exercised in the interests of good and clean government. The Inter-Parliamentary Union has recorded its opinion that "Colorado has the sanest, the most humane, the most progressive, most scientific laws relating to the child to be found on any Statute books in the world"—and all these laws have been brought about by the votes of women. They have helped in these States to raise the standard of public morality, of official honesty and "social service." . . . They have entered the arena because, with the growth of industrialism, the business of government is no longer a matter of Hamiltonian or Jeffersonian principles, but a matter of vital importance to a large majority of the eight millions of American women who work for their living, to their health, the education of their children, to their food and drink.

. . . . . .

Outside the arena of professional politics the attitude of the average man in the Eastern States appears to be generally favourable to the enfranchisement of women—a fact, in itself, not surprising in view of the incontestable social and intellectual superiority of women in the great centres of industry, where the man's activities have been habitually concentrated on business, and in the great agricultural districts, where social life and culture are largely controlled by women. The average man realises the justice of woman's claim to equal rights; he holds, with Mr. Howells, that the suffrage is bound to come, and that the arguments advanced against it are not reasons. All the traditions of his country tend to recognition of the fact that "she will get it if she wants it." His innate chivalrous tendencies, transmitted from pioneer days, induce a tolerant sympathy for her purposes, and especially for those which aim at the better protection of children. If there are no militant suffragists in America it is because there she, sure of her ground, is not driven to militant tactics. She is thus exempt from the necessity of demonstrating that "the female of the species is more deadly than the male."

At the same time, while recognising the inevitable, and fully admitting that woman's influence will do good in many branches of political work, the plain man is not entirely free from doubts and mental reservations concerning the possible effects of woman suffrage. There are many who fear, with Professor Hugo Münsterberg, that, just as all the non-political functions of American public life have already taken the stamp of feminine taste and type,

so, with woman's invasion of the political arena, "business" itself may be at the mercy of feminine idealism and impulses: that the whole national civilisation, its foreign politics and military defences, may pass under the control of "maternal" government. The average business man, the average farmer, does not believe that votes for women necessarily implies the end of hearth and home, but he does feel that it may mean an effemination of public life, an accentuation, in matters of commerce, finance and foreign policy, of unpractical idealism, and illogical sentimentality. Finally, he feels vaguely uncomfortable at the prospect of women in the political arena, because of her very social and intellectual superiority. He realises that if there is to be equality of opportunity and influence, it will be needful for him to bring himself up to the level of his womankind in general culture. One perceives a certain consciousness of this aspect of the question amongst the women who lead the Suffrage movement, a realisation of the dangers that must follow in the world of things as they are if American civilisation should become dominated by feminism, no matter how elevated its ideals. Which means that the woman's question in America ultimately becomes not only a question of conferring equality upon women, but of securing it for men.

BEHIND THE WALL.

From the Russian of SCHALOM ASCH.

In the middle of the plain stands a huge black fortress, surrounded by a broad, mighty river. At eve, when all is still and sinks into silence, the waves murmur. . . .

Within the fortress every floor was filled with prisoners. During the day it seemed to be a dead building, a catacomb, the cavities of which were peopled with living, healthy, human beings. The convicts were sleeping on their sacks of straw, or gazing fixedly at the cornice of the stove or some similar object till they were nearly mad.

But towards evening the place came to life. Everywhere knocking began on the walls, and, thanks to the secret alphabet, long conversations were held. Every now and again a heavy step in the corridor plunged the whole house into silence. But, hardly had the warder passed by before all the knocking began again, even more vigorously.

The prisoners got accustomed to their speechless existence. They could now only talk with the fingers, and were at last able to guess by the knocks the character of their neighbour, and even his social position. Sometimes, indeed, the desire assailed them to see, to speak a little—just to use once more a sleeping organ, to see if it was still able to fulfil its function.

One evening, when the whole prison was engaged in lively conversation, a fresh, youthful, merry laugh was suddenly heard—the clear voice of a young girl. The prisoners started. Something quite unusual was evidently happening, and the knocking on the walls ceased, the prison lay wrapt in silence. But the merry laugh, which warmed like the sunshine, sounded a second time between the walls . . . . strange . . . . as though the dead began to speak.

She was hardly more than a child, she who laughed there. When they brought her away from her mother's house she had not in the least realised the seriousness of her case. She had risen proudly, and followed the gendarmes in a romantic attitude. After such an adventure she expected something very wonderful, something in which she would be the heroine. But once alone between the four walls, loneliness laid heavy hands around her heart.

For a long time she cried silently to herself. Then she got better, and began to feel like a heroine. With clenched fists she raised herself on her couch and presented her chest as if it were about to be pierced by the bullets of the soldiers. Then she suddenly remembered that she was alone, and burst out sobbing like a child.

The warder hurried to the spot and cast an irritated glance through the spy-hole. As the eye appeared at the little opening, the young girl could not help a burst of laughter. When he saw her—the only female prisoner – the soldier was touched, and laughed too. But then his sense of duty got the upper hand, and when he spoke again he spoke in a rough voice, and put on his bearish manner.

Thus was discipline once broken in the gloomy building. Soon the news spread through the whole prison that a young girl had arrived. How did it get about? Once she was fastened up in the cell, they could no longer hear her voice. Only the knocks of the secret alphabet penetrated through the walls. Neither could she be seen, for she was taken alone for her walks. But they probably recognised her as a woman by her step when she passed along the corridor.

Then, too, she was musical, and in order to console herself for having to do without her piano, she sat down, the very first day, in a corner and beat with her foot the rhythm of her favourite songs. The convicts in the dark cells heard her above their heads, recognised the rhythm, and hummed the divine melody to themselves.

The whole gloomy building seemed changed by the presence of this fair creature.

In the neighbouring cell lay a young man. The dungeon walls had already robbed him of eight months of his life, but had not succeeded in stifling his fiery heart. He only felt that it was asleep in his breast. After getting up in the morning, he used to lie down again on his couch and think for hours of scenes from his childhood which now smiled at him as in a dream. Thus the energy which dwelt in him was lulled to sleep. It was a matter of indifference to him whether the sun shone outside or whether the rain came down in torrents. And yet it needed but a breath to awaken his heart once more.

He heard through the wall the step of the young girl, and when in the evening twilight she beat the rhythm of a Chopin nocturne, he became lost in sweet dreams. He saw a young wood, in the first days of Spring. Here and there a glint of sunbeams between the little trees. . . . A deserted castle reflected in the blue river, a young girl wandering beneath the pines. Wrapped in mystery, she steps softly between the trunks—she comes from a strange land and wanders into a strange world. . . .

He had already tried to talk to her through the wall: with his fingers he confessed to her his love.*

"Who are you? I feel that you are young and beautiful, and I love you. . . . I am as strong as a lion. When night comes I will break down the wall and come to you. I will hide you in my breast like a little bird, and will flee with you far, far away. . . ."

She listened to the beating of his fingers, but without understanding it, for she did not know the secret alphabet. But she had at least the feeling that behind the wall a heart was beating which belonged to her, and that a voice was there calling to her. And she often laid her ear against the wall to listen, and to try to make out this mysterious language. Sometimes she knocked too, as though her fingers could speak.

Often, too, as night fell, she lay down on the floor close to the wall, and knocked to find out if he was at the same place on the other side of the wall. Thus they waited, and with his fingers he sang songs to her through the wall, and told her of his love.

Though she did not understand them, yet the knocks touched her to the heart. She pressed her forehead against the wall.

One day something suddenly happened which sent a thrill of horror through the whole of that dreadful building. One of the convicts had discovered that a gallows had been erected in front of the prison.

Like rain dripping into the gutter the sound of knocking on the wall sighed on the whole night long through the prison. First it passed from wall to wall, then from floor to ceiling. They exchanged advice and comforted each other, asked questions and said farewell. That nocturnal beating was as the beating of the wings of the death-angel against the walls. At last the sounds gradually died away. Each prisoner in his own cell thought once more of his own life.

But during that night the knocking of the young girl's neighbour had assumed a strange tone. His fingers trembled as if in fever. Surely he had something serious and urgent to communicate. His knocks became faster and faster. . . . Then silence, as though a shudder passed over him. She divined that he was pressing his face against the wall; that he was giving her kisses through it; that he grew frenzied and began scratching it. But she could not tell what secret he was trying to confide to her.

Outside the wind wept and raved and rattled at the little iron shutters and moaned through the bars. Never had the young girl's cell appeared more dreadful to her.

She had already knocked several times, to call her neighbour; but he remained silent, as if angry with her. Then she became

* This is not at all improbable. Russian political prisoners have been known to communicate their inmost thoughts by these means.

sulky and threw herself down on her bed. An unbounded sadness crept over her. She would have liked to go again to the wall and call him, but she waited that he should come first.

An uncanny stillness lay upon the prison. The knocking had quite ceased . . . . nothing was to be heard but the far-off step of the sentry. At last horror got the better of her, she sprang up and ran to the wall. She knocked, sought, begged, and even hurt her face against the rough stones.

"Answer me, what are you doing?" she murmured. "What has happened? O, I am so frightened! Answer! Give me an answer! . . . .'

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